

PART I

REPORT

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ERRATA

Page 62.—In paragraph 86, seven lines from the end, for "comparisons" read "comparison".

Page 65.—Substitute the following for the last 12 lines :—

"in the death rate is invariably followed at some period by a corresponding decrease in the birth rate. It is clear also that fertility in western countries decreases with the increase of wealth and intellectual interests. There is therefore reason to hold that in Bengal also a reduction in the death rate will not in the long run result in a persistent acceleration of the rate of population increase, but that improved measures of public health intended to decrease the death rate, if accompanied by an improvement in the standard of living, the wider diffusion of education and an enlargement of interests in all sections of society will result in at least such a reduction of the birth rate as will be commensurate with any improvement effected in the death rate. In securing this end perhaps the greatest contribution will be made by the further enlightenment and emancipation of women and their introduction to spheres of interest, activity and usefulness from which they are now in Bengal generally debarred by social custom, tradition and the institution of purdah."

Page 71.—In line 8 for "Town" and that those read "Town" and those".

Page 107.—In column 1 for "Barisal—Barseal" read "Barisal—Bakarganj".

Page 108.—In the heading to columns 14, 15 and 16 for "Gibraltar" read "Gibralter".

Page 121.—In the note below the heading of statement No. IV-5 for "in tables 20 and 21" read "in pages 20 and 21".

Page 122.—In line 3 from the top for "0 to 5" read "0, 5".

Page 127.—In line 28 from the top for "births" read "deaths", and in the following line for "from" read "using", and for "deaths" read "births".

Page 129.—In lines 27, 28 and 29—

for	<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div>1921 $\frac{E_{21}}{31}$</div> <div>1931 $\frac{E_{31}}{31}$</div> <div>C. H. Tracts $\frac{E_{31}}{31}$</div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div>1921 $\frac{E_{21}}{31}$</div> <div>1931 $\frac{E_{31}}{31}$</div> <div>C. H. Tracts $\frac{E_{31}}{31}$</div> </div>
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read

Page 129.—In line 9 from bottom for the second word instead of "than" read "that".

Page 129.—In the second line of paragraph 152 for "very much" read "rather".

Page 143.—In line 19 from bottom, last word, for "Expectations" read "Expectation".

Page 146.—In line 7 from the top, first word, for "earlier" read "later"; and for "much the same tendencies as that" read "tendencies similar but opposite to those".

Page 149.—In paragraph 169, line 32 from the top of page, for "33" read "30".

Page 149.—In line 3 from the bottom for "death" read "birth", and add after end of paragraph :—"The observed decline of population in areas where malaria is endemic is presumably due to the combined effects of an increased death rate and the natural emigration of population rather than to a decrease in the birth rate".

Page 162.—In line 8 from the end of page for "13 years of age" read "13 years ago".

Page 178.—In the note below the heading of table I—

for "then the standard deviation (S.D.) = $\sqrt{\frac{S(x-M)^2}{S(f)}}$ "

read "then the standard deviation (S.D.) = $\sqrt{\frac{S(x-M)^2}{S(f)}}$ "

Page 254.—In line 29 from the bottom for "felt that that it" read "felt that it".

Page 317.—In line 14 from the top for "variation to" read "variation of".

Page 318.—In line 10 from the bottom for "prepage" read "page 317".

Page 336.—In line 5 from the top for "education of" read "education in"; and in line 6 from the bottom for "begun" read "began".

Page 358.—In line 3 from the bottom for "Nepali" read "Naipali".

Page 367.—In line 16 from the top for "form" read "provide".

Page 368.—In line 22 from the top for "no Hindu" read "no practising Hindu".

Page 399.—In line 1 for "every" read "very".

Page 400.—Delete in paragraph 420 the whole of the second sentence which runs as follows: "The extent to which they are actually doing this has been noted elsewhere".

Page 400.—In the first line of paragraph 419 for "of Hindu" read "of the Hindu"; and in the same paragraph two lines after the extract quoted for "enthusiasm in" read "enthusiasm for".

Page 401.—In line 3 from top for "teaching medicine" read "teaching, medicine"; and in line 11 from the bottom for "type of widow" read "type of Hindu widow".

Page 422.—In the last line before the Persian couplet for "ridicule popular" read "popular ridicule".

Page 430.—In line 38 from top for "the Doms" read "Doms".

Page 431.—In line 13 from top for "possible that" read "possible, that".

Page 437.—Footnote No. 16 for "un" read "Un"; and in footnote 14 for "danel" read "dans l'", also for "Pré-Aryan" read "Pré-aryan".

Page 439.—In line 16 from the top for "the royal" read "the local royal"; and in line 21 for "continuity or conquest" read "continuity on conquest".

Page 461.—In line 16 from the bottom of the page for "some castes included in Bengal" read "castes not included in Bengal".

Page 473.—In line 3 from the bottom for "the south-west" read "south-west".

Page 481.—In line 21 from the bottom for "me that it is in any case ridiculous" read "me and it is in any case ridiculous".

Page 485.—In line 35 from top for "In High Court" read "In a High Court" and two lines above the statement for "of Purbba-Bangs" read "of the Purbba-Bangs".

Page 496.—For the last word but four in paragraph 8 for "jalawyahariya" read "jalawyawahariya".

Page 498.—In line 23 for "Marches" read "marches".

Page 499.—In line 6 from the end of paragraph 15 for "initate" read "initiate"; and three lines from the bottom of the page for "barbars" read "barbers".

Page 500.—In line 4 of paragraph 17 for "who have been overlooked previously owing to the small" read "which have been overlooked previously owing to their small".

Page 501.—In line 2 from the top for "barna" read "varna".

Page 501.—In line 22 from the top—the words "and the totals including them" are not now correct. It was intended that statement No. XII-6, columns 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24 and 25 on page 503 would be in italics. As these columns are in doric or roman the words mentioned should be deleted.

Page 501.—In lines 24 and 25 from the top for "the accompanying diagram No. XII-11" read "diagram No. XII-11 on page 488".

INTRODUCTION

The census forming the subject of this report was the seventh taken in Bengal and was conducted on the night of the 26th February 1931.

There was no important innovation in the census procedure which has been fully described in previous reports and will consequently be given here only a brief notice. The Indian Census Act (X of 1929) passed by the Indian legislature received the assent of the Governor-General on the 1st October and provided the legal basis for the census. Preliminary arrangements were initiated by the Government of Bengal as early as the 22nd February 1930 by orders under which a "census mauza register" was prepared to account for the whole area in each district and a preliminary estimate was made of the number of houses in each mauza with names of the individuals likely to constitute a satisfactory census agency. Upon the basis of this register the whole province was parcelled out into census divisions. Within the district the largest of these was the "charge", ordinarily formed by a municipality or rural police-station and containing an average of 9,864 inhabited houses under a "charge superintendent". The charge was again divided into some 20 to 22 "circles" each comprising on an average 400 to 450 houses in charge of a "supervisor". Circles were again divided into compact "blocks" numbering between 10 and 12 and containing about 40 houses each for which an "enumerator" was responsible. During October and November each house in a block was given a serial number to ensure its being accounted for in the enumeration and in the succeeding months the enumerating agency was trained and a preliminary enumeration made and checked. In some few areas mentioned in chapter I, the details thus recorded and checked formed the final record owing to the impossibility of conducting a synchronous check on the final census night. Elsewhere however they were checked between 7 p. m. and midnight of the 26th February 1931. During this time each enumerator went round his block, checked the entries in his preliminary record, struck out those for persons no longer present and added details of those who had subsequently arrived. Preliminary totals were at once prepared for each district and were telegraphed from Bogra and Bankura districts as early as 12-35 p. m. and 4 p. m. on the 28th February. Figures for the whole province were published within 9 days of the census and the difference between these totals (50,969,667) and the figures on final counting (51,087,338) amounted for the whole province to 117,671 or 2·3 per thousand of population. This does not approach the accuracy of the provisional figures for the census of England and Wales in 1921 which differed only by ·0038 per thousand of population from the final figures, and it compares unfavourably with the corresponding discrepancy in Bengal in 1921 which was ·9 per thousand. In some districts however the approach to the final figures was very close. In Rajshahi for instance figures for which were telegraphed by Babu Anathbandhu Ray within 4 days of the final census the discrepancy was only ·07 per thousand.

The procedure subsequent to the enumeration consisted of three stages. A copy of the form of schedule on which the information required was collected is included in the pocket inside the back cover of this volume. From this the information recorded for each individual (with the exception of the name) was first copied out on to a separate slip. The slips were next given to sorters who dealt them successively into heaps according to the particulars to be shown in each of the tables: the heaps were counted and the numbers entered on "sorters' tickets" for each table. The figures in these tickets were then compiled to give statistics for each police-station, census town and district and were finally tabulated for the whole province. Slip-copying was ordinarily done at district headquarters under the district census officer. Sorting and compilation were conducted at five central offices under deputy superintendents of census at Konnagar in the district of

Hooghly, at Berhampore, at Rajshahi, at Dacca and at Barisal. At these offices was also done the slip-copying for the districts of Burdwan, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Rangpur, the Siliguri subdivision of Darjeeling, Faridpur, Noakhali, Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts and for the city of Calcutta where no local arrangements could be made. The final tabulation was effected by my personal assistant in Calcutta, and the tables before publication were submitted for check and correction to the Census Commissioner.

The necessity for stringent economy has led to a restriction of the scope of the report and has made it impossible to make use of some part of the information recorded in the schedules. No tables have been prepared to show Infirmities by Selected Castes (No. XII-A of 1921), Occupations subsidiary to Agriculture (No. XVIII of 1921), Combined Occupations (No. XIX of 1921), Occupation by Religion (No. XX of 1921) or Christians by Race and Sect (No. XV of 1921). Moreover the table showing industries (No. XXII of 1921, prepared from a special industrial return) has been abandoned although a fresh column (No. 12) was introduced into the schedule for the collection of material from a wider range than in previous years. On the other hand the tables showing Bi- and Multi-lingualism (No. XV, part ii) and Comparative Figures for Selected Tribes (No. XVIII) are new, and the report contains in chapter VIII a summary of the details obtained from a voluntary return of educated unemployment.

It is not easy to make with confidence an estimate of the accuracy of the results thus obtained. At every stage errors can be introduced by malice or inadvertence or ignorance. Comment on the figures of Calcutta city will be found in the volume in which they are analysed and what follows refers to the figures for the rest of the province. The supervisors and enumerators, numbering 298,522 in all, were a voluntary agency: there was therefore very little choice and whatever material was available had to be employed. It will appear from the account given in subsequent chapters that the instructions for filling in some columns of the schedule were necessarily somewhat complicated, and particularly in the remoter parts district census officers found it sometimes difficult to make enumerators understand them. This difficulty was felt especially in respect of details not elicited at a previous census such as the return of industry and of subsidiary languages, and of particulars where a difference was introduced as in the return of "earnings" and "working dependents" in place of the simple classification "workers" previously adopted. For many years previously Government had been subjected to a campaign of misrepresentation the object of which was to bring Government under contempt and suspicion, and there is no doubt that the prestige of Government officers had suffered thereby. Moreover the census operations took place at a time of "civil disobedience" and obstruction to the census was a plank in the Congress platform. Civil disobedience and the diminished prestige of Government, however, are not likely to have effected the results to any considerable extent. Seriously organised opposition was encountered only in one union in Baraset (24-Parganas) and in the Bishnupur subdivision of Bankura district and was overcome. In Bengal as a whole the question of communal representation in the revised constitution was too important for either of the main communities to allow its numerical strength to be reduced by the omission of its members from the census figures. On the other hand allegations were made by both Hindus and Muslims that enumerators of the other community had swelled the numbers of their own co-religionists by fictitious entries and had wilfully suppressed details of those professing the other faith. Most of these statements were indefinite and incapable of investigation: those which were specific were examined and proved to be without foundation. The claim that aboriginals are "fundamentally" Hindus has quite probably resulted to some extent in their being returned as Hindus by Hindu enumerators with very little justification in their actual beliefs and practices, but even so there is no reason to believe that the errors of enumeration in the schedules were considerable. During slip-copying and sorting the rules provided for very careful supervision and check. Midnapore and Mymensingh are the

only districts in which there is reason to think that there was some relaxation in the strictness of check and doubtful slips of these districts were checked and corrected during sorting. The later processes of sorting and compilation gave comparatively little scope for mistakes to remain undetected and it may be confidently said that no appreciable errors are likely to have been introduced at these stages. The figures for 1921 were estimated to be correct to within one per thousand and there is no reason to believe that the general figures of the population and its distribution by sex and religion are less accurate than this on the present occasion. As regards the other details tabulated the probable error naturally differs from one particular to another and comment upon the estimated accuracy of individual tables will be found in the chapters in which they are discussed.

Up to the date of printing this report the total cost debited to the census budget was Rs. 5,44,017-0-5. This sum excludes the cost of the volumes of the report which are for sale. Against this is to be set off the amount of Rs. 48,142-1-3 recovered or recoverable by the sale of equipment or from municipalities or other administrations. Some of this has been recovered or is recoverable from municipalities, the state of Sikkim and the Tripura state. The net cost debited is therefore Rs. 4,95,874-15-2 which averages Rs. 9-11-2 per thousand of the population. The total net cost is less than that incurred in 1921-23, which was shown as being Rs. 4,97,370-10-11 or Rs. 10 per thousand of population. It also compares very favourably with the rate per thousand (£9 5s. 6d. or Rs. 120-4) for the census of England and Wales in 1921. The English figure excludes the cost of printing, stationery, maps, cards and hire of machines. The charge for Bengal corresponding to the first four of these items was Rs. 64,494-0-7, and even excluding for the English estimate the hire of machines, which probably corresponds to a considerable portion of the charges in Bengal for slip-copying, sorting and compilation, the figure for Bengal, which is comparable to that for the English census, is only Rs. 8-7 per thousand of population.

It is impossible to acknowledge adequately the services of all those who contributed to the success of the census. District officers were preoccupied with the political situation and an effort was made by dealing direct with the district census officers to worry them as little as possible with routine details. The Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, however, himself conducted the census of his district and in no district would it have been possible to conduct a census at all without the assistance of the district officers. Nearly all branches of the public services were laid under contribution for voluntary work in addition to their duties. The names of those specially commended for good service have been brought to the notice of the departments with whom their advancement lies. A general expression of appreciation is also owing to the members of the Bengal Junior Civil Service who as circle officers in almost all districts rendered indispensable service. During the period before the final enumeration extended touring was necessary and it was owing to the special facilities accorded to me by the Assam, Bengal and Eastern Bengal Railways that I was able to visit each district headquarters twice and some of the subdivisions also in addition without considerable waste of time: I have to express my indebtedness for these facilities to the Agents of the railways. But perhaps the most astonishing feature of the census is the fact that under the direction of a very few officials almost the whole enumeration was carried out by a voluntary agency. More than 302,600 voluntary workers not only received no remuneration but in almost all cases were put to some personal expense in the conduct of the enumeration. Some expression of appreciation is due to these workers for their public spirit and to the officers of the Bengal Civil Service and other services who were able by their tact and personal influence to keep up to scratch over so long a period as 5 months or more a body of men held together by no self-interest or hope of reward. Finally, my special thanks are due to Messrs. Durga Pada Banarji, Saiyid Abdul Majid, Sudhir Kumar Sen, Mizanur Rahman and Sailendra Nath Mitra, the five officers in charge of the central offices at Konnagar, Rajshahi, Berhampore, Dacca and Barisal, and

to my personal assistant, Babu Bhupendrakrishna Sinha, B.C.S. All these officers co-operated in bringing the post enumeration proceedings and the tabulation of the results to a conclusion somewhat earlier than before and a tribute is due to their energy and to the tact with which they handled large establishments of casual employees most of whom were unaccustomed to discipline and continuous hard work. In the preparation of the report I have been indebted to almost every department of Government for either information and material or more specific assistance. Dr. C. A. Bentley, C.I.E., D.P.H., lent me a number of statistical books and computing machines, and his successor Dr. Khambata permitted my access to unpublished public health statistics. At the request of the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal the Director of the Tropical School of Medicine placed an excellent biostatistical library at my disposal, and to Dr. D. B. Meek, O.B.E., Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, I am indebted for constant help with books of reference and with advice on statistical questions. In particular instances I have endeavoured to make my indebtedness clear by acknowledgments in the text but I cannot hope to have acknowledged all my obligations.

The report contains some features which are new. Many of the diagrams are plotted upon a "logarithmic" section, in which the vertical intervals are proportionate not to the differences between the figures represented by them but to the differences between the logarithms of these figures. In these diagrams an equal proportionate change is represented by an equal vertical interval; e.g., the distance between 2 and 4, 3 and 6, 4 and 8, 20 and 40, etc., is exactly the same. This type of diagram has consequently been used wherever rates of change may be of interest. The practical advantage is that not only the numerical but also the proportionate change can thus be estimated from the same diagram. It is the figures which are indicated but in reading them it must be remembered that the intervals are not regularly proportionate to the figures. In each case a guide to the rate of change has been given and with a little practice it should not be difficult to recognise by eye equal angles of slope which indicate equal rates of change. The diagrams are not offered to replace the figures which they illustrate. They are a short cut to investigating the salient features of the statistics but no deductions should be based on them which are not verified by reference to the tables. This is a general limitation in the use of graphic presentations of fact, and it is particularly important when, as in the following pages there is a possibility that errors in drafting have escaped detection. Such as have been discovered have in most cases been indicated in the text.

In some few instances also statistical expressions have been used which will not be familiar to the general reader. These are mainly the "standard deviation" and the "probable error". If in a series the difference of the observed figure from the mean or arithmetical average be computed and squared, and the squares totalled and divided by the number of instances in the series the result is known as the "variance" of the series. The standard deviation is the square root of the variance. From it the "probable error" is calculated. For comprehension of the few instances in which these constants have been employed it is unnecessary to consider their mathematical basis and sufficient to state that they give an indication of the normal distribution of the observations forming the series. The standard deviation provides a universal scale by which to measure differences between the mean and the observed quantities since it is so calculated that an equal proportion of the observations in any two series may be expected to fall within a difference from the mean which is the same when expressed in terms of the appropriate standard deviation. If any series be treated as a sample from a larger universe of similar items, the probable error provides a means of estimating within what limits the average of the series is likely to differ from the true average which would be obtained if all the items in the universe had been included in its calculation, and statisticians consider that the chances are exactly equal that the real mean of the whole universe will be within a range running from once the probable error less to once the probable error greater than the calculated average. The probable error is also used as a test whether differences in the averages of two series are due to chance sampling from the

same universe. In this case the difference is considered to be "significant", (i.e., probably not the result of random sampling) if it is three or more times its own probable error, since the odds against the *entirely fortuitous occurrence* of a difference so great as three times the probable error are 22 to 1: in other words a difference as great as or greater than this might be expected from chance only in 43 out of 1,000 instances. The odds against the chance occurrence of a difference as great as four times the probable error are as many as 142 to 1. Such use as has been made of these concepts is infrequent in the report and they have been resorted to with diffidence. Calculations have been worked out against time and under the limitations of a crippling economy. It is unlikely that no error of calculation or deduction has escaped elimination, and certain that the possibilities of significant analysis have in no case been exhausted. But it has been the object to give the data from which results are deduced in such detail that the reader may have before him all the materials necessary for the detection of mistakes, miscalculations and statistical fallacies and for pursuing scientific analysis further than my own ignorance of mathematics has permitted me to follow it.

CHAPTER I

Distribution and movement of population

Part I—Introductory

1. **The area dealt with.**—The area dealt with in this report is that of the province of Bengal with Bengal States and Sikkim. The territory covered is an area of 85,773 square miles. It is composed of British Territory, 77,521 square miles; the states of Cooch Behar and Tripura, 5,434 square miles, and Sikkim, 2,818 square miles. These figures exclude the surface area covered by large rivers and arms of the sea the inclusion of which would have affected the calculation of the density of population: such areas as are thus excluded fall entirely within British Territory. The areas given for Sikkim and Bengal States are the same as in 1921, but for British Territory the figures are 678 square miles greater than those given in 1921. Such explanations as are available for this change in area are given in the title pages to imperial table I and provincial table I in volume V, part II. During the decade only 30 square miles were added to the area of Bengal from the neighbouring province of Bihar and Orissa and the difference between the figures of 1921 and 1931 is principally accounted for by changes in the calculated area of police-stations. Revised calculations of these areas have resulted in very little change in the figures of Dacca and Chittagong Divisions and are mainly confined to the Rajshahi and to a greater extent to the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions.

2. **The population enumerated.**—The population dealt with in the report and shown in detail in the tables forming part II of this volume is in general the *de facto* population of Bengal on the night of the 26th February 1931. In some parts of the province, however, owing to difficulties of communication or to the absence of a literate enumerating agency or for other reasons it was not possible to conduct on the night of the 26th February* the simultaneous check of the preliminary enumeration which elsewhere constituted the final census. The areas and population thus affected are shown in statement No. I-1 below:—

STATEMENT No. I-1.

District	Locality	Area (sq. miles).	Popula- tion.	Date of final check.
Dankura	Hanulandh p.s.	84 0	15,638	27th February 1931.
Midnapore	Jhargram subdivision	90 0	19,399	
	Bampur	89 0	19,360	27th February 1931. 6 a.m.—12 noon.
	Nayagram	1 0	36	
Calcutta	Ward 7, 132 blocks	..	..	Nil.
	Ward 6, 85 blocks	..	..	"
	Ward 29, 22 blocks	..	..	"
	Ward 6, 32 blocks	..	..	Subsequently.
Bakarganj		73 4	12,882	27th February 1931. Morning.
	Patuakhali	37 6	4,662	
	Bhola	35 5	3,320	
Noakhali		16 5	3,592	27th February 1931. Morning.
	Sandwip	5 0	140	
	Do	10 0	1,370	
	Chhagalnaya	1 5	2,682	Nil.
Chittagong Hill Tracts	Total area	5,007 0	212,922	2-3 days after 26th February
Tripura State	Hill portions	1,638 0	73,037	1931.
Sikkim State	Total area	2,818	109,808	Nil.

Except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Sikkim where inaccessibility and the lack of literate census agents prevented any final check, and in part of Calcutta where the failure to make a simultaneous check on the census night was due to obstruction by the inhabitants, it will be seen that in every case a check of the figures recorded was actually conducted during the morning of the following day except in Tripura State where it was conducted some days later. Such a check conducted with reference to the conditions on the night of the 26th-27th constituted in effect a simultaneous check. It is at least certain that outside Calcutta, the conditions which rendered a simultaneous check impossible also prevented any considerable movement into or out of

*In Sikkim State the census was not completed until 15th March 1931.

non-synchronous areas, and if such movement actually occurred the amount each way cancelled out so that the results obtained represent the actual population on the census night with every little inaccuracy. The figures also include a number of persons who were at sea on the 26th February and did not reach Bengal till later. Such persons as fishermen who spent the night at work in the Bay of Bengal are amongst these. So also are persons on board sea-going vessels who were in Indian territorial waters on the census night: these include persons on vessels which reached the Sandheads from a port outside India before midnight on the 26th February or had left a port in India before the census was taken there but did not arrive at Calcutta until some date up to the 15th of March. The persons accounted for in the enumeration of Indians on the high seas have not been included in the general population but are shown separately in chapter III.

3. Measures due to the different date of the census in Burma.—The census was taken in Burma two nights before the date fixed for Bengal and the rest of India and special measures were therefore taken to prevent double enumeration of persons coming from Burma after being enumerated there and the omission from both provinces of persons who had left Bengal for Burma after the 24th but before the 26th February. At the time of the final check it was ascertained whether persons present during the preliminary enumeration who were then absent had left for Burma after the 24th February and if so their names were retained, whilst persons who had newly arrived were asked whether they had come from Burma and, if they had left there after the 24th February, particulars for them were not added in the schedules.

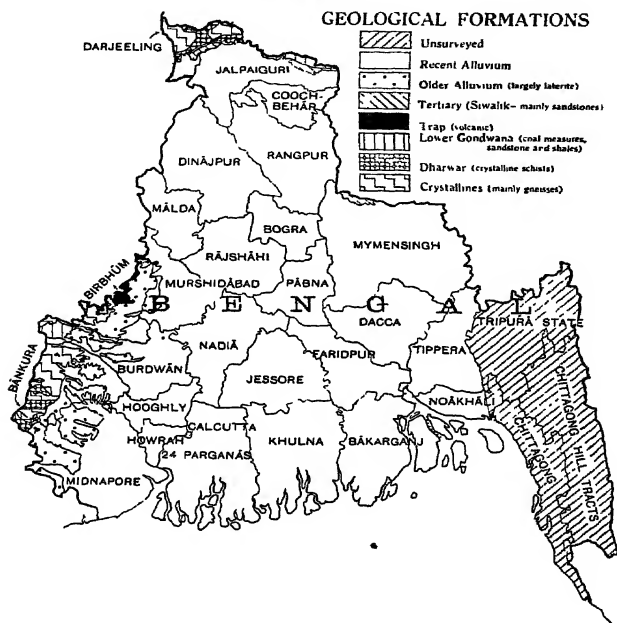
4. Accuracy of the figures.—The population treated in this report therefore fairly represents within narrow limits the actual resident population of the province. There were no considerable movements of population when the census was taken and precautions which may have erred on the side of excessive elaboration were taken to ensure the enumeration and to prevent the double enumeration of those who spent the census night travelling in trains or boats. For the enumeration of the rural areas it is not unreasonable to claim a fairly high degree of accuracy. In 1921 the census superintendent estimated that the figures returned were not likely to be wrong by more than one per mille of the whole population and that the accuracy was considerably greater for rural areas. A similar claim can confidently be made also on the present occasion. The total population of Bengal recorded in the tables as being 50,114,002 for British Territory may be confidently taken as being not less than 50,064,000 or more than 50,164,000 and it probably lies within a much narrower range. A similar calculation would place the aggregate population of British districts and Bengal States within 51,036,000 and 51,138,000 as the outside limits.

5. Method of presentation.—The information extracted from the census of Bengal is presented in two volumes. Volume V of the imperial series is divided into two parts and contains first a general report (part I) and secondly the imperial and provincial tables (part II). Volume VI, also containing two parts which however are bound together, comprises similarly a report and tables for Calcutta City. In part II of the present volume the imperial tables ordinarily present separately absolute figures for each administrative division, district, city and state and figures for police-stations and towns are shown in the provincial tables. Throughout this volume the tables appended to each chapter are ordinarily presented by natural divisions and the information given comprises either comparative figures for a number of decades or percentage or other ratios.

6. Administrative and natural or geographical divisions.—For the boundaries of the five administrative divisions, 28 districts and two states of Bengal as well as for the boundary of Sikkim the reader is referred to the map forming the frontispiece of this volume. The natural or geographical divisions adopted in 1921 have again been employed in the present volume for the subsidiary tables. The considerations justifying their choice have been given in detail in the report of 1921 and it is not proposed to repeat them.

Diagram No. I-1 shows the geological homogeneity of the province as a whole. Only on the fringe of the province in the extreme north and west and also in the Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts, which have not been geologically surveyed, is there to be found any change from an alluvial formation generally of recent date. Geographically the difference between the different parts of the province depends upon the degree and nature of their rivers' activity. In Western Bengal corresponding to the Burdwan Division the formative influence of the rivers would in the natural course have been long ago ended and their significance is derived largely from ill-advised interference with the natural action of river and sea by the creation of embankments and sea-walls.

DIAGRAM No. I-1.



This has prevented the completion of the process of land formation which it is the work of the rivers and sea between them to accomplish when they are unobstructed; and inhabitants of Western Bengal have received a legacy of extensive and intricate embankments carrying with them the danger of floods in such districts as Burdwan and Midnapore. In Central Bengal corresponding to the Presidency Division which somewhat inconsistently appears in some of the diagrams as South Bengal the conditions are regulated by the recession eastwards of the Ganges as a delta forming stream. It is the region of dead or dying rivers and the problem is to secure in the old beds of the Ganges and its effluents a continued and adequate flow of water. In the greater part of East Bengal comprising the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions the Ganges and Brahmaputra are still vigorously active in land formation. This last geographical division includes also the Tripura State which with the Chittagong Hill Tracts probably have geographically more affinities with the contiguous parts of Assam. North Bengal comprises the part of the province north of the Ganges and west of the Brahmaputra and includes the Rajshahi Division and the State of Cooch Behar. Here also the hill portions as a natural formation would normally fall geographically rather into the area comprised by the Terai, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and the northern portions of Assam.

Part II—General features of the population figures

7. **Figures discussed in this chapter.**—The statistics principally discussed in this chapter are presented in imperial tables showing for districts and larger units the area, houses and population (table I), the variation in population since 1872 (table II) and towns and villages classified by population (table III). In provincial table I matter similar to that in these three tables is presented for police-stations. In addition subsidiary tables printed at the end of the chapter show—

- I—the mean density (persons per square mile) cultivable and cultivated areas, irrigation, rainfall and distribution of crops by districts ;
- II—the population density with variations per cent. by districts at each census, 1872 to 1931 ;
- III—the aggregate area and population of police-stations classified by districts according to the density of population ;
- IV—a comparison of the variation in population according to the returns of vital statistics and as reviewed in the census figures ;
- V—the variation by natural divisions in the aggregate population in the police-stations grouped according to their population density with the percentage variations 1911 to 1921 and 1921 to 1931 ;
- VI—persons per inhabited house and uninhabited house per square mile, 1881 to 1931 ; and
- VII—the numbers of boats and steamers.

8. **General comparison with other areas.**—The population of Bengal was 46,702,307 in 1921 and has now increased by 3,411,695 or 7·3 per cent. to 50,114,002. Including Bengal States the population was 47,599,233 in 1921

STATEMENT No. I-2.

Population, area and density of the principal provinces of India and of England and Wales, 1931.

	Population.	Area.	Density.
Bengal	51,087,338	82,953	616
United Provinces	49,614,833	112,191	442
Madras	47,193,602	143,870	328
Bihar and Orissa	42,956,683	111,784	379
England and Wales	39,947,931	58,343	685
Punjab (excluding Punjab States Agency)*	24,018,639	103,089	233
Bombay	28,271,784	151,593	178

*But including Punjab States (vide page 17 of statements A to D).

and has now increased by 7·3 per cent. to 51,087,338. A statement numbered I-2 shows in the margin the area, density and population of the principal provinces of India and of England and Wales and is illustrated by diagram No. I-2. Bombay (151,593), Madras (143,870), the United Provinces (112,191), Bihar and Orissa (111,784) and the Punjab (103,089) have all a larger area than Bengal (British districts and states) which covers 82,955 square miles. Bengal, however, contributes more than one-sixth of the total population of the provinces of British India. Its population is more than twice that of the Bombay Presidency (21,854,866) and the Punjab (23,580,852) and more than three times that of the Central Provinces and Berar (15,507,723) or Burma (14,647,497). On the other hand every one of the major provinces in India except the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh has recorded a greater percentage increase during the decade 1921-1930 than Bengal. The percentage increase however is more than 2½ times higher than it was between 1911 and 1921. Bengal has an area more than two-fifths as large again as that of England and Wales together, but its population is little more than a quarter as large again.

STATEMENT No. I-3.

Area, population and density (persons per square mile) divisions in Bengal, 1931.

Division.	Area.	Population.	Density.
Burdwan	13,994	8,647,189	618
Presidency	17,863	10,108,229	566
Rajshahi	19,163	10,686,066	557
Dacca	14,529	12,864,104	883
Chittagong	11,692	6,826,414	584

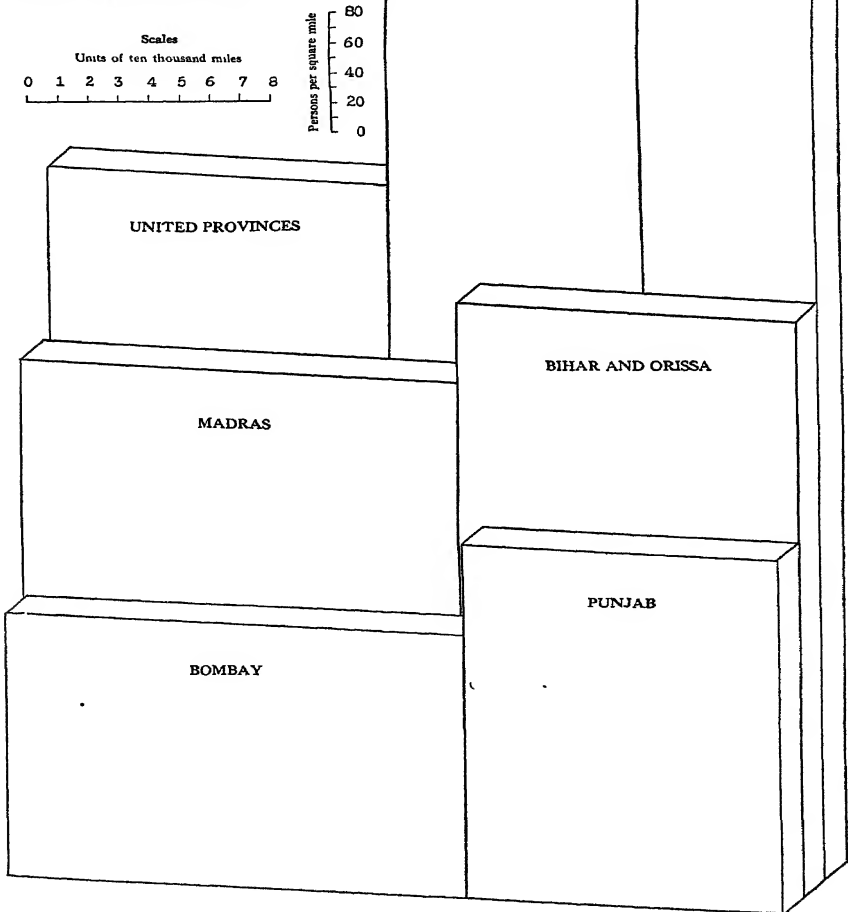
9. **Comparison of administrative divisions.**—British Territory in Bengal is divided into five administrative divisions and the marginal statement No. I-3 shows the area, population and density of each. In area Rajshahi Division is the largest and Presidency Division second followed by Dacca, Burdwan

and Chittagong Divisions. In population, however, Dacca Division is the largest with 13,864,104 inhabitants. Rajshahi Division with 10,668,066 and the Presidency Division with 10,108,229 come next. Burdwan Division

DIAGRAM No. 1-2.

AREA, DENSITY AND POPULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL PROVINCES OF INDIA AND OF ENGLAND AND WALES. CENSUS OF 1931.

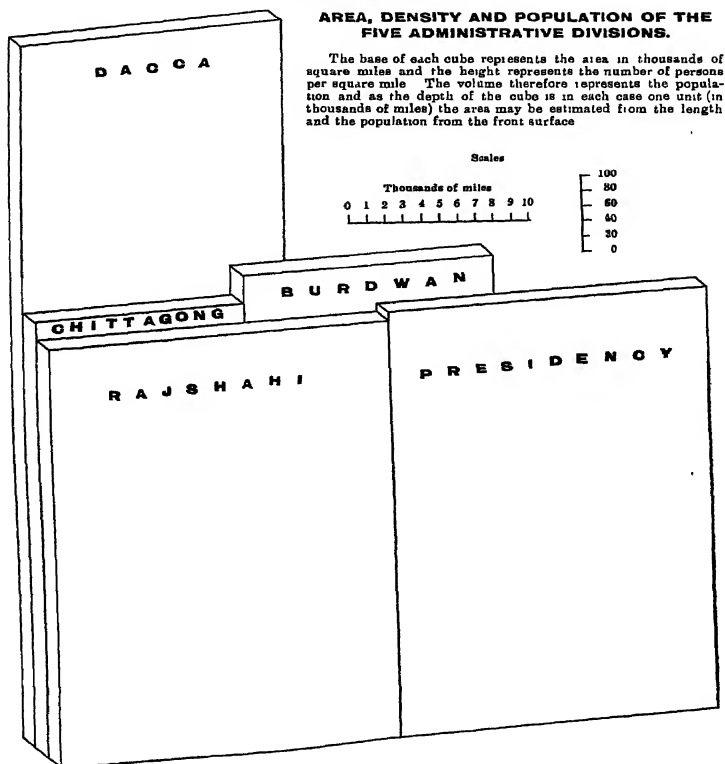
The base of each cube represents the area in units of ten thousand square miles and the height represents the number of persons per square mile. The volume therefore represents the population and as the depth of the cube is in each case one unit (in tens of thousands of miles) the areas may be compared by the length and the populations by the front surface.



has 8,647,189 and the population of Chittagong Division is less than one half of Dacca Division being only 6,826,414. There are on an average 935 persons per square mile in the Dacca Division, 618 in the Burdwan Division, 566 in the Presidency Division, 584 in the Chittagong Division and 557 in the Rajshahi

Division. These figures are illustrated in diagram No. I-3 where the righthand scale indicates the number of persons per square mile and the remaining

DIAGRAM No. I-3.



references are given in the heading of the diagram itself. Each division shows an increase over the population in 1921 which is as much as 13·7 per cent.

STATEMENT No. I-4.

Distance of the median and centre of population in miles North (N) or South (S) and East (E) or West (W) from the tri-junction of Jessore, Nadia and Faridpur districts.

NOTE.—The median of area is S—13·9; W—0·9 (lat. 23° 32' 12" long. 89° 17' 12").
The centre of area is S—11·0; E—11·0 (lat. 23° 43' 24" long. 89° 28' 30").

Year.	Median of population.	Centre of population			
		Total.	Rural.	Urban.	
1872	S—14·0	S—2·0	N—0·3	S—42·8	
	W—13·4	W—7·2	W—5·1	W—45·2	
1881	S—10·7	N—0·3	N—2·0	S—43·9	
	W—9·9	W—4·4	W—2·3	W—41·6	
1891	S—11·7	S—0·5	N—2·0	S—43·8	
	W—9·5	W—1·8	E—0·7	W—40·3	
1901	S—11·5	S—0·3	N—2·3	S—44·1	
	W—5·1	W—0·6	E—2·0	W—39·2	
1911	S—10·8	N—0·4	N—3·5	S—44·0	
	W—2·0	E—1·9	E—4·7	W—39·0	
1921	S—11·5	N—0·4	S—3·6	S—43·2	
	S—0·0	E—5·6	N—2·8	W—38·6	
1921	S—13·4	S—1·2	N—2·0	S—42·3	
	E—5·0	E—7·0	E—10·5	W—38·8	

lines in each direction similarly an arbitrary point of origin was taken, viz., the point calculated by

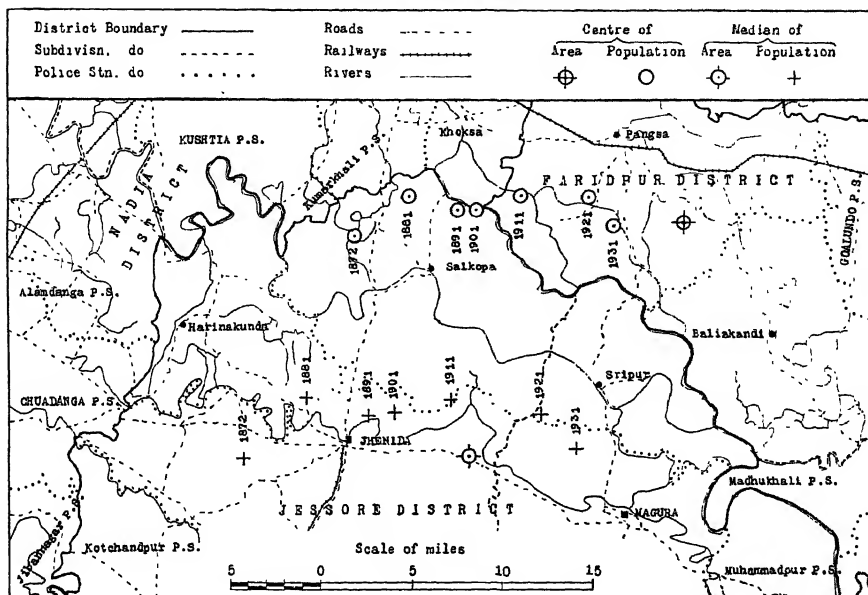
10. Median of area and population.—

Statement No. I-4 shows for the province as now constituted the median and centre of area and of population at every census since 1872. These figures are illustrated by diagram No. I-4. The median of area is the point through which a line drawn north and south and a line drawn east and west each divides the area of the province into equal parts, and the median of population is the point at which similar lines divide the population. In calculating each

Mr. Thompson in 1921 as being the median of area. It was proposed to accept this as the median of area on the present occasion also but it proved

DIAGRAM No. 1-4.

Centre and median of area and population, 1872 to 1931.



necessary to revise it in view of the changes in the area of the province caused by transfers of jurisdiction between it and Bihar and Orissa and particularly by fresh estimates of the area of each police-station. The area on both sides of each line thus drawn through this point was calculated and the lines so shifted that the difference was evenly distributed on each side. Similarly the population on both sides of each line was estimated for each census year and a correction was made in order to distribute the difference between them equally. It was assumed that for an area not more than 10 to 15 miles on either side of the lines through the point chosen the rural population in each subdivision through which each line passed might be taken to be distributed at the average density of the subdivision. Upon this assumption a calculation was made showing the total number of persons who would be transferred by shifting the line one mile in either direction. Half the difference between the populations estimated on each side of the line represented the amount which would have to be taken from the larger and added to the smaller population estimated, and the population to be added divided by the population involved in a shift of one mile was taken to give the number of miles by which the line should be shifted north or south and east or west. In making this calculation the rural population only was taken into consideration and in order to avoid the evident error resulting from the concentration of population in towns which obviously vitiates the assumption of an even distribution of district population at the average density, the population was calculated for all towns within the area through which the line had been moved and a further calculation was made to ascertain the number of miles through which it should be moved back again in order to dispose of a rural population equal to one half that of all the towns included in the area thus added to the smaller population, and accordingly bringing the population

in excess of that remaining to the other part. Further corrections were made on the same lines in the event of any town falling within the area involved in this second or any subsequent adjustment.

11. Centre of area and population.—The centre of area and the centre of population represent a slightly different conception, viz., the point at which Bengal would balance horizontally upon certain assumptions. As regards the centre of area the only assumption is that Bengal be considered to be a plane surface, but in the case of the centre of population in addition to this two further assumptions are made. The first is that each unit of population is of the same weight. The second is that in general there is an even distribution of the rural population in each district about the geographical centre of the district and of the urban population about the centre of each town. On these assumptions the centre of area was worked out upon the ordinary formula for calculating the centre of gravity of an irregular surface. In the Sundarbans area of the 24-Parganas, Khulna and Bakarganj, in order to allow for the markedly lower density in these extended areas, for each of these three districts a centre of population was calculated separately from the geographical centre. The area of each district on each side of the line was multiplied by the projection from the geographical centre of the district at right angles to the meridian and parallel dividing the province into two parts and passing through the same arbitrary point of origin as was chosen for the median of area and the factors thus obtained for all districts on either side of the line were added together. The difference between them was then divided by the total area of the province and the result gave a correction by which the centre of area was shifted north or south and east or west of the point of origin. An analogous procedure was carried out in estimating the centre of population. In this case, however, in addition to substituting population for area in the calculation and using for the 24-Parganas, Khulna and Bakarganj a point calculated as shown above in place of the geographical centre of the district a further modification was made in order to prevent the distortion which would be introduced by assuming that the population concentrated in towns was evenly distributed throughout the whole of the district. Each town was taken as a separate unit and the population taken for each district was confined to the rural population. In this way centres of population in each census year were obtained for both rural and urban population and the centre of the total population, urban and rural, was so determined upon the line joining the two points thus found that its distance from the point forming the centre of the rural population multiplied by the rural population itself was equal to its distance from the centre of urban population multiplied by the urban population.

12. Movements of the median and centre of population.—Neither the median nor the centre of population offers any explanation of population changes, but they serve to illustrate in a convenient form some features of population change which are briefly sketched below. If the population were evenly distributed over the province the median and centre of population would coincide with the median and centre of area, and their variations illustrate the extent and direction in which population is unevenly distributed. During the last seven decades the relative distribution of population between north and south has altered comparatively little and both the median and the centre of population roughly coincide with the median and centre of area, respectively. The greatest changes of population distribution have been between east and west. The uninterrupted recession eastwards of the median point conveniently illustrates the proportionately larger growth of population in eastern than in western Bengal. Compared with the median of population the centre falls north and east owing to the projection into the province on the north-east of a large portion of Assam. This gives to areas and populations on the north and east a disproportionate weight since a unit at different distances from the centre of population will exercise an influence in drawing the centre towards them proportionate to their distance from the centre, whereas distance does not enter to effect the influence of such units in effecting the median of population. The difference is illustrated by the following

examples. By an equal change in the population of Darjeeling and Nadia districts the median of population would be moved an equal distance, but the centre of population would be moved by Darjeeling more than one hundred times as far north as the change in the population of Nadia would move it south. Similarly a change of less than 440 persons in the population of Darjeeling municipality would require to be balanced by a change of one-third of a million persons in Dacca city in order to preserve the centre of population at its present latitude. Like the median of population the centre of population also has moved comparatively little north or south since 1872 and its main movement has been eastwards for the same causes. In 1931 the median of population is six miles east of the median of area whereas the centre of population is four miles west of the centre of area. This is due to the fact that, although the population is greater in the east its concentration is relatively nearer the centre than in the west. The Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura, for instance, are relatively so sparsely populated that their greater distance from the centre does not give them the same weight as the concentration of population in towns in the west of the province. The presence of Calcutta and the concentration of towns in the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly pull the centre of urban population considerably south and west both of the rural and of the total population, but in recent years the growth of Dacca and Narayanganj, Tippera, Bakarganj and Chittagong have drawn the centre of urban population eastwards whilst the first two towns have helped to draw it northwards.

13. Comparison with vital statistics.—In subsidiary table IV a comparison is made between the variation in population disclosed by the present census returns and that calculated upon the records of births and deaths maintained by the Public Health Department. The Public Health Department maintain records only for British Territory excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It has been customary in these reports to show the calculated variation according to the returns from the first of January in the year in which the last census was taken to the end of December immediately preceding the one being dealt with in the report; and this method of calculation has been shown in columns 2 to 7 of the subsidiary table IV. An evidently somewhat more accurate comparison can be obtained by estimating the change of population according to the returns between the actual dates on which successive census enumerations were held. This has been done in columns 8 to 13 of subsidiary table IV. In these columns the monthly figures of births and deaths have been added together from March 1921 to February 1931 and from the sum a number has been deducted corresponding to seventeen thirty-firsts of the figures for March 1921. In each case the birth rates and death rates as well as what may be called the survival or increment rate has been calculated for the whole decade on the population enumerated in 1921. As might be expected the second method of calculation gives figures somewhat less discrepant with the census returns than the first and shows on the average for the whole area dealt with an increase of 33 per mille over the census figures of 1921 compared with 72 per mille shown by the census figures on the present occasion. The discrepancy between these estimates and the figure shown by the census is considerable. Less than one half of the actual variation in population is accounted for by the recorded figures maintained by the Public Health Department. No part of the remainder can be accounted for by an excess of immigration over emigration, since the figures discussed in chapter III show that there are now fewer persons in Bengal born outside the province than there were in 1921 and more persons born in Bengal living outside the province than in that year. The returns would appear to be particularly inaccurate in Calcutta where they suggest a decrease of 13·5 per cent. compared with an actual increase revealed at the census amounting to 11·1 per cent. and in Pabna where, against an actual increase of 3·7 per cent. the returns suggest a decrease of 0·6 per cent. of the population. The actual increase is less than twice that estimated from the returns of vital occurrences in the Dacca Division and rather more than twice as large in all the remaining divisions except the Presidency Division where less than one-eighth of the actual increase is accounted for by the vital statistics. The discrepancy is

fairly evenly distributed amongst the districts of Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. Wide variations are shown, however, for Rajshahi Division where the actual increase is less than was expected in the vital statistics in one district, namely, Malda, but it is as much as nearly 22 times as great for Darjeeling as would have been expected from the returns. During the previous decade the actual difference between the increase calculated from the returns of vital occurrences and the increase actually returned was less than 530 thousand compared on the present occasion with a discrepancy of almost 1,830,000. The under-estimate on the present occasion is consequently considerably greater than on the last. In the decade ending in 1921 the vital statistics failed to account for 41 per cent. of the actual increase recorded. On the present occasion they fail to account for 54 per cent. of the actual increase. The result is clearly due to incomplete returns of births whether or not accompanied also by incomplete returns of deaths. Some estimate of the extent to which the vital statistics are defective is given in chapter IV.

Part III—Material and economic conditions during 1921 to 1931

14. Natural conditions, 1921-1930.—During the decade 1921-1931 Bengal happily suffered from no major natural calamity. Scarcely a year passed, however, without some anxiety from natural causes. Bengal relies upon its great rivers for a deposit of fertilising silt over its cultivated area. But the policy in Western Bengal of embanking them, so that in course of time the river bed within the embankment rises above the level of the surrounding country, has left the cultivator in districts like Midnapore a very serious legacy of anxiety during the period when the rivers are full. In Eastern Bengal also the Brahmaputra is liable to floods and the rivers of North Bengal debouch with such force from the hills that their course is by no means a matter of certainty from year to year and measures to restrain them within definite bounds, if possible at all, would involve prohibitive cost. During the decade under review Western Bengal suffered most heavily from floods. They occurred in more than one district in the Burdwan Division in 1922-1923, but it was in Midnapore where they were most persistently recurrent. Here, after occurring in 1921-1922 they were also encountered in Tamluk and Ghatal subdivisions in 1923-1924; they were particularly severe in 1926-1927; Contai suffered in 1927-1928; and the breach of an embankment at Dokanda in 1929 followed in the next year by inundation of 240 square miles in the district left only two years in the whole decade in which Midnapore had not suffered in some part from floods of greater or less severity. There were floods also in Pabna during 1925-1926 and in Hatiya and Noakhali in 1929-1930. In 1930-1931 the Gumti river in Tippera district breached its embankment and flooded a considerable area, and in the same year parts of Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna were also affected by floods. Dacca and the Presidency Divisions suffered during 1922-1923 from drought and in Tippera a drought in April 1929 was followed by deluges in May and June which caused the inundation of a large portion of Brahmanbaria subdivision. It is not only the amount but also the seasonable distribution of rain upon which the cultivators' crops depend. The distribution of rain was either uneven or defective in Burdwan, Presidency and Dacca Divisions in 1921-1922 and in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Murshidabad, Nadia, Malda and Dinajpur in 1927-1928. Cyclones swept over Cox's Bazar subdivision in Chittagong districts in 1922-1923, 1923-1924 and 1926-1927 and in the next year also Feni, Madaripur and Pirojpur in the districts of Noakhali, Faridpur and Bakarganj, respectively, were also visited by cyclones or tornadoes and there were storms in Noakhali and Chittagong. During the actual progress of the census operations in the year 1930-1931 a cyclone also visited Gaibandha subdivision in Rangpur district and an earthquake caused some damage to property in Cooch Behar and Rangpur district.

15. Crops in 1921-1930.—During 1920-1921 crops were good in Dacca but defective in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions. In 1921-1922 the

general outturn of food crops was reported to be not so bad as in the previous year and the winter rice crop surpassed in quantity the fine crop of 1917-1918 though it was affected in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions by the cessation of rains in October. In the following year the disastrous floods already mentioned led to a failure of 75 per cent. of the crop in parts of Rajshahi Division; but the rice crop was generally good and the jute crop, though small, sold at a high price and to some extent compensated the jute cultivators for the effect which the depression in the jute trade had had upon them in the previous year. In 1923-1924 the cultivator did not on the whole fare badly though the lack of rains before sowing the main rice crop resulted in a small outturn in Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions. In the next three years also the cultivators prospered: crops on the whole were fair to good and they fetched high prices. During 1927-1928 there was a fall in the outturn especially of winter paddy in districts of Western and Northern Bengal where the cultivating classes suffered considerable distress, and the results of this distress were felt also in the following year, 1928-1929, when however the crops were excellent although considerable hardship was caused to the inhabitants of the southern parts of the Dacca district by the rapid erosion of the river Padma. In 1929-1930 the outturn of crops was good although in some areas winter paddy was poor and the prices fetched by the large jute crop as well as food crops generally fell. The decade closed with a year in which generally good harvests were deprived of their benefit for the cultivators by the fall in prices due to world-wide depression which resulted in crops like tobacco and jute in some cases being unsaleable except at a rate below the cost of production.

16. Prices, 1921-1930.—During the whole of the decade high prices for the necessities of life continued with the exception of some small alleviation in the price of cloth and in 1924-1925 it was reported that in certain parts of Eastern Bengal almost famine prices had been reached. By 1929-1930, however, the cost of agricultural products had fallen and in 1930-1931 it has already been stated that the low prices fetched prevented the cultivator from reaping the full advantage of an exceptionally good crop. The price of jute in 1920-1921 had fallen compared with the very high prices in the previous decade but was still high in the next year and in 1924-1925. In 1925-1926 also although the crop was small the prices were again abnormally high and it was not until 1927-1928 that a really marked fall in prices occurred. Even after three years of low prices, the last of which made the crop economically unprofitable, the jute cultivator is still disinclined to realise that the abnormal conditions encouraged during the War by the virtual monopoly in jute enjoyed by Bengal have gone forever: and no extensive indications are to be observed that the cultivator is now prepared to restrict the area under jute cultivation and grow other crops instead.

17. Wages.—During the whole decade wages were high except towards the end of the period when a big fall was recorded in 1930-1931: but it is inevitable that a rise in the rate of wages should lag behind an increase in the cost of necessary commodities and although high wages on the whole benefit the agricultural and artisan classes they offer no advantage whatever to middle-class persons of fixed incomes. During the last decade although upon the whole the position of the agricultural and labouring classes was fair to satisfactory a large class of people depending on fixed incomes suffered both from the high prices and from the conditions in which high wages were necessary.

18. Agricultural wages.—Statistics of agricultural wages have been compiled at intervals since 1908 when a wage census was taken in the divisions of Western Bengal. The figures compiled at each successive wage census for agricultural labourers, blacksmiths and carpenters are shown in statement No. I-5 overleaf. A word of explanation is necessary regarding the method by which these figures are obtained. In 1916 and 1925 the same method was adopted. The subdivision was taken as the unit and within it the local

officer selected twenty typical villages. The returns from these villages in each subdivision were examined and the median rate (that is to say the rate than which there are equal numbers less and greater) was calculated for each subdivision. From these subdivisional medians, weighted according to the

STATEMENT No. 1-5.

Average rate of daily wages in annas, 1908, 1911, 1916 and 1925.

Division or district	Agricultural labourers				Blacksmiths				Carpenters			
	1908	1911	1916	1925	1908	1911	1916	1925	1908	1911	1916	1925
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BRITISH TERRITORY		8 83	9 84	10 38		8 59	11 06	16 84	3 21	10 08	11 3	17 3
Burdwan Division	5 14	4 41	5 84	9 48		8 09	10 525	16 47	8 37	8 41	9 9	17 3
Burdwan	5 25	5 25	7 25	11		8	11 25	18	8 5	9 25	11 25	20
Birblum	1 5	3 375	5	7		8	9	13	7	8	9	12
Bankura	1 875	3 75	4 75	9	..	8 25	8 25	13	8 5	7 75	8 25	15
Midnapore	5 475	4 25	5 25	8		7 25	8	10	8 5	7 875	8 5	14
Hoochly	5 375	5 25	7 25	12	..	9 25	12	23	9	9 25	11 25	18
Howrah	6 5	5 375	9 75	12	..	8 5	16	16	8 5	8 375	10 5	20
Presidency Division	4 80	4 85	6 0	9 75	7 57	9 1	10 61	17 87	8 82	8 8	11 07	16 8
24-Parganas	5 75	5 75	7	10	10	9 25	12	21	10 25	9 25	11 75	18
Calcutta												
Nadia	4 875	4 575	4 75	9	6	7 25	8	17	9	8 25	10 75	16
Murshidabad	8 875	3 625	4 5	8	6	8 25	13	15	7	8 25	9	14
Jessore	5	4 875	8	12	6 25	12	8 5	16	9	9 25	12	18
Khulna	5	5 25	8 5	13	7	8 25	12 25	16	8 5	9 75	13	16
Rajshahi Division		8 1	7 29	10 89		5 38	12 9	17 22		9 1	12 18	16 6
Rajshahi	..	7	8 25	15		12	18		..	10	13 25	17
Dinajpur	10	7 5	11		..	11 75	17		..	12 75	21	
Jalpaiguri	10	8 25	12			10 25	21			12	12	23
Darjeeling	5	5 75	10		8 5	9	10		11 5	12 5	19	
Rangpur	8	7 75	10		8	13 25	18		10	11 5	10	
Bogra	7	7 75	11		..	12	18		..	10	12	16
Pabna	7	6 75	13		12	14	16		12	12	20	
Malda	5	5	6		8	15	16		..	12	18	
Dacca Division		7 21	7 59	12 51		10 68	12 34	16 21		11 5	12 01	16 8
Dacca	..	6	7 5	12	10	10 25	17		11	11 5	17	
Mymensingh	8	7 5	13	..	13	16	10		12	13	18	
Faridpur	6	9	13		8	20	16		11	14 5	10	
Bakarganj	7	7 5	12		10	12	12		12	8	15	
Chittagong Division		9 15	7 32	10 69		10 46	8 61	15 13		12 3	10 9	17 1
Tippera	7	5 75	11		12	6	15		13	10	18	
Noakhali	7	6 5	8		9	12	14		10	11 5	16	
Chittagong	11	8 5	13		10	10 75	16		12	12 5	16	
Chittagong Hill Tracts	11	8	16	..	12	38		..	16	16	30	

relative population of each subdivision and in some cases modified upon local enquiry if they appeared to be inherently unlikely, arithmetical averages were obtained for districts. In West Bengal in 1908 and 1911 the district rates were selected by the Director of Agriculture from subdivisional returns. In East Bengal in 1911 the mode (*i.e.*, the rate most generally paid) was taken for villages and from the village modes the median was calculated for large areas. The rates include the estimated cash value of such allowances as are made in kind and the census is now taken in December. In Western Bengal the census was taken in August in 1908 and in April in 1911 and it was taken in Eastern Bengal in 1911 in the month of August. But the month of August is not suitable as there is little agricultural employment and December is considered to be the month in which the rates are least affected by temporary conditions. The averages for divisions and British Territory given in the statement have been worked out upon the same principle as those for the districts. The district figures were taken and weighted by the number of agricultural labourers and farm servants, blacksmiths or carpenters shown in the population census report of the year nearest to the year in which the wage census was taken: and the average given is therefore a weighted average for all the districts within the larger area concerned. It is actually only the figures of the last two wage census returns which can be confidently compared together because they only were prepared

in the same month and by the same method ; but in all districts there has been a very marked increase amounting in some cases to as much as almost 100 per cent. in agricultural wages and similar increases are displayed (except for blacksmiths in Howrah district) in all districts also for blacksmiths and

STATEMENT No. I-6.

Wages in selected industrial areas, 1908, 1911 and 1916.

Daily wages in annas are shown in ordinary type.
Monthly wages in rupees are shown in *italic type*

Town.	Unskilled labourers			Blacksmiths.			Firemen.			Fitters.			Carpenters.			Masons.		
	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916	1908	1911	1916
Calcutta	5-7	44-6	6-8	15-30	15-30	15-30	10-15	10-15	15-18	15-40	15-40	20-40	15-25	15-30	18-30	8-12	8-11	8-11
Raniganj	3-5	4-4½	3-6	10-20	15-30	7-15	7-15	10-17	10-20	10-30	15-20	15-30	14-25	15	10-25	6-9	6-8	5-7½
Asansol	3½-5	2½-3	5½	15-19	14-20	15-20	8-14	8-14	9-15	10-40	8-40	12-40	15-15	15-20	15-30	..	..	4½-8
Dacca		7 (10)	5	..	13	11-25	..	..	14	..	..	12-32	.. (15)	12-25	..	..	..	9
Narayanganj		8 (13)	6-8	..	26	20-30	..	..	14-16	..	..	20-20	..	23	18-36	..	..	9½-10½
Chandpur		6 (11)	7-8	..	13	30	..	..	14-18	..	..	20-25	..	..	25	..	..	13½-16
Sirajganj		5 (6)	5½-6	5 (15)	18-30	..	..	..	14-16	..	..	22	..	12 (15)	18-22	..	..	9½-10½
Chittagong		8 (13½)	6½-8	8 (25)	20-30	..	..	..	15-15	..	..	20-25	..	24 (22)	20-25	..	..	12

carpenters. On the whole the skilled labourer has managed to secure a larger increase of wages than the agricultural labourer. A statement of the wages in certain industrial areas in 1908, 1911 and 1916 is also included in statement No. I-6. They show rather less variation and comparison between them is more difficult owing to the different methods by which they were calculated.

19. **Cost and standard of living.**—No statistics are available to show the actual increase in the cost of living within recent years which has been commented upon by more than one committee in the last decade. Figures for the cost of staple foodcrops are maintained and published regularly because these are necessary as a guide to the courts in applying the provisions of the law restricting the increase of tenants' rates of rent, but as an index of the cost of living these figures are not very helpful. It was hoped to compile a figure which might be used in connection with the particulars already given of the rates of wages. The Bengal Jails Code provides a dietary for prisoners which is certainly better balanced than that of the ordinary cultivator, who generally leaves prison if he has the misfortune to be sent there heavier and in a better condition than when he entered it. It was proposed to take the rations laid down and selecting from them the most manageable items such as rice, pulse, salt, *gurh* or sugar and oil to obtain from all districts for all years from 1901 the average rate paid for these items or obtained by their sale where they were manufactured in the jail and sold. The district jails were accordingly asked to supply these figures and from them it was intended to calculate the average cost in each year of providing this portion of the jail diet for a given number of persons. The results would have given a kind of "cost of subsistence" index which could have been made the basis of future comparisons also. Unfortunately very few of the district jails supplied the figures for which they were asked and amongst those which did supply them some had no details for more than a few years. No results of this attempt can therefore be presented, but it is a method some modification of which could be very easily adopted and would give interesting and useful results. Where the cultivator and the industrial worker have invested their increased earnings however is not in an improved or more expensive diet but in other amenities of life. Shoes, shirts and coats are now worn by thousands who would never have dreamt of wearing them ten years ago, and the umbrella has become almost universal. Until vigorous agitation in recent years was directed against it the taste for cigarettes of the European type was spreading. The hurricane lantern is almost universally displacing the indigenous *kupi* even in the remotest parts. In some areas union boards are taking advantage of the power to tax their unions for schemes of village

improvement—the clearing of jungle, maintenance of roads and excavation of tanks or wells. All these indications show that the standard of living is being raised in some directions.

20. Indebtedness—At the same time increased earnings have not led to a reduction of the indebtedness of the raiyat and labourer. Estimates of the average indebtedness of the population in Bengal have been made in various ways from time to time. In 1906-1910 data collected by the Settlement Officer, Faridpur, yielded the figure Rs. 121 as the average debt per family in that district. Figures for Dacca shown in the settlement report on that district published in 1917 come to the same average figure for each family. The settlement offices of Mymensingh and Jessore also estimated figures of debt, but they took the average registered debt per head of population. The latest estimates are those made by the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee during 1929-1930. The committee approached the problem from two directions. Taking each individual member of rural co-operative societies to represent a family they estimated the total amount of debts due from members on the 30th June 1929 to the co-operative societies and to mahajans and other financiers. They found that 376,698 members owed Rs. 3,23,34,463 to their societies and Rs. 2,30,86,469 to other sources. These two classes of debts therefore amounted on the average to Rs. 86 and Rs. 61, respectively, a total of Rs. 147. Their figures for membership of and debts due to co-operative societies omitted certain societies for which details were not then obtainable. The details for these societies have been supplied by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. On the average members of these societies were less heavily indebted than others. Including them the membership numbers are 309,901 and their debts to their societies Rs. 3,42,24,083, and average of Rs. 83, giving a total debt of Rs. 144 on the assumption that their outside debts were the same on the average as in other societies. The Banking Enquiry Committee also estimated the average debt by consideration of the registered mortgage debts on record. They assumed that the total debt outstanding at any period is equal to the total of debts registered during the previous six years and on this assumption they calculated the total registered debt to amount to about Rs. 16 per head of population. They estimated the unregistered debt at approximately the same ratio as is borne amongst members of co-operative societies by debts to the societies compared with those owing to mahajans, etc. They thus deduced an average total debt, registered and unregistered, of Rs. 34 per head of population. On this calculation the average debt per family was estimated to be about Rs. 175, upon the assumption that the number of persons per family was 5·1. This is the figure given as the average number of persons per inhabited house in the census figures of 1921 and agrees both with the average figure of families given by the settlement officers of Faridpur (5) and Bankura (5·2) and also with the corresponding figure in the census of 1931 (5·1). The census figures may reasonably be taken for this purpose as they represent the average commensal family. The committee considered that the figures which they obtained show a fairly close correspondence since even if members of co-operative societies are not more provident than others, it is likely that debts which they owe outside the society are underestimated. Comparing the figures obtained from these calculations with the results of intensive enquiries in certain areas, the Banking Enquiry Committee came to the conclusion that the average debt per family was for agriculturists about Rs. 160 and for non-agriculturists rather higher. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies has furnished figures showing the membership and registered debt of co-operative societies in Bengal on the 30th June 1930. The figures are 456,139 members and a registered debt of Rs. 4,01,80,256, i.e., an average debt owing to the society of Rs. 88. If we assume that the debt of members owing outside the society remained on the average the same, the total average debt of co-operators has increased from Rs. 144 in 1929 to Rs. 149 in 1930. The increase is 3·5 per cent. A large contributing factor was the reckless borrowing in connection with the early marriages undertaken to forestall the operation of the Child Marriages Restraint Act and it would probably be safe to assume a similar increase though not perhaps so large in

the average debt outside the societies. The increase may at least be taken as a minimum estimate, and it is reasonable to assume at least a similar enhancement of debt all round. If we accept the Banking Enquiry Committee's figure for average debt and enhance it by this same proportion the average debt of the total population works out at Rs. 181 and of agricultural population at Rs. 166. Without considering the causes resulting in this indebtedness it is sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the population of Bengal begins the next decade with probably a larger average debt than at previous periods.

21. Industries, 1921-1930.—During 1920-1921 the tea industry had suffered from very low prices but in the next year the position looked better and by 1922-1923 very high prices were being obtained. These conditions prevailed till 1926-1927 and during this period the industry was prosperous. But in 1927-1928 prices began to fall and by 1929-1930 although very large crops were being produced the prices were low and they continued low in 1930-1931. Coal had begun the decade in prosperity but a set-back occurred in 1921-1922 when serious inconvenience was experienced from the shortage of waggons. The high cost of freight and the delays in transport persisted till the next year. By this time a depression had set in, which had shown no signs of amelioration by the time the decade ended. During the early part of the decade the jute industry was prosperous although there had been a fall in hessians in 1921-1922. This prosperity continued until the end of 1928-1929 in spite of the high price of raw jute having led in 1925-1926 towards the end of the year to reduction in the activities of the mills. In 1929-1930, however, stocks accumulated and the industry was crippled by frequent strikes; and in the next year the mills found it necessary to reduce their working hours and discharge part of their labour force. Cotton mills throughout the whole of the decade were prosperous and in spite of the depression in the coal trade iron has on the whole throughout the decade enjoyed a period of prosperity also.

22. Material conditions, 1921-1930, summary.—On the whole therefore material conditions during the decade have not been entirely unsatisfactory. Such distress as was caused by natural conditions was without difficulty

STATEMENT No. I-7.

Calculated cultivator's annual income from jute, 1905-1930.

Year	Number of "maunds" delivered in Calcutta and Chittagong.	Over the price of jute per maund in rupees paid at native agencies.	Calculated income derived by the cultivator from jute (lakhs of rupees)
1905	76 41	7	23,37 51
1906	82 10	9	33,23 95
1907	83 31	7	26,61 85
1908	82 70	2	20,69 75
1909	84 11	3	15,49 91
1910	74 54	5	1,63 50
1911	68 07	7	29,26 52
1912	96 04	7	37,50 42
1913	82 41	12	31,09 19
1914	83 11	5	20,77 73
1915	83 51	7	27,14 08
1916	82 11	6	25,57 04
1917	85 11	6	22,44 14
1918	75 98	8	29,44 22
1919	89 53	10	43,64 50
1920	77 02	7	16,57 20
1921	72 02	7	20,30 44
1922	60 00	10	23,50 00
1923	92 00	7	31,05 00
1924	80 37	7	54,73 91
1925	91 70	10	83,67 62
1926	121 99	10	54,59 35
1927	114 08	10	51,14 12
1928	107 25	10	50,27 84
1929	102 16	9	44,09 50
1930	96 53	5	24,13 25

which had been carried over from the jute produced by or bought from the cultivator in the previous year. The year 1930 was abnormal because the cultivators refused to sell at the price offered: but for normal years the

figures approximate closely to the actual production and also to the amount for which the cultivator received payment and the quinquennial average is probably very close. The figures shown in the middle column of the statement is the overhead prices in rupees paid by Messrs. Landale Clark for jute at their mufassal agencies. These figures do not represent the payments actually made to the cultivators and the formation of an estimate of the amount which this obtained is not altogether easy. The figures represent payments by one only of a number of competitors and it is not all cultivators who sell to big firms for many deal with small middlemen. It may be taken, however, that the cultivator received on the average about 12 annas less than these figures. On this calculation the amount paid annually to jute cultivators is shown in the last column of the statement. Averages of the sum paid are—

				Lakhs of rupees.
5 years ending 1909	..	..	..	24,96 61
5 years ending 1914	..	..	..	31,70 68
5 years ending 1919	..	..	..	31,28·81
5 years ending 1924	..	..	..	33,49·11
5 years ending 1929	..	..	..	56,96·62
10 years ending 1929	..	..	..	45,22·87

On the average, therefore, during the years ending in 1929 the cultivator almost and during the five years ending in 1929 he had more than doubled his annual income from jute in the 5 years ending 1909. The majority of the sums paid went to East Bengal and particularly to the Dacca Division, Tippera and Noakhali, but a considerable part went also to North Bengal and some to Jessore, the 24-Parganas and Hooghly in which subsidiary table I shows that a considerable percentage of the cultivated area is under jute.

23. Economic conditions and crime.—The correlation of economic conditions with crime is extremely difficult for several reasons. A statement No. I-8 opposite shows the extent of crime during the decade both in Calcutta and in rural Bengal, that is to say Bengal outside Calcutta. Offences are classified into serious and minor crimes and within each group cognisable and non-cognisable cases are distinguished. Serious crime showed a steady decrease from 1921 until 1926; but since 1927 it has been progressively increasing although it had fortunately not reached in 1930 a total as high as that of 1927. On the other hand minor crimes have shown an uninterrupted increase with the exception of a break in 1924-1925 and in 1930 the number recorded was a quarter as many again as in 1921. It is impossible to account for the fall or rise in the criminal statistics entirely by economic conditions. The extent to which crimes are prevented depends to some extent upon the freedom of the police from other duties as for instance against civil disobedience campaigns and the excitation of dissatisfaction throughout the district. Moreover criminal litigation, often upon the most trivial grounds, is looked upon in many parts of Bengal almost as a legitimate form of amusement, and its extent depends to some degree on the funds available. Economic distress might indeed be expected to lead to an increase in serious crimes but other factors also enter in with this consideration and it is not by any means the sole condition mitigating the commission of minor crimes. Recent years have been characterised in Bengal by an increasing number of crimes to which a political colour is given by the fact that they have been committed by young men of the middle classes and that they can be represented as having been inspired by political rather than economic motives. By far the greater part of the increase of serious crime is in offences against the state which are very largely of this nature, and against person and property, which also are due partly to "political" motives and partly to the growing disregard

for law encouraged by political activities. On the other hand the prosecution of minor criminal cases requires a certain amount of surplus funds not easily

STATEMENT No. I-8.

Criminal cases, 1921 to 1930.

Year		Serious crimes.								Minor crimes.								Total cognisable and non-cognisable cases, 1921-30.
		Cognisable class.			Non-cognisable class.					Cognisable class.			Non-cognisable class.					
		I	II	III	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	IV	V	VI					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		
1921	Total	1,618	4,548	42,474	5,364	13	521	54,536	1,347	44,534	97,147	44,557	17,603	47,504	252,692			
	Rural	1,477	1,995	40,926	5,191	13	476	52,062	1,174	36,515	80,711	41,808	17,261	42,500	240,160			
	Calcutta	139	553	1,548	109	.	45	2,451	173	8,019	7,036	2,749	542	4,995	12,532			
1922	Total	1,976	4,925	40,626	5,880	15	507	53,908	1,359	44,271	117,499	45,352	18,053	51,436	277,970			
	Rural	1,828	4,444	38,992	5,733	15	481	51,493	1,234	39,637	91,762	42,499	17,331	43,699	244,051			
	Calcutta	147	481	1,634	147	.	26	2,415	125	7,634	9,737	2,853	722	7,737	13,919			
1923	Total	1,777	4,864	38,135	5,088	19	521	50,404	1,429	43,821	111,809	47,932	19,113	45,800	268,863			
	Rural	1,601	4,216	36,469	4,865	19	485	47,875	1,351	39,800	98,193	45,301	18,045	44,159	250,263			
	Calcutta	176	648	1,666	103	.	36	2,529	177	7,125	8,616	2,631	219	5,691	12,600			
1924	Total	1,538	5,151	38,863	5,447	25	476	48,500	1,628	43,996	121,095	48,705	19,640	41,545	276,611			
	Rural	1,401	4,591	31,595	5,274	25	442	46,328	1,465	37,492	94,075	46,181	19,434	44,315	248,572			
	Calcutta	137	560	1,268	173	.	34	2,172	163	6,504	6,920	2,524	206	27,290	138,039			
1925	Total	1,685	5,412	33,102	5,925	27	506	46,657	1,705	41,698	132,431	51,392	21,900	44,798	293,922			
	Rural	1,540	4,917	32,320	5,761	27	452	45,026	1,511	35,419	92,867	48,645	21,791	41,162	244,293			
	Calcutta	145	495	782	164	.	54	1,631	194	6,279	9,564	2,747	209	22,636	149,629			
1926	Total	1,785	6,084	28,831	6,151	22	425	40,299	1,734	38,641	132,982	51,698	23,081	46,889	295,025			
	Rural	1,571	5,516	27,142	5,904	22	411	38,656	1,574	34,490	92,814	49,067	21,793	44,724	247,455			
	Calcutta	214	568	1,689	157	.	14	1,642	160	5,151	10,168	2,631	285	12,165	147,570			
1927	Total	1,752	6,058	27,574	5,604	25	526	41,539	1,706	39,683	147,508	51,467	20,800	53,058	314,202			
	Rural	1,610	5,502	26,596	5,470	25	490	40,063	1,591	34,973	93,701	48,609	20,407	44,455	241,169			
	Calcutta	140	496	1,205	134	.	26	1,476	115	5,590	13,807	2,858	393	8,603	171,033			
1928	Total	1,672	6,322	28,239	5,682	17	487	42,599	1,629	40,734	169,247	51,404	20,800	55,398	339,212			
	Rural	1,569	5,902	27,298	5,543	17	432	40,371	1,507	34,197	92,291	48,257	20,300	43,419	241,221			
	Calcutta	103	420	991	139	.	55	1,228	122	6,537	16,956	3,147	250	39,949	198,091			
1929	Total	1,984	6,610	28,863	5,520	38	524	43,679	1,967	39,999	193,740	49,766	19,871	74,890	379,854			
	Rural	1,858	6,220	28,190	5,419	38	479	42,144	1,845	37,548	97,017	48,584	19,613	45,766	248,893			
	Calcutta	126	390	673	101	.	45	1,535	122	6,442	16,723	2,982	258	6,124	130,961			
1930	Total	2,766	6,707	31,097	5,916	18	520	47,024	1,806	37,332	155,826	49,006	18,860	61,137	315,967			
	Rural	2,545	6,149	30,473	5,790	18	450	45,455	1,699	31,249	97,321	48,635	18,679	49,527	257,957			
	Calcutta	221	558	624	126	.	40	1,569	107	6,083	13,505	2,371	281	49,270	190,017			

NOTE.—The classes of cases are as follows:—

- I—Offences against the State and public tranquility, safety and justice
- II—Serious offences against the persons
- III—Serious offences against person and property or against property only
- IV—Minor offences against the person
- V—Minor offences against property
- VI—Other offences not specified above.

come by either in cash or as a loan from the village money-lender during periods of economic distress.

24. **Civil litigation and economic conditions.**—A closer agreement between economic conditions and litigations might be expected from records of civil cases, and figures of suits instituted are given in the margin in statement No. I-9. Here also, however, an interpretation of the figures is complicated

STATEMENT No. I-9.
Civil cases, 1921 to 1930.

Year.	Number of suits instituted in Bengal			
	Money suits	Rent suits.		Title and other suits.
		Total	For enhancement of rent.	
1921	264,647	340,000	10,863	67,251
1922	286,809	329,440	12,077	64,747
1923	219,346	325,407	12,875	64,526
1924	216,363	351,310	7,791	63,704
1925	216,330	331,109	10,718	61,840
1926	206,095	326,123	16,864	65,047
1927	251,694	331,407	12,273	62,299
1928	285,822	349,888	19,233	65,118
1929	320,607	346,398	35,257	63,248
1930	327,177	350,787	45,414	59,533

by the influence of the statute of limitation upon the date at which a suit shall be filed. The figures for money suits, like those for serious crimes, successively decreased at the beginning of the decade but since 1927 have shown an increase similar to but greater than that of serious crime and it would be natural to associate the institution of these suits with conditions in which the money-lender is either unable to realise his dues or unwilling to extend further credit upon any terms. The uninterrupted increase in suits for enhancement of rent, broken only in the year 1927, can almost certainly be taken as an index of the extent to which the middle-classes depending upon a fixed income feel the pinch of high prices. Deductions from the increase or decrease of other rent suits, however, are complicated by the fact that such suits are not ordinarily instituted until the rent for four years is in arrear.

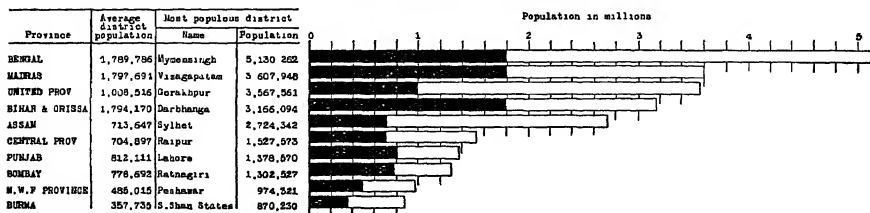
Part IV—The population of divisions and districts

25. **Size of districts in Bengal and other provinces.**—Diagram No. I-5 with the table incorporated in it shows the largest and the average district in each of the main provinces of India. No other province has a district as

DIAGRAM No. I-5.

Most populous district (total column) and average district population (shaded portion of column) in each of the principal provinces of India.

(NOTE.—Districts which themselves constitute cities are not given but are taken into account in estimating the average district population.)



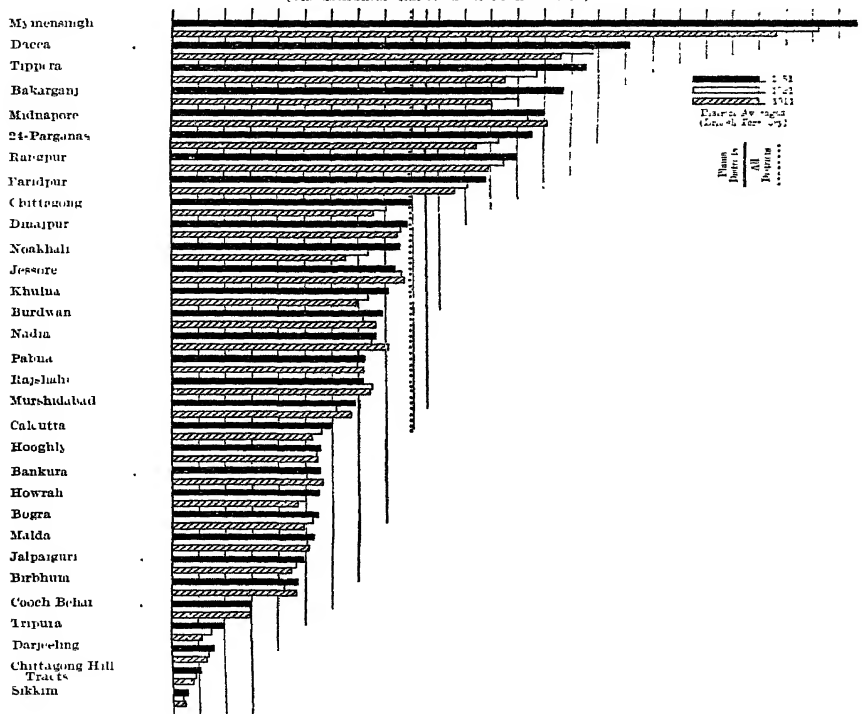
large as Mymensingh (5,130,262) though the districts of Vizagapatam in Madras and Gorakhpur in the United Provinces each have a population of more than 3½ millions. The average population of a district in Madras (1,797,294) and in Bihar and Orissa (1,794,170) is greater than in Bengal (1,789,786) which however comes third in the list of British provinces.

26. **Bengal districts and states of the American Union.**—A comparison of Bengal districts with the United States of America is interesting. The census of the United States from which figures are cited was taken in 1930. Of the 49 sovereign states only six are more populous than Mymensingh (New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Texas and California). An additional six are more populous than Tippera, the third most populous district in Bengal (Massachusetts, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri and North Carolina). No fewer than sixteen have a smaller population than any Bengal district except Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, North Dakota, South Dakota, Delaware, Columbia, Omega and all the states of the mountain division except Colorado). On the other hand the average land area of each state is 60,689 square miles, or almost four-fifths that of the whole of British Bengal; and the average population density (41·3 to the square mile) is less than anywhere in Bengal except four of the most sparsely populated police-stations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

27. **Districts in order of population.**—The districts and states of Bengal are plotted from imperial table II in diagram No. I-6 in the order of their population at the present census and show a comparison with that also of their population in 1921 and 1911. As is noted above the average population of the districts in Bengal is 1,789,786. The average of plains districts, that is to say excluding Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, is higher and amounts to 1,945,440. These figures have also been shown on the diagram. Only one district has a population of more than five millions but Dacca and Tippera have each more than three millions and Bakarganj has nearly 2,940,000. Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Rangpur and Faridpur each have more than two million inhabitants and all other districts with the exception of Jalpaiguri, Birbhum, Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts have more than a million. Cooch Behar and the Tripura State have a larger population only than Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal, whilst Sikkim with a population of no more than 109,808 is less populous even than the smallest district, the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Bakarganj

which now takes the fourth place was sixth in 1921 and has now outgrown Midnapore and the 24-Parganas which remained in their respective positions but below instead of above it. Chittagong which was 11th in point of size in 1921 has now taken the 9th place, whilst Jessore from 9th has lost ground and is now 12th in order. Noakhali from 14th has moved up to 11th and Burdwan from 16th to 14th, Rajshahi from 12th in 1921 has moved down

DIAGRAM No. 1-6.
Population of districts and states, 1911, 1921 and 1931.
(The horizontal scale is numbered in millions.)



to 17th in 1931 and Calcutta from 25th now takes the 19th place and has outgrown Hooghly, Bankura, Howrah, Bogra, Malda and Jalpaiguri which were more populous in 1921. The districts which it has outgrown remain in the same relative position with the exception of Bogra which was larger than Bankura and Howrah in 1921 but is now outdistanced and is below them. Nadia and Pabna are now both more populous than Rajshahi which was above them in 1921.

28. **Changes of population in divisions, 1872-1931.**—Changes in the population of natural and administrative divisions at every census enumeration taken from imperial table II are illustrated in diagram No. 1-7 from which it is also possible to estimate by eye the change in the rate of growth from census to census. The average population of any administrative division has increased without interruption from 6,824,794 in 1872 to 10,022,800 for 1931. In Western Bengal the increase from 7,604,834 in 1872 to 8,647,189 in 1931 has been interrupted by two decades in which a decrease was recorded, viz., 1872-1881 and 1911-1921; but in every other division an increase in population has been recorded at every census since

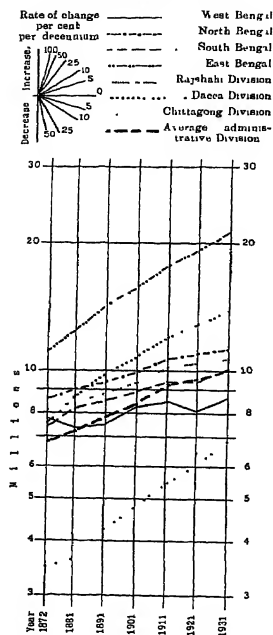
the first enumeration was made. Eastern Bengal and the two divisions constituting it, namely, Dacca and Chittagong, show the steepest curves.

Both Dacca and Chittagong Divisions are nearly twice as populous as they were in 1872. These divisions were not affected by the influenza epidemic which reduced the rate of increase in the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions between 1911-1921 and converted an increase into a decrease in Burdwan Division.

DIAGRAM No. I-7.

Changes of Population
(Natural and administrative divisions)
1872 to 1931

Numbers are shown by figures, rate
by slope



29. Changes of population in districts, 1872-1931.

Similar figures are shown in the coloured diagram A for each district of Bengal. During the past decade the largest increase has been in the Tippera district (364,875) representing a percentage increase of 13·3. Even higher percentages, however, have been recorded for the Chittagong Hill Tracts (22·9) and Noakhali (15·9). With the exception of the Chittagong Hill Tracts every district in Eastern Bengal has shown an increase of over 100,000 during the last decade. Bakarganj with 336,271 shows the next largest absolute increase to Tippera, the percentage increase being 12·9. The increase in Mymensingh had been 293,043 but the percentage is only 6·1 owing to the large population in the district. Dacca with an addition of 275,641 has increased by 8·7 per cent. and Noakhali has also increased more than 200,000 (233,933). Outside Eastern Bengal only the 24-Parganas with an increase of 255,082 or 10·4 per cent. shows an increase of more than 200,000; but Burdwan, Midnapore, Howrah, Calcutta, Murshidabad and Khulna have all increased more than 100,000 and the increase has been as much as 12 per cent. in Murshidabad and 11·1 per cent. in Calcutta. In the Burdwan Division the decreases recorded between 1911-1921 which were due to the influenza epidemic of 1918 have been converted in Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore and Hooghly into increases; and the district of Nadia which on three out of the last six decades had returned a decrease, has also shown an increase of 34,934 or 2·3 per cent. The decrease of 9 per cent. in Murshidabad during 1911-1921 has been converted into a 12 per cent. increase (146,496). Pabna and Malda which had decreased also when the last census was taken have now recovered and are continuing the previously

STATEMENT No. I-10.

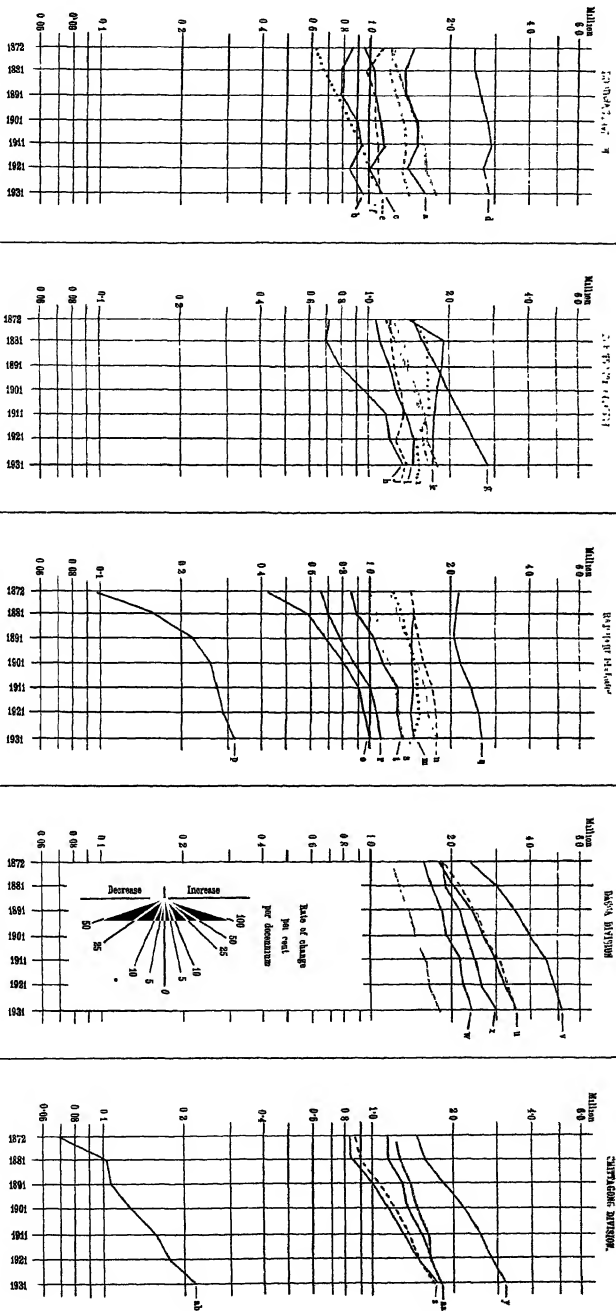
Average district population in Bengal and each division, 1872-1931.

	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
ALL BENGAL	1,156,393	1,234,019	1,327,072	1,429,906	1,543,742	1,566,641	1,702,911
Burdwan Division	1,267,472	1,232,352	1,281,559	1,378,377	1,411,251	1,341,774	1,441,198
Presidency Division	1,285,306	1,365,306	1,419,281	1,495,909	1,670,116	1,674,364	1,684,705
Rajshahi Division	1,006,619	1,055,330	1,104,024	1,173,346	1,271,068	1,298,381	1,383,508
Dacca Division	1,891,130	2,195,190	2,450,490	2,685,510	2,991,168	3,204,046	3,498,028
Chittagong Division	871,740	905,288	1,062,395	1,200,908	1,367,070	1,500,578	1,706,903

uninterrupted increase recorded since 1872. The only other districts in which decreases have been recorded on the present occasion are Jessore which has shown a decrease at every enumeration since 1881 and Rajshahi which has now 15,333 persons less than it had in 1881 in spite of increases in each of the decades between 1891-1921. The figures plotted in diagram A for the average district in Bengal and in each division in 1931 are given above in statement No. I-10.

Diagram I. Diagram A: Population of districts 1872-1931 (the numbers are shown by figures, rate of change by slope)

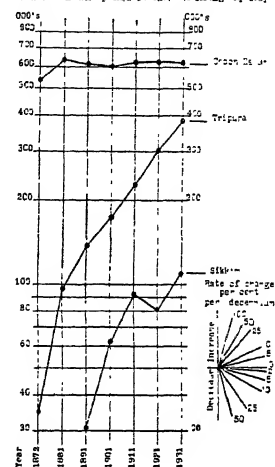
a - Bulgaria	o - Bulgaria	m - Bulgaria	q - Bulgaria	h - Borneo	j - Cyprus	British averages
b - Belgium	f - Brazil	n - Bulgaria	r - Brazil	v - Guyana	s - Holland	(British territory)
c - Bolivia	g - Bulgaria	o - Bulgaria	a - Borneo	w - Ecuador	u - Malaya	periodical
d - Madagascar	k - Bolivia	p - Bulgaria	l - Bolivia	x - Bulgaria	ab - Malaya Hill Tracts	dividual



30. Changes of population in Bengal States and Sikkim, 1872-1921.—The accompanying diagram No. I-8 shows for Bengal States and Sikkim similar details to those given for districts in diagram A. Cooch Behar during the last 60 years has shown an increase only in the decades 1872-1881 and 1901-1911. Tripura on the other hand has increased at a very rapid rate: its population is now nearly 11 times as great as it was in 1872 and has increased by as much as 25·6 per cent. since 1921 when also it recorded an even higher increase of 32·6 per cent. Since 1891 Sikkim also has shown a rapid increase broken only by the figures of 1921. It is now more than three times as populous as it was in 1891 and its increase during the last decade was 34·4 per cent.

DIAGRAM No. I-8.
Population of Bengal States and Sikkim, 1872-1921.

(Numbers shown by figures, rate of change by slope.)

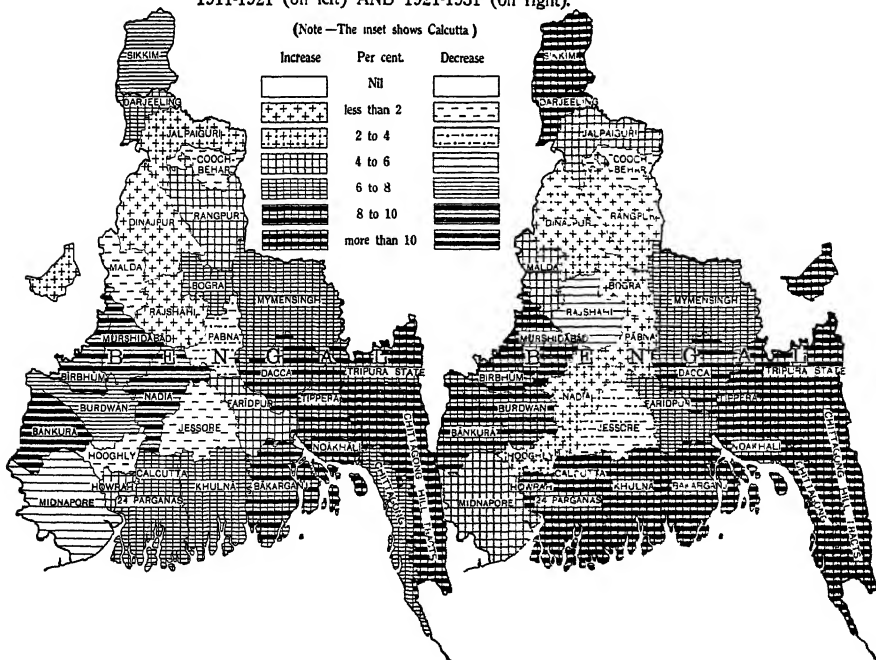


31. District variations of population, 1911-1921 and 1921-1931.—Diagram No. I-9, illustrating for districts the figures given in columns 7 and 8 of imperial table XX, shows graphically the percentage variations of district population between 1911-1921 and 1921-1931. During both the decades the segment formed by the districts of Mymensingh, Dacca, Tippera, Noakhali, Bakarganj,

DIAGRAM No. I-9.

VARIATIONS IN DISTRICT POPULATION:
1911-1921 (on left) AND 1921-1931 (on right).

(Note—The inset shows Calcutta.)

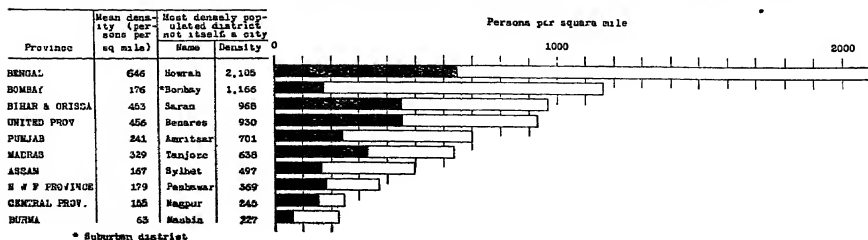


Khulna and 24-Parganas with Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the state of Tripura have shown a considerable increase in population. In Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts the increase was more than 10 per cent. in each decade, a rate not achieved in any other district in Bengal except Noakhali between 1911-1921 but recorded on the present occasion for Tippera, Noakhali, Chittagong, Barkarganj, Khulna, 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Howrah and Darjeeling and for the state of Sikkim. In the case of Dacca, Tippera and Bakarganj the increase in 1911-1921 was between 8 and 10 per cent. and in Chittagong, Mymensingh, Bogra, Khulna, 24-Parganas and Darjeeling it was between 6 and 8 per cent. during the same decade. The rate of increase in the area now forming Calcutta has been accelerated from 3·3 per cent. in 1911-1921 to 11·1 per cent. in 1921-1931, but it is in the districts of Murshidabad and Birbhum that the greatest variation in the rate of change is seen. In Birbhum a decrease of 9·4 per cent. in the previous decade has changed into an increase of 11·3 whilst in Murshidabad, as has been already noted, a decrease of 9 per cent. has been transformed into an increase of 12 per cent. In Mymensingh the increase has remained almost steady, being 6·1 per cent. in the last decade and 6·9 in that previous to it. Where decreases had been recorded in 1921 in Malda (1·3 per cent.), Bankura (10·4 per cent.) Nadia (8 per cent.), Burdwan (6·5 per cent.), Midnapore (5·5 per cent.), Pabna (2·7 per cent.) and Hooghly 0·9 per cent.), increases have been recorded on the present occasion as well as that already noted in Birbhum and Murshidabad. Amongst these districts the most considerable differences are in Bankura where the increase during the last decade was 9 per cent. and Burdwan where the increase was 9·8 per cent. For the other districts where a decrease at the last census has been changed into an increase on the present occasion the increase is 5 per cent. in Midnapore, 3·7 per cent. in Pabna, 4·1 per cent. in Malda and 3·2 per cent. in Hooghly. The decrease of 8 per cent. in Nadia has been changed into an increase of 2·3 per cent. In Rangpur and Bogra the rate of increase has been retarded from 5·1 to 3·7 and from 6·6 to 3·5 per cent., respectively, but with the exception of Rajshahi, where an increase of one per cent. has been changed into a decrease of 4·6 and of Jessore where the rate of decrease has been accelerated from 1·2 to 3 per cent. every other district has shown an acceleration in the rate of increase. The state of Cooch Behar shows a decrease which remains the same or rather has been slightly enhanced. The rates of increase in Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur and Faridpur have been comparatively little accelerated but sufficient to bring them into a fresh class on the scale shown in the diagram.

32. Mean density, Bengal and other provinces, 1931.—Diagram No. I-10 illustrates the mean density in the main provinces of India and the density

DIAGRAM No. I-10.

Density (persons per square mile) in the more thickly populated district (whole column) and average density (shaded portion) in each of the main provinces of India.



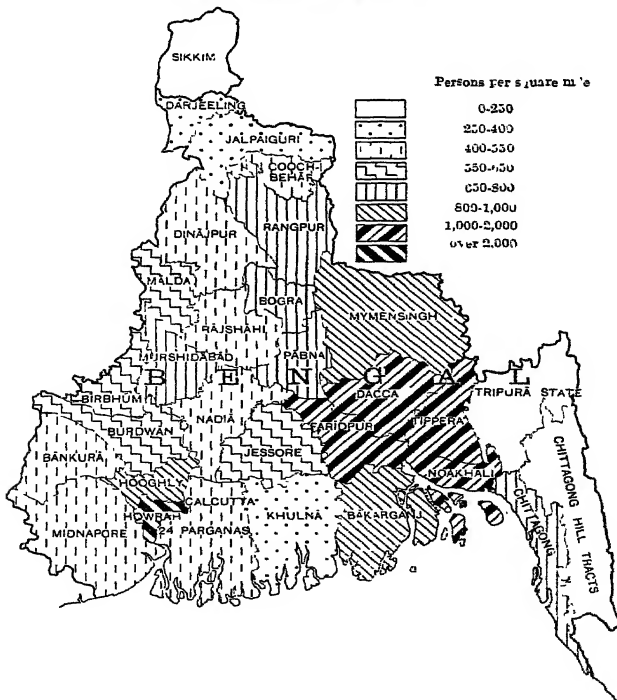
of their most densely populated district. The average number of persons per square mile in Bengal is 646. On an equal area, therefore, there are in

Bengal almost two persons for every one in Madras and more than ten for every one in Burma where the density of population is respectively 329 and 63 per square mile. The United Provinces with a density of 456 and Bihar and Orissa with 453 come next after Bengal. Madras follows and then the Punjab with 241. No other province has as many as 200 persons per square mile. Leaving out of consideration cities like Calcutta which themselves constitute a district, Howrah with a density of 2,105 per square mile is the most densely populated district in India. Bombay suburban district is the next with 1,166 and is strictly comparable with it as both contain a large "suburban" population, but even if Howrah be excluded owing to its small size and the large proportion contributed by Howrah city, even the district of Dacca with only two towns and a mean density of 1,265 persons per square mile is more densely populated than Bombay suburban district and so also is the district of Tippera with a mean density of 1,197. Only the Chittagong Hill Tracts has a population density as low as that of Maubin the most densely populated district in Burma, where there are only 227 persons per square mile.

33. **Density of population in districts.**—Diagram No. I-11 shows the density of the district population at the present census. Sikkim, Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts have less than 250 persons per square

DIAGRAM No. I-11.

Density of district population, 1931.



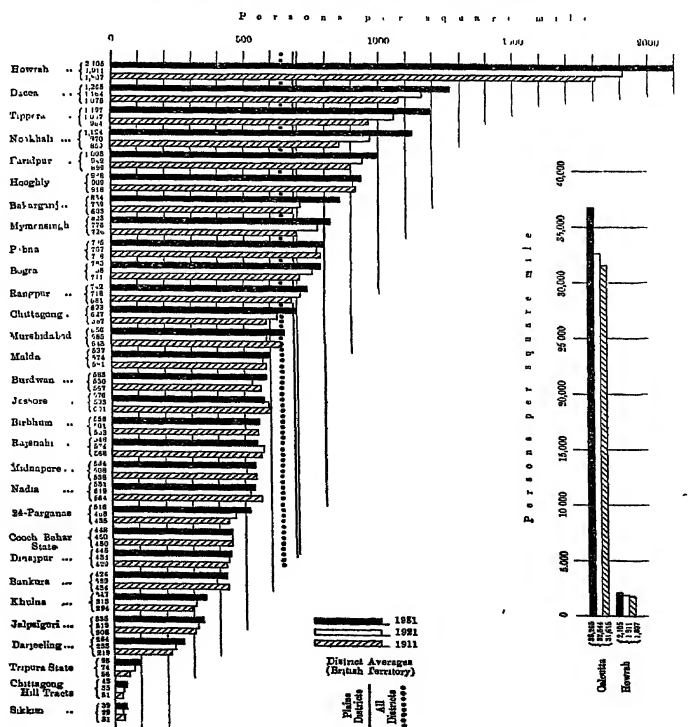
mile. After Howrah, with 2,105, Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera and Noakhali form a solid block with a density between 1,000 and 2,000 per square mile. Mymensingh on the north of this block and Bakarganj on the south and

Hooghly on the north of Howrah are the only three districts approaching this density of population and each has a density of between 800 and 1,000 persons per square mile. The next most densely populated districts also attach themselves to these two formations. Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna on the one hand and Chittagong on the other adjoining the block formed by Mymensingh, Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera, Noakhali and Bakarganj have a population of 650 to 800 persons per square mile and Murshidabad with 656 and Burdwan, Birbhum and Malda with between 550 and 650 continue the line of Howrah and Hooghly northwards. Jessore also has a density similar to this last, namely, 576. A narrow strip running down the centre of the province and comprising Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Nadia and the 24-Parganas has a density of between 400 to 550 per square mile, the large areas in the Sundarbans of 24-Parganas reducing the average density in this district to a comparatively low figure. A similar range of density is displayed by Bankura and Midnapore whilst a density of between 250 and 400 per square mile only is shown by Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and also in Khulna where the average density is reduced by the same factors as operate in the 24-Parganas.

34. Districts in order of density with comparison with 1921 and 1911.—The districts are arranged in order of their density in diagram No. I-12,

DIAGRAM No. I-12.

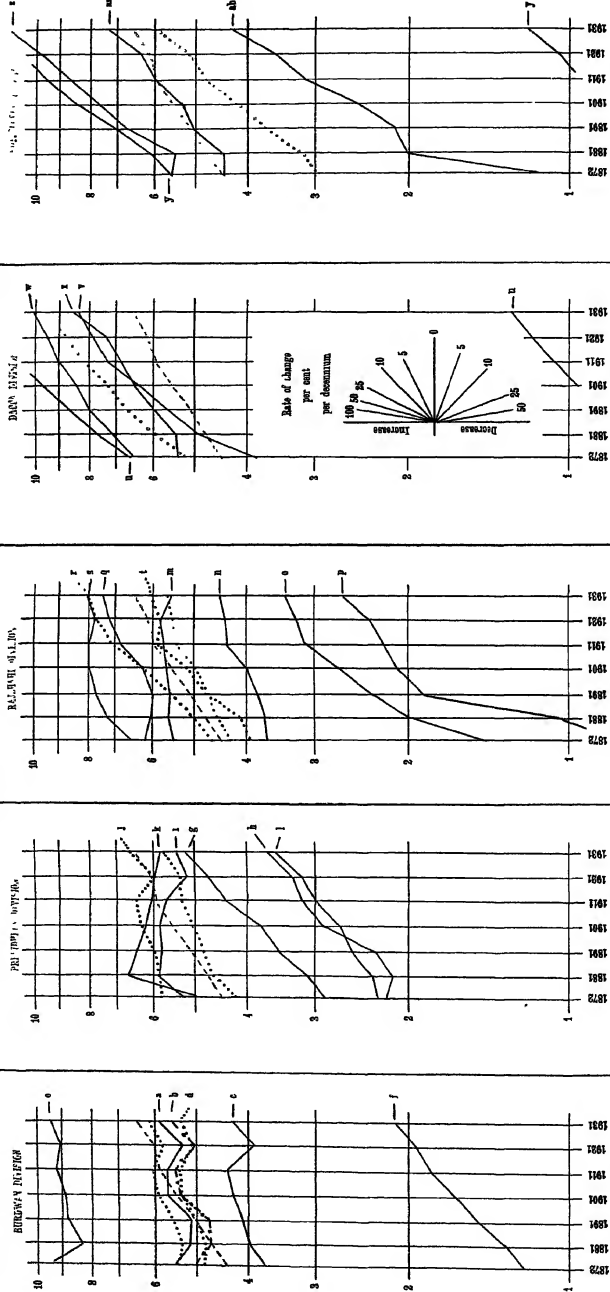
Density of district populations, 1911, 1921 and 1931.



Howrah, Dacca, Tippera, Noakhali and Faridpur come first with a density of more than a thousand to the square mile and only Dinajpur, Bankura,

Chapter I, Diagram B:- Density of population (persons per square mile) at each enumeration 1872-1931 (numbers are shown by slope: Scale shows ten thousands for Calcutta, thousands for Howrah and for Dacca in 1911, 1921, 1931, tens for Chittagong Hill Tracts and hundreds for other entries.)

a - Barwan	h - Janglhi	i - Malda	m - Rajshahi	q - Rangpur	u - Dacca	y - Tipura	British averages
b - Barisal	i - Barisal	j - Mirshad	n - Dinajpur	r - Bogra	v - Mymensing	z - Moulvib	(British territory)
c - Barisal	g - Barisal	k - Jessore	o - Jalpaiguri	s - Rajshahi	w - Faridpur	aa - Chittagong	provincial
d - Mithapuri	h - Chittagong	l - Chittagong	p - Barisal	t - Malda	x - Rangpur	ab - Chittagong Hill Tracts	divisional



Khulna, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Cooch Behar and Tripura State and Sikkim have a density of less than 500. The average for plains districts is 1,945,440 and this together with mean density for the whole of the province had been indicated in the diagram. The position of the first 15 districts is the same now as it was in 1921 with the exception that Bakarganj has moved from tenth to seventh. Jessore has moved down three places owing to its decrease in population and Rajshahi has similarly moved down an equal number of places. Nadia and Midnapore occupied the reverse position in 1921 as 19th and 20th, respectively, but the remaining districts were then also in the same order as on the present occasion. Calcutta has a density $17\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as that of Howrah, and in its area of 33 square miles accommodates nearly 11 times the population of Sikkim with an area of 2,818 square miles.

STATEMENT No. I-11.

Mean density (persons per square mile) in natural and administrative divisions, 1872-1931.

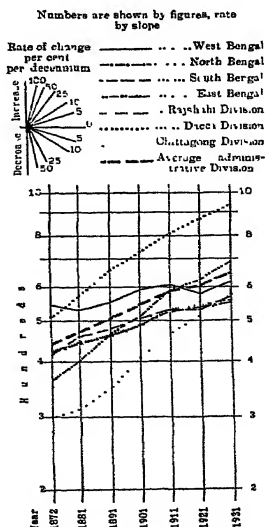
Division.	1872	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931
ALL BENGAL	420	446	480	517	558	574
West Bengal (Burdwan Division)	544	529	550	500	573	615
Central Bengal (Presidency Division)	415	459	477	503	520	506
*North Bengal	420	442	460	486	525	540
Rajshahi Division	420	441	461	490	531	537
†East Bengal	362	404	463	516	577	638
Dacca Division	510	555	661	724	807	935
Chittagong Division	298	310	363	411	467	554

*Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar State.
†Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with Tripura State.

35. **Variations in density of population, 1872-1931.**—The variations in density of population at every census since 1872 are illustrated for each district by divisions in diagram B which is plotted from subsidiary table II. The divisional averages which are also plotted on the diagram are given in statement No. I-11 above for comparison, and are separately plotted in diagram No. I-13 in the margin. The average for administrative divisions for each district naturally shows the same rate of change as the average population and the curves given in diagram No. I-7 are very closely reproduced in this diagram with some variation in their position upon the map. This of course is due to the fact that in computing the number of persons per square mile it is only the population which changes and the area remains the same. The most densely populated division is Dacca with an average of 935 persons to the square mile and it has been far more densely populated than any other division at every census except 1872 when only West Bengal (Burdwan Division) had a greater density. The population of this division and consequently its density are so much greater than that of all other divisions that it pulls the average density of all five divisions up into the second place in the order of administrative divisions with all the other divisions below. The Burdwan Division, although it has not maintained a regular increase in its population density which has shown the same variations as the population itself, yet retains the second place amongst the administrative divisions with 615 persons to the square mile. The density of the Dacca Division has increased since 1872 by 83 per cent. and an even greater increase has been displayed by the Chittagong Division from 298

DIAGRAM No. I-13.

Changes in Density
of Population
(Natural and administrative divisions)
1872 to 1931



in 1872 to 584 at the present census. Its density is now greater than that of Rajshahi and the Presidency Divisions which respectively have a density of 557 and 566 persons per square mile. Like the density of divisions the density of each district also shows the same variations from year to year as the population since all are calculated on the same area.

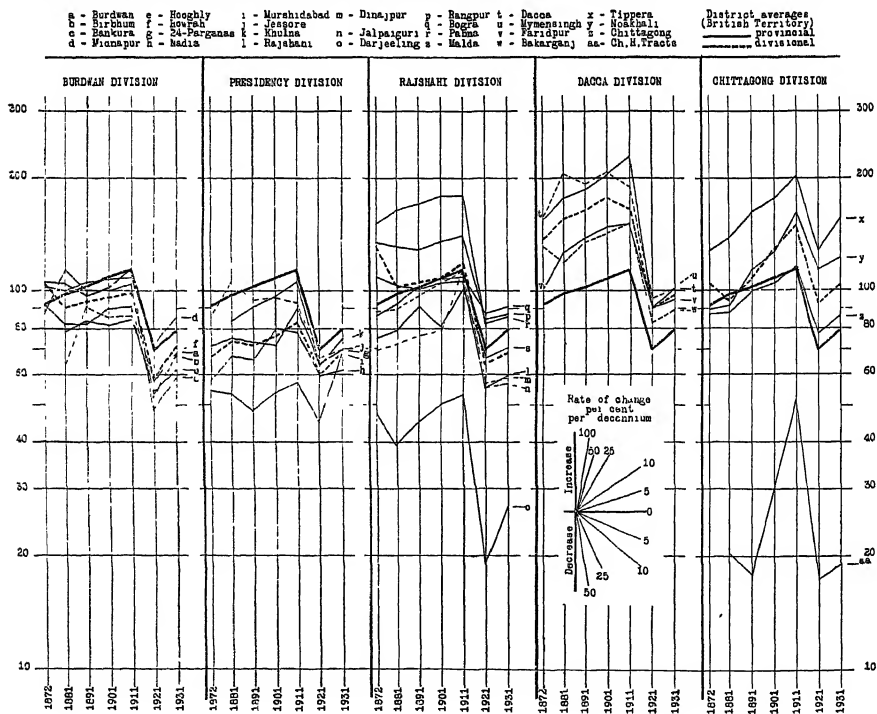
Part V—The population of police-stations

36. Average population of police-stations, 1872-1931.—The average population of each police-station throughout the whole of British Territory is 79,349. The divisional averages as well as the district averages are plotted in diagram No. I-14 below. In Eastern Bengal each police-station has on the

DIAGRAM No. I-14.

Changes in the average population of police-stations, 1872-1931.

[NOTE.—Numbers (in thousands) are shown by figures, rates of change by slope. In the averages for the whole province and for the Presidency Division the population of Calcutta and the police-stations into which it is divided have been disregarded.]



average a population one-half to two-thirds as large again as the average in Burdwan, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions. In Tippera district there are as many as 155,487 persons on the average in each police-station and there are more than 100,000 also in Dacca, Mymensingh, and Noakhali. The figures, however, are in no districts so high as they were in 1911 for there was a considerable increase amounting in some cases to as much as almost 100 per cent. in a number of police-stations between the years 1911 and 1921. Decreases in the average population of police-stations

the end of a census decade may be taken as generally indicating the change within the decade of additional police-stations in the district concerned. The number of police-stations with their average population is shown in the following statement No. I-12.

STATEMENT No. I-12.

Number of police-stations in each district with their average population, 1872-1931.

Division or district	Number of police-stations*							Average population of police-stations*						
	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
U. British Territory	347	365	375	378	385	652	619	97,492	98,315	102,423	109,249	115,810	70,227	79,349
Baran Division	70	82	82	86	86	138	123	104,089	90,170	93,766	95,815	98,457	58,338	70,302
Bardhaman	22	17	17	17	17	25	23	82,458	81,872	81,875	90,146	90,492	57,557	68,769
Bhadrak	8	7	6	9	9	16	14	86,990	113,490	90,729	100,253	103,041	52,973	67,682
Bhadrak	5	10	11	11	10	21	19	105,854	104,175	97,248	101,492	113,867	48,569	58,512
Bhadrak	25	25	25	26	26	37	33	101,639	100,714	103,261	107,274	105,505	72,072	84,821
Bhadrak	10	13	13	13	13	20	18	77,905	82,824	80,714	83,554	54,007	61,903	61,903
Bhadrak	..	..	10	8	10	11	19	..	63,538	90,151	81,051	83,773	52,495	65,679
Bengal Division	111	106	110	107	104	143	130	67,130	73,318	71,396	76,124	82,204	59,815	68,550
Barganas	31	25	26	20	27	41	30	71,202	74,794	72,771	71,038	93,152	64,103	60,537
Bhadrak	31	30	25	21	21	25	25	55,477	67,262	63,764	79,404	77,040	50,303	61,135
Bhadrak	25	23	26	25	24	28	20	54,145	53,239	43,113	53,327	57,178	15,090	63,184
Bhadrak	24	15	20	10	19	26	24	86,159	105,150	94,441	95,429	92,540	66,239	69,692
Bhadrak	..	..	13	13	13	23	22	..	83,073	90,560	96,288	103,146	63,175	73,026
Bihar Division	78	83	84	87	86	163	157	103,250	101,738	105,198	107,807	117,887	85,467	67,949
Bahli	12	13	13	14	14	27	24	109,227	102,972	101,026	104,455	105,754	55,165	50,542
Bajpur	17	17	16	15	15	30	30	88,337	89,079	97,210	101,472	112,524	50,545	58,514
Baiguri	6	8	9	10	8	17	17	69,778	72,003	75,706	78,738	112,338	55,075	57,845
Baiguri	2	4	5	5	5	13	12	47,356	55,793	44,063	49,923	53,110	16,550	26,036
Baiguri	16	16	16	16	17	30	30	134,373	131,123	129,092	134,636	140,814	83,695	85,498
Baiguri	8	8	8	8	9	12	12	86,183	91,705	102,187	106,817	109,255	57,254	50,583
Baiguri	8	8	8	8	8	17	17	151,449	163,000	170,299	177,588	178,373	81,735	85,038
Baiguri	9	9	9	11	10	15	15	75,158	78,930	91,547	93,306	100,410	50,711	70,251
Division	55	56	60	61	73	143	143	138,053	155,374	184,069	176,951	184,899	89,771	96,952
Baiguri	12	12	13	13	13	35	34	154,416	176,863	186,204	209,569	227,723	80,813	100,958
Baiguri	15	15	18	19	30	51	51	156,061	206,464	192,899	206,056	206,891	91,537	100,594
Baiguri	10	13	13	13	14	25	25	101,259	123,818	135,253	149,019	151,565	89,994	94,499
Baiguri	18	16	16	10	16	32	33	132,080	118,506	134,023	143,235	151,507	81,992	89,002
Bengal Division	33	38	39	37	36	65	68	104,390	94,054	107,438	128,047	149,847	92,316	103,431
Baiguri	12	11	11	12	12	21	20	127,823	138,122	162,085	176,490	202,612	130,023	135,467
Baiguri	8	9	9	9	8	13	14	89,242	91,197	112,158	126,830	162,761	113,291	121,009
Baiguri	13	13	13	13	13	21	21	86,723	87,103	99,544	104,090	116,033	70,794	85,573
Baiguri Hill Tracts	..	5	6	8	8	10	11	..	20,919	17,881	41,557	31,277	17,324	10,257
U. STATES	6†	9	9	12	14	19	17	77,585	79,590	81,692	89,755	47,207	57,255	
Ch Behar	6	6	6	6	6	7	5	88,700	100,437	96,476	94,496	88,825	84,641	73,800
Bura	1	3	3	6	8	12	9	11,570	45,814	25,887	28,702	25,370	42,494	

*Excluding Calcutta

†Figures of the divisions of Tripura State are not available for 1872

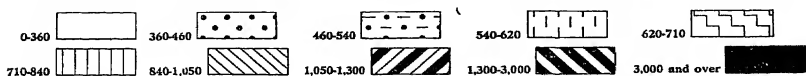
‡Excluding the three Khas Mahals

37. Density of population in police-stations, Burdwan Division.—Agram No. I-15 overleaf shows the population density in police-stations of Burdwan Division. The figures for this and similar diagrams are given in provincial table I. Bowria police-station with a density of 5,124 to a square mile in the Howrah district is the most densely populated in the division and indeed is the most densely populated rural police-station in the whole province. Speaking generally population density throughout this division runs off as one proceeds westwards from the banks of the Hooghly river. Police-stations bordering upon the river both in Howrah and in Hooghly the density is very high and it is high also in the whole of Howrah district. At a population density as much as 1,050 to the square mile is found beside Howrah and Hooghly districts only in the Moyna police-station of Burdwan (1,229) and in the Asansol, Kult and Raniganj police-stations of Burdwan where there are coal and iron industries. Kaks and Ausgram police-stations of Burdwan district, Taldangra, Simlapal and Ranibandh police-stations in Bankura district and Garhbeta, Binpur, Salbani, Argram, Nayagram and Jamboni police-stations in Midnapore district are the most thinly populated in this division and in none of these is

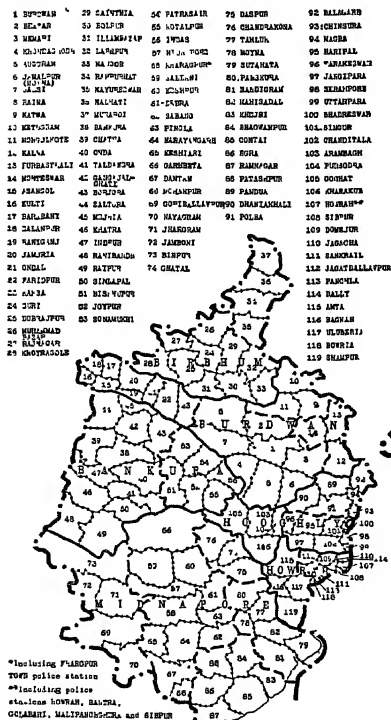
the population density as much as 360 per square mile, a figure less than 60 per cent. than that of the average population density in the whole division.

DIAGRAM No. I-15.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, BURDWAN DIVISION, 1931



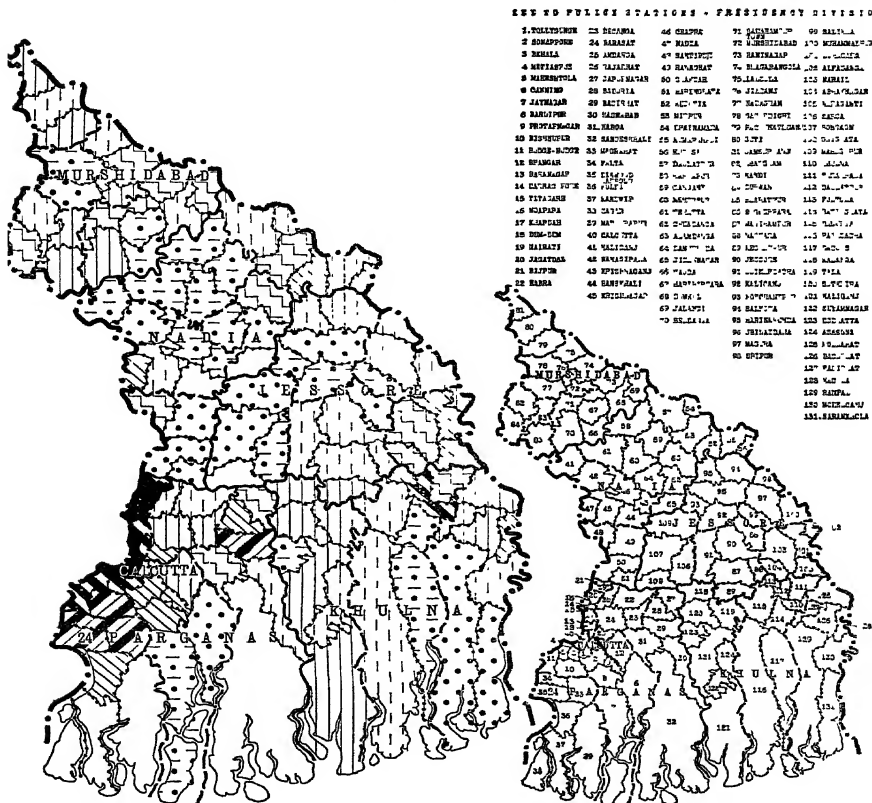
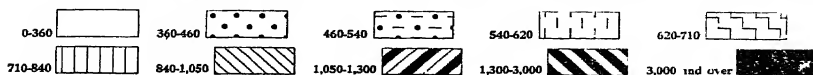
KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - BURDWAN DIVISION



for the district is 576 and the density is highest in Narail subdivision where Narail and Abhayanagar police-stations have densities of 662 and 666. All

DIAGRAM No. I-16.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, PRESIDENCY DIVISION, 1931

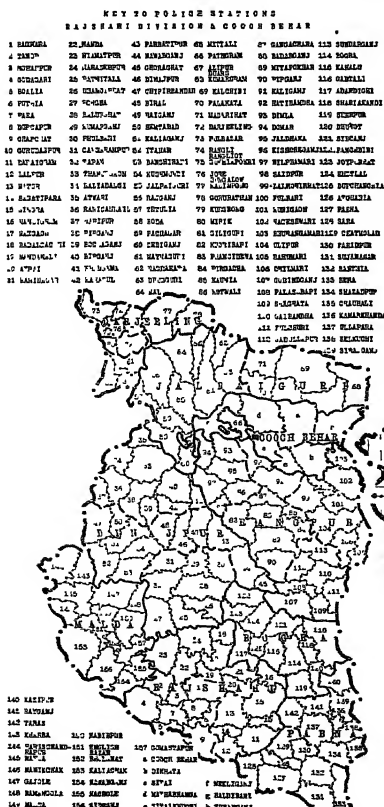


the remaining three have each more than 800 persons to the square mile. The most sparsely populated part of the district is Bongaon subdivision in which Gaighata police-station falls, and it is this subdivision which has suffered the greatest decline in population in the district during the decade. The average of this subdivision is 395 and both Bongaon and Maheshpur police-stations have less than 400 persons per square mile while Sarsa has only 465. Outside Narail subdivision the only police-station in the district with a density of more than 800 is Sripur in Magura subdivision with 803 ; but only two others have a density of more than 700, namely Salkopa police-station in Jhenida subdivision and Keshabpur police-station in Sadar subdivision. The average for Nadia is even less than for Jessore and amounts to 531 persons per square mile. Kushtia subdivision has an average of 699 persons to the square mile and Khoksa and Kushtia police-stations with 888 and 866 persons to the square mile, respectively, have the greatest

density outside the sadar subdivision where the Nadia police-station also has a density of 888 persons to the square mile. In the Hanskhali police-station the density is as low as 354 but it is the Ranaghat subdivision which on the average is the most sparsely populated and has an average density of only 454 in spite of the presence within it of four municipal towns. The average density of population in the Murshidabad district is 656 persons per square mile and the Kandi subdivision is the most densely populated with an average of 715. The greatest density in any individual police-station is not, however, in the Kandi subdivision but in the Samserganj police-station of Jangipur subdivision with 1,002 persons per square mile. The most sparsely populated police-station in this district is Nabagram in the Sadar subdivision with 443 persons to the square mile.

DIAGRAM No. I-17.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, RAJSHAHI DIVISION, 1931



south-east of Bogra and the east of Pabna districts. Sirajganj police-station has a density of 1,336 persons to the square mile and in the same subdivision (which has an average density of 923) Shazadpur, Chauhali, Kamarkhanda and Belkuchi each have a density of more than 1,000, a figure reached only in one other police-station outside the subdivision, namely, Bera with 1,051. The average density for Pabna district is 795. Bogra and Gabtali police-stations of Bogra district with a density of 1,091 and 1,050, respectively, are the most densely populated in the Bogra district which has a mean density of 785. A population density of more than 1,050 to the square mile is found in Rajshahi Division outside Bogra and Pabna only in the Boalia police-station of Rajshahi and the Saidpur police-station of Rangpur with a density respectively of 2,283 and 1,150 persons per square mile accounted for by the existence in the first of the headquarters of the district and in the second of an important railway colony at Saidpur. Speaking generally the population tends to congregate in greatest density in Malda, Rajshahi, Pabna and Bogra along the banks of the Padma and Jamuna rivers. In Malda, for instance, the most populous police-stations are Kaliachak, Sibganj and Nawabganj with densities of 844, 953 and 911 per square mile, respectively, compared with an average in the district of 597, whilst in Pabna district the remaining riparian police-stations Sara, Pabna and Sujannagar have densities of 642, 776 and 624 per square mile, respectively. In Rajshahi Badalgachi, Naogaon, Nandanali and Bagmara police-stations form a tongue of relatively high density extending into the district from the north, but generally speaking as one proceeds west from the eastern boundary of Bogra and Rangpur and east from the western boundary of Malda the population density grows sparser and it reaches a figure less than 360 per square mile in the Habibpur police-station of Malda and the Porsha, Banshihari and Gangarampur police-stations of Dinajpur as well as in the Ghoraghat police-station of the same district. Dinajpur with an average density of 445 is less thickly populated than any other part of the Rajshahi Division except Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts and has actually fewer people to the square mile even than the states of Cooch Behar where the number is 448. In Jalpaiguri district no police-station in the Alipur subdivision has a density as much as 360 to the square mile and in six out of twelve police-stations in the Sadar subdivision of the same district the density is no greater. The remaining police-stations Dhubguri, Mal, Jalpaiguri, Boda, Debiganj and Pathgram have 430, 370, 467, 492, 494 and 586 persons to the square mile, respectively. In Darjeeling district, apart from the police-station including Darjeeling itself which has a density of 1,102 to the square mile, only the police-stations of Jore Bungalow and Mirik each with a density of 377 have a population greater than 340 to the square mile. The average population density for the whole district is no more than 264, scarcely half the average for the whole division. The state of Cooch Behar with an average of 448 persons to the square mile has no police-station with a density greater than Dinhat (583). Two small parcels of land forming the Haldibari police-station of the state islanded in the district of Jalpaiguri have a population density of 540 to the square mile, but the Cooch Behar police-station containing the headquarters of the State has a density no greater than 475.

40. Density of population in police-stations, Dacca Division.—Dacca Division with a mean density of 935 per square mile is the most thickly populated division in Bengal. Figures for this division are illustrated in diagram No. I-18 overleaf. In Tangibari (3,044) and Lohajang (3,228) the density rises to over 3,000 to the square mile but in Munshiganj subdivision where they are situated with a mean density of 2,413 there is only one police-station, Srinagar, with a density less than 2,000 to the square mile and even here the figure is 1,895. Narayanganj in the subdivision of that name also has a population of over 3,000 in the square mile and the average of this subdivision is 1,444, whilst no single police-station within it has a population less dense than 1,000 to the square mile. Manikganj with an average density of 1,048 is the next most thickly populated subdivision in Dacca and only three of its police-stations, Sibalay, Daulatpur and Ghior with 796, 863 and 947 inhabitants per square mile, respectively, have densities less than 1,000 to the

square mile. In the sadar subdivision, apart from the density in Dacca city itself which includes police-stations Kotwali, Sutrapur and Lalbagh, Dohar police-station with 2,049 persons to the square mile is the most densely populated. The average in the whole subdivision is 982 persons to the square mile, but Dhamrai with 1,225, Nawabganj with 1,320 and Keraniganj with 1,974 have all well over 1,000 persons to the square mile and the density in the mostly sparsely populated police-station, Sripur, is 437. In Mymensingh the areas of greatest density are along the Jamuna river on the west and in a strip running northwest from the south-eastern extremity of the

DIAGRAM No. I-18.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, DACCA DIVISION, 1931



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - DACCA DIVISION

১	ঢাকা টাউন	৪৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৬৭	মাদ্যাকারী	৯৫	পূর্বমহালা	১১৭	নারায়ণগঞ্জ
২	তেতুলারী	৪৫	মাদ্যাকারী	৬৮	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৬	তেতুলারী	১১৮	পূর্বমহালা
৩	করানীগঞ্জ	৪৬	পূর্বমহালা	৬৯	পূর্বমহালা	৯৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৯	দুপচাঁচাল
৪	জরগতপুর	৪৭	লালবাগ	৭০	লালবাগ	৯৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১২০	দুপচাঁচাল
৫	সপাতা	৪৮	পূর্বমহালা	৭১	মাদ্যাকারী	৯৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১২১	দুপচাঁচাল
৬	শ্রীপুর	৪৯	দুপচাঁচাল	৭২	তেতুলারী	১০০	দুপচাঁচাল	১২২	দুপচাঁচাল
৭	লালবাগ	৫০	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১০১	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৩	দুপচাঁচাল
৮	করানীগঞ্জ	৫১	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১০২	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৪	দুপচাঁচাল
৯	দুপচাঁচাল	৫২	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৫	দুপচাঁচাল
১০	দুপচাঁচাল	৫৩	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৬	দুপচাঁচাল
১১	লালবাগ	৫৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৭	দুপচাঁচাল
১২	দুপচাঁচাল	৫৫	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৮	দুপচাঁচাল
১৩	মাদ্যাকারী	৫৬	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৯	দুপচাঁচাল
১৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৫৭	দুপচাঁচাল	৮০	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩০	দুপচাঁচাল
১৫	মাদ্যাকারী	৫৮	দুপচাঁচাল	৮১	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩১	দুপচাঁচাল
১৬	তুলাঙ্গা	৫৯	দুপচাঁচাল	৮২	লালবাগ	১১০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩২	দুপচাঁচাল
১৭	আদারবাগ	৬০	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৩	তুলাঙ্গা	১১১	তুলাঙ্গা	১৩৩	দুপচাঁচাল
১৮	পাটালী	৬১	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১১২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৪	দুপচাঁচাল
১৯	শ্রীপুর	৬২	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৫	দুপচাঁচাল
২০	শ্রীপুর	৬৩	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৬	দুপচাঁচাল
২১	মাদ্যাকারী	৬৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৭	দুপচাঁচাল
২২	দুপচাঁচাল	৬৫	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৮	দুপচাঁচাল
২৩	দুপচাঁচাল	৬৬	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৯	দুপচাঁচাল
২৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৬৭	দুপচাঁচাল	৯০	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪০	দুপচাঁচাল
২৫	দুপচাঁচাল	৬৮	দুপচাঁচাল	৯১	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪১	দুপচাঁচাল
২৬	দুপচাঁচাল	৬৯	দুপচাঁচাল	৯২	দুপচাঁচাল	১২০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪২	দুপচাঁচাল
২৭	দুপচাঁচাল	৭০	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১২১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৩	দুপচাঁচাল
২৮	দুপচাঁচাল	৭১	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১২২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৪	দুপচাঁচাল
২৯	দুপচাঁচাল	৭২	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৫	দুপচাঁচাল
৩০	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৩	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৬	দুপচাঁচাল
৩১	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৭	দুপচাঁচাল
৩২	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৫	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৮	দুপচাঁচাল
৩৩	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৬	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৯	দুপচাঁচাল
৩৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১০০	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫০	দুপচাঁচাল
৩৫	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১০১	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫১	দুপচাঁচাল
৩৬	দুপচাঁচাল	৭৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১০২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫২	দুপচাঁচাল
৩৭	দুপচাঁচাল	৮০	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৩	দুপচাঁচাল
৩৮	দুপচাঁচাল	৮১	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৪	দুপচাঁচাল
৩৯	দুপচাঁচাল	৮২	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৫	দুপচাঁচাল
৪০	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৬	দুপচাঁচাল
৪১	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৭	দুপচাঁচাল
৪২	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৮	দুপচাঁচাল
৪৩	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৯	দুপচাঁচাল
৪৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১১০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬০	দুপচাঁচাল
৪৫	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১১১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬১	দুপচাঁচাল
৪৬	দুপচাঁচাল	৮৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১১২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬২	দুপচাঁচাল
৪৭	দুপচাঁচাল	৯০	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৩	দুপচাঁচাল
৪৮	দুপচাঁচাল	৯১	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৪	দুপচাঁচাল
৪৯	দুপচাঁচাল	৯২	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৫	দুপচাঁচাল
৫০	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৬	দুপচাঁচাল
৫১	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৭	দুপচাঁচাল
৫২	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৮	দুপচাঁচাল
৫৩	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৯	দুপচাঁচাল
৫৪	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১২০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭০	দুপচাঁচাল
৫৫	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১২১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭১	দুপচাঁচাল
৫৬	দুপচাঁচাল	৯৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১২২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭২	দুপচাঁচাল
৫৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১০০	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৩	দুপচাঁচাল
৫৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১০১	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৪	দুপচাঁচাল
৫৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১০২	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৫	দুপচাঁচাল
৬০	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৬	দুপচাঁচাল
৬১	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৭	দুপচাঁচাল
৬২	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৮	দুপচাঁচাল
৬৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৯	দুপচাঁচাল
৬৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮০	দুপচাঁচাল
৬৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮১	দুপচাঁচাল
৬৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১০৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮২	দুপচাঁচাল
৬৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১১০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৩	দুপচাঁচাল
৬৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১১১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৪	দুপচাঁচাল
৬৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১১২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৫	দুপচাঁচাল
৭০	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৬	দুপচাঁচাল
৭১	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৭	দুপচাঁচাল
৭২	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৮	দুপচাঁচাল
৭৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৯	দুপচাঁচাল
৭৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯০	দুপচাঁচাল
৭৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯১	দুপচাঁচাল
৭৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১১৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯২	দুপচাঁচাল
৭৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১২০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৩	দুপচাঁচাল
৭৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১২১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৪	দুপচাঁচাল
৭৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১২২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৫	দুপচাঁচাল
৮০	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৬	দুপচাঁচাল
৮১	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৭	দুপচাঁচাল
৮২	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৮	দুপচাঁচাল
৮৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৯	দুপচাঁচাল
৮৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৮	দুপচাঁচাল	২০০	দুপচাঁচাল
৮৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৯	দুপচাঁচাল	২০১	দুপচাঁচাল
৮৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১২৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮০	দুপচাঁচাল	২০২	দুপচাঁচাল
৮৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮১	দুপচাঁচাল	২০৩	দুপচাঁচাল
৮৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮২	দুপচাঁচাল	২০৪	দুপচাঁচাল
৮৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৩	দুপচাঁচাল	২০৫	দুপচাঁচাল
৯০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৪	দুপচাঁচাল	২০৬	দুপচাঁচাল
৯১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৫	দুপচাঁচাল	২০৭	দুপচাঁচাল
৯২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৬	দুপচাঁচাল	২০৮	দুপচাঁচাল
৯৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৭	দুপচাঁচাল	২০৯	দুপচাঁচাল
৯৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৮	দুপচাঁচাল	২১০	দুপচাঁচাল
৯৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৮৯	দুপচাঁচাল	২১১	দুপচাঁচাল
৯৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৩৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯০	দুপচাঁচাল	২১২	দুপচাঁচাল
৯৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯১	দুপচাঁচাল	২১৩	দুপচাঁচাল
৯৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯২	দুপচাঁচাল	২১৪	দুপচাঁচাল
৯৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৩	দুপচাঁচাল	২১৫	দুপচাঁচাল
১০০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৪	দুপচাঁচাল	২১৬	দুপচাঁচাল
১০১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৫	দুপচাঁচাল	২১৭	দুপচাঁচাল
১০২	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৬	দুপচাঁচাল	২১৮	দুপচাঁচাল
১০৩	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৬৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৭	দুপচাঁচাল	২১৯	দুপচাঁচাল
১০৪	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৮	দুপচাঁচাল	২২০	দুপচাঁচাল
১০৫	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৯৯	দুপচাঁচাল	২২১	দুপচাঁচাল
১০৬	দুপচাঁচাল	১৪৯	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭২	দুপচাঁচাল	২০০	দুপচাঁচাল	২২২	দুপচাঁচাল
১০৭	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫০	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৩	দুপচাঁচাল	২০১	দুপচাঁচাল	২২৩	দুপচাঁচাল
১০৮	দুপচাঁচাল	১৫১	দুপচাঁচাল	১৭৪	দুপচাঁচাল	২০২	দুপচাঁচাল	২২৪	দুপচ

Bazar, Kuliarchar, Kathiadi, Hossainpur, Kishoreganj and Karimganj have all populations between 1,300 and 1,600 per square mile. The average density in the whole district is 823 persons to the square mile and the least densely populated part of the district lies in a strip along the northern boundary comprising Nalitabari, Haluaghat, Durgapur and Kalmakanda police-stations, in another area formed by Khaliajuri, Itna, Mitamain and Astagram and in yet a third strip between the most densely populated portions formed by Madhupur and Bhaluka which is continued into the Dacca district by Sripur, Kaliakoir and Jaydebpur where, however, the population is in no case less than 360 to the square mile and lies between this figure and 540. The area of maximum density formed by the two strips of country already mentioned in Mymensingh and joining together in the south-western part of Dacca is continued in a southerly direction through Faridpur and Bakarganj. Sadarpur, Matbarerchar, Bhanga, Sibchar, Rajair, Madaripur, Palong, Naria, Bhedarganj, Gosairhat and Kalkini in Faridpur with Muladi, Gaurnadi, Uzirpur, Babuganj, Barisal, Bakarganj, Nalchiti, Rajapur, Jhalakati, Banaripara, Swarupkati, Pirojpur, Bhandaria and Kowkhali in Bakarganj constitute a block in which the population is in no area less than 1,050 to the square mile and reaches as much as 2,206 in Naria. In Faridpur district the most sparsely populated police-station, Goalundo, contains 642 persons to the square mile or only 4 less than the mean density for the whole province, and the average density for the whole district is 1,003, a figure exceeded only by Noakhali, Tippera and Dacca in East Bengal and by Howrah elsewhere. In Bakarganj, with an average density of 834, only two police-stations in the Sadar subdivision, Mehendiganj and Hizla have a density of less than 1,000 to the square mile, and even in the Patuakhali subdivision, where the average density (577) is less than elsewhere, the most sparsely populated police-stations in the recently formed sea coast area, namely, Amtoli and Galachipa, have a density of 370 and 403, respectively. Even the Bhola subdivision with an average of 633 has no density lower than that of Tazumaddin where there are 482 persons to the square mile.

41. Density of population in police-stations, Chittagong Division.—

Diagram No. I-19 illustrates the density in each police-station in the Chittagong Division. The average density here is only 584 but the low average is accounted for by the fact that the Chittagong Hill Tracts, with a density of only 43 to the square mile, constitutes nearly half the whole area, it is larger than either Tippera or Chittagong district combined with Noakhali and is nearly as great as these two districts put together. These two districts in fact stand third and fourth in average density in the whole province. In Tippera only two police-stations have a density less than 1,000 to the square mile. These are Nasirnagar with 807 and Laksham with 956 and the least thickly populated of these has in a corresponding area 5 persons for every 4 on the average in the whole of Bengal. The greatest concentration of density in the Chandpur subdivision is in Faridganj and is continued along the river Meghna in Daudkandi and Homna with the adjacent Muradnagar in the sadar subdivision and in Bancharampur in Brahmanbaria subdivision. These police-stations have from 1,300 to over 1,600 persons to the square mile. In Noakhali the population is mainly concentrated along the north and west of the district and is least dense in the islands of Hatya and Ramgati. The district mean density is 1,124 persons to the square mile but with the exception of the two police-stations mentioned, in no other police-station is the population less than 1,000 to the square mile except in Sudharam where, however, it is as much as 943. In Chittagong the average density is 699 to the square mile and population is concentrated beside the banks of the Karnaphuli river in police-stations Double Moorings, Chittagong, Pachalais and Boalkhali. The Chittagong police-station is actually a part of the Chittagong Municipality and has a density of 9,239 persons to the square mile but in the other three police-stations also the population is between 1,400 and 2,425 persons to the square mile. On the north and south of the area formed by these four police-stations are two other blocks each composed of two police-stations where population is between 1,050 and 1,300 to the square mile. They are Raojan and Hathazari on the north and Anwara

and Patiya on the south. Teknaf, Ukhia and Ramu police-stations on the extreme south of the district are the most sparsely populated and in neither

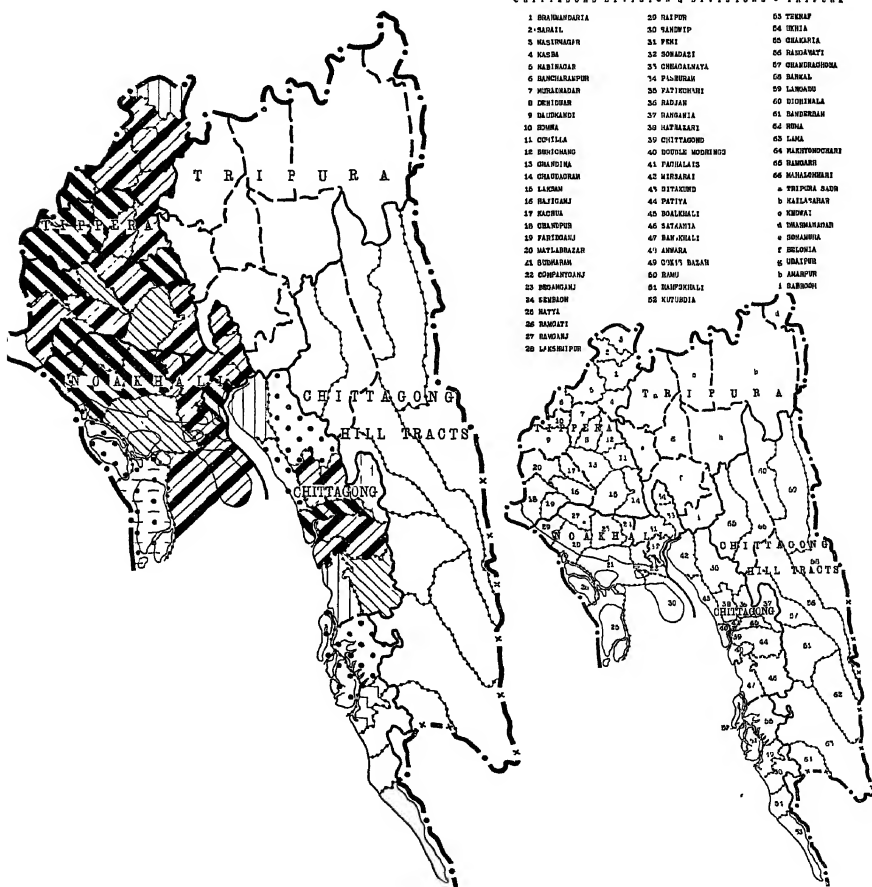
DIAGRAM No. I-19.

PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE BY POLICE-STATIONS, CHITTAGONG DIVISION, 1931



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - CHITTAGONG DIVISION & DIVISIONS - TRIPURA

1 BHANUAGARH	20 TALPUR	55 TEKRAH
2 SADAIL	21 KALIMPUR	56 UGHA
3 KALIMPUR	22 POKH	57 CHALAKATA
4 KODIN	23 SONARHAT	58 CHANDRAGHONA
5 KALIMPUR	24 CHANDRAGHONA	59 KALIMPUR
6 KALIMPUR	25 KALIMPUR	60 KALIMPUR
7 KALIMPUR	26 KALIMPUR	61 KALIMPUR
8 KALIMPUR	27 KALIMPUR	62 KALIMPUR
9 KALIMPUR	28 KALIMPUR	63 KALIMPUR
10 KALIMPUR	29 KALIMPUR	64 KALIMPUR
11 KALIMPUR	30 KALIMPUR	65 KALIMPUR
12 KALIMPUR	31 KALIMPUR	66 KALIMPUR
13 KALIMPUR	32 KALIMPUR	67 KALIMPUR
14 KALIMPUR	33 KALIMPUR	68 KALIMPUR
15 KALIMPUR	34 KALIMPUR	69 KALIMPUR
16 KALIMPUR	35 KALIMPUR	70 KALIMPUR
17 KALIMPUR	36 KALIMPUR	71 KALIMPUR
18 KALIMPUR	37 KALIMPUR	72 KALIMPUR
19 KALIMPUR	38 KALIMPUR	73 KALIMPUR
20 KALIMPUR	39 KALIMPUR	74 KALIMPUR
21 KALIMPUR	40 KALIMPUR	75 KALIMPUR
22 KALIMPUR	41 KALIMPUR	76 KALIMPUR
23 KALIMPUR	42 KALIMPUR	77 KALIMPUR
24 KALIMPUR	43 KALIMPUR	78 KALIMPUR
25 KALIMPUR	44 KALIMPUR	79 KALIMPUR
26 KALIMPUR	45 KALIMPUR	80 KALIMPUR
27 KALIMPUR	46 KALIMPUR	81 KALIMPUR
28 KALIMPUR	47 KALIMPUR	82 KALIMPUR
29 KALIMPUR	48 KALIMPUR	83 KALIMPUR
30 KALIMPUR	49 KALIMPUR	84 KALIMPUR
31 KALIMPUR	50 KALIMPUR	85 KALIMPUR
32 KALIMPUR	51 KALIMPUR	86 KALIMPUR
33 KALIMPUR	52 KALIMPUR	87 KALIMPUR
34 KALIMPUR	53 KALIMPUR	88 KALIMPUR
35 KALIMPUR	54 KALIMPUR	89 KALIMPUR
36 KALIMPUR	55 KALIMPUR	90 KALIMPUR
37 KALIMPUR	56 KALIMPUR	91 KALIMPUR
38 KALIMPUR	57 KALIMPUR	92 KALIMPUR
39 KALIMPUR	58 KALIMPUR	93 KALIMPUR
40 KALIMPUR	59 KALIMPUR	94 KALIMPUR
41 KALIMPUR	60 KALIMPUR	95 KALIMPUR
42 KALIMPUR	61 KALIMPUR	96 KALIMPUR
43 KALIMPUR	62 KALIMPUR	97 KALIMPUR
44 KALIMPUR	63 KALIMPUR	98 KALIMPUR
45 KALIMPUR	64 KALIMPUR	99 KALIMPUR
46 KALIMPUR	65 KALIMPUR	100 KALIMPUR



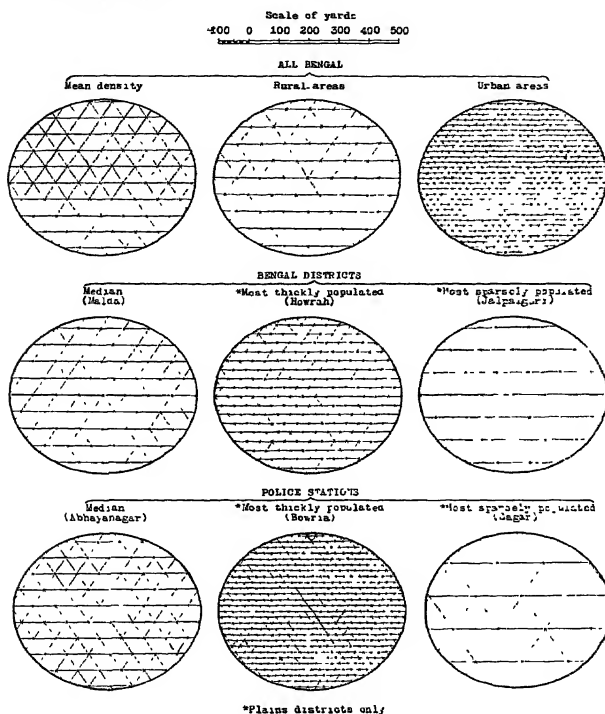
does the population reach as much as 350 to the square mile, whilst in the whole of Cox's Bazar subdivision the average density is only 381 compared with an average in the sadar subdivision of 864. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the population is as little as 16 to the square mile in Langadu and is no where denser than 85 per square mile in Chandraghona. In the Tripura State the average is 93 to the square mile and is as many as 215 in the Sadar subdivision, but it is as many as 100 only in Khowai, Dharmanagar, Sonamura and Udaipur divisions and is as little as 49, 53 and 54, respectively, in Amarpur, Sabroom and Kailasahar divisions.

42. **Average proximity and acres per person.**—The figures for density of population analysed in detail in the preceding paragraphs are also illustrated

DIAGRAM No. I-20.

Average proximity.

(NOTE.—Each circle represents one-tenth of a square mile. The inter-sections of the mesh within each circle represent persons. The number of inter-sections shows the number of persons in one-tenth of a square mile or 64 acres and the distance between each and its nearest neighbour their average proximity.)



by presentation in a slightly different way. If the population of Bengal were spaced evenly so that each person was at an equal distance from his nearest neighbour there would be one person in every 76.2 yards in the whole of

STATEMENT No. I-13.

Average proximity in yards and acres per person.

	Average proximity in yards.	Average acres per person.
All Bengal (British Territory and States)	76.2	1.039
All Bengal urban area	24.2	.105
All Bengal non-urban area	75.9	1.113
Median district (Malda)	77.1	1.072
*Most thickly populated *district (Howrah)	11.2	.304
*Most sparsely populated *district (Jalpaiguri)	103.3	1.910
Median police-station (Abhaynagar—Jessore)	73.3	.961
*Most thickly populated *rural police-station (Howrah—Howrah)	26.4	.125
*Most sparsely populated *rural police-station (Sagar—24-Pargunnas)	152.4	4.156

*Plains districts only.

British Territory and States. In the rural areas the distance apart would be 78.9 yards and in urban areas their average would approximately be 24.2 yards. In Malda, which is the middle district if all are arranged in order of density, the average proximity would be 77.4 yards. These figures are given in statement No. I-13, and illustrated in diagram No. I-20, where figures are

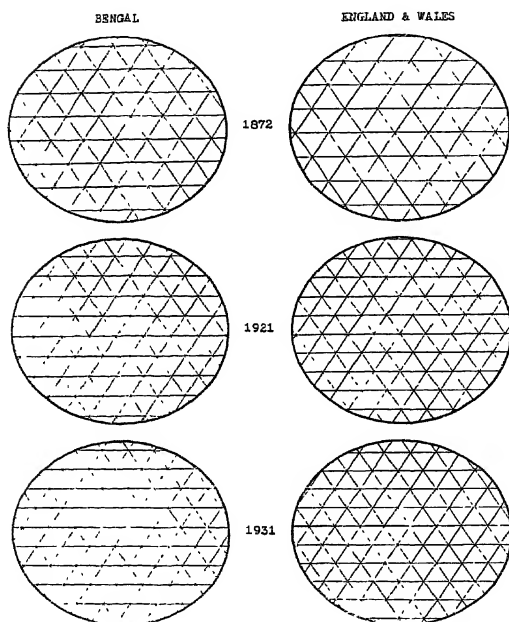
also given and illustrated for the most thickly and the most sparsely populated district, the median police-station and the most thickly and the most sparsely populated police-station. The most thickly populated district is Howrah with an average proximity of 41·2 yards between each inhabitant, and excluding the hill districts of Darjeeling and Chittagong Hill Tracts the most sparsely populated district is Jalpaiguri where one person would be encountered in every 103·3 yards. Abhayaganagar in Jessore district, the

DIAGRAM No. I-21.

Average proximity.

(NOTE—For explanation see Note to diagram No I-20.)

Scale of yards
100 0 100 200 300 400 500



afforded by statement No. I-14 illustrated in diagram No. I-21. In 1872 the density of population in Bengal was greater than in England and Wales at the census of 1871. The average proximity was then 92 yards per person whereas it was 96 in England and Wales and the number of acres per person was 1·52 compared with 1·64. By 1921, however, England and Wales had developed a density greater than that of Bengal. In that year the density for England and Wales was 649 persons per square mile against a density of 578 in Bengal corresponding to an average proximity in yards of 74 in England and Wales compared with 79 in Bengal, each person in England and Wales then having on the average a space of less than one acre and each in Bengal a space of rather more than one acre. Since 1921 the density has increased in both countries but at a rather more rapid rate in Bengal, for there are now 616 persons per square mile in Bengal with an average of 1·04 acres as compared with 686 in England and Wales with an average of ·93 acres each.

median police-station, corresponds to Malda amongst the districts and the average proximity of its inhabitants is 73·3 yards. Excluding police-stations which are themselves towns, the most thickly populated is Bowria in Uluberia subdivision where the inhabitants on the average are as close together as 26·4 yards. There are nearly six times as far apart on the average in the most sparsely populated police-station which is Sagar, in the 24-Parganas. The average number of acres per person works out to no more than 4·156 even in Sagar police-station and in Bowria police-station (technically a rural area) it is as low as ·125 acres, a figure scarcely one-fourth as great again as the average for all towns in Bengal in which there is ·105 of an acre to each person. The average number of acres per person in the whole of Bengal is 1·039 and in rural areas the figure is 1·113. A comparison with the figures of England and Wales for 1872, 1921 and 1931 is

STATEMENT No. I-14.

Average proximity in yards and acres per person.

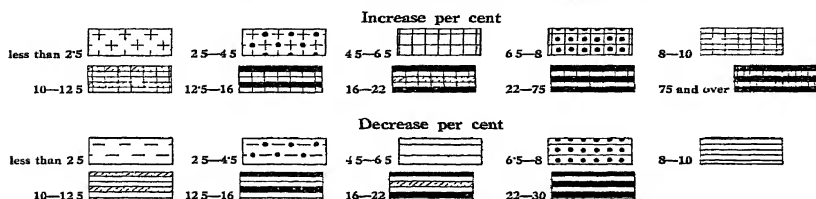
Locality and year	Average proximity in yards	Acres per person.
All Bengal 1872 .	92·1	1·517
1921 ..	78·7	1·107
1931 ..	72·2	1·039
England and Wales—		
1871 ..	95·0	1·645
1921 ..	74·2	·989
1931 ..	72·3	·934

43. **Increase or decrease of population in police-stations.**—In the immediately succeeding paragraphs the increase or decrease of population in police-stations is accounted for in detail and illustrated by diagrams. All the diagrams have been designed on the same scale with the result that although within each division the scale of hatchings chosen may not represent the differences in the change of population as minutely as by choosing a separate scale for each division it is possible at a glance to estimate the relative increase or decrease in the population of each police-station of every division.

DIAGRAM No. 1-22.

INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION BY POLICE-STATIONS, BURDWAN DIVISION, 1921-31

(Changes of less than five in ten thousand are shown by blank hatchings)



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - BURDWAN DIVISION

1. BURDWAN	29. SAITHRIA	54. PITLSAIB	79. DASPUR	92. BALASAPUR
2. BHATAR	30. BOLPUR	55. TOTALPUR	76. CHANDRAMA	93. CHITRA
3. MANARI	31. TILAKPUR	56. PINDA	77. TAMILA	94. VADRA
4. PHODAGHUR	32. LABHUPA	57. HINDAPUR	78. NOTTA	95. BAKIPAL
5. KIRKOL	33. NAGDI	58. KARANPUR	79. SITAPATA	96. FARAKHAT
6. JALPAIGUR	34. RANGPUR	59. KALAI	80. RAJESHA	97. JALPURA
7. GALLI	35. KALPACHAND	60. PRADIPUR	81. KANDIGAN	98. KESHIARI
8. RAJNA	36. NARAYATI	61. KESHA	82. NARAYATI	99. UTTARAPURA
9. KATRA	37. MUKHAI	62. SABAR	83. KESHI	100. BHADRAHAT
10. KETOLAN	38. BANURA	63. PINGLA	84. KALCHAND	101. BILUPUR
11. MOHOLPUR	39. CHITRA	64. KALCHAND	85. CHITAI	102. KALCHAND
12. KALHA	40. CHHA	65. KESHIARI	86. KOTA	103. ARACHAND
13. PURNASTALI	41. TALDIPURA	66. GAREETA	87. RANGPUR	104. PURNASTALI
14. BONTAN	42. BONTAN	67. DANVAN	88. KATAPUR	105. GORHAT
15. ARACHOL	43. BONTAN	68. KOLAPUR	89. PALDIA	106. KALCHAND
16. PULI	44. BONTAN	69. DOPALAPUR	90. DANVANALI	107. KALCHAND
17. BARANAT	45. KOLHAI	70. NAYANAN	91. POLBA	108. GORHAT
18. BALANPUR	46. KATRA	71. JANDAN	92. KESHIARI	109. BONTAN
19. RANGPUR	47. BONTAN	72. JANDAN	93. JANDAN	110. JANDAN
20. JANDAN	48. BONTAN	73. BONTAN	94. BONTAN	111. BONTAN
21. CHITAI	49. BONTAN	74. CHITAI	95. CHITAI	112. CHITAI
22. PARIPUR	50. BONTAN	75. BONTAN	96. BONTAN	113. BONTAN
23. KANSA	51. BONTAN	76. BONTAN	97. BONTAN	114. BONTAN
24. JURI	52. JOYPUR	77. BONTAN	98. BONTAN	115. BONTAN
25. BONTAN	53. BONTAN	78. BONTAN	99. BONTAN	116. BONTAN
26. BONTAN	54. BONTAN	79. BONTAN	100. BONTAN	117. BONTAN
27. BONTAN	55. BONTAN	80. BONTAN	101. BONTAN	118. BONTAN
28. KESHIARI	56. BONTAN	81. BONTAN	102. BONTAN	119. BONTAN

*Including KALCHAND TOWN police station
 **Including police stations HOWRAH, RAJESHA, GOLABARI, KALIPACHAND and BIRPUR

44. **Burdwan Division.**—Diagram No. I-22 illustrates the figures for the Burdwan Division. With the exception of Keshiari police-station in

Midnapore district the greatest rate of increase has been recorded in a group of police-stations running down the centre of Birbhum district and another group comprising Khoyrasole police-station in Birbhum with the adjacent police-stations in Burdwan of Jamuria and Raniganj. A decrease has been recorded most notably in the section of country running from north to south beginning in the eastern subdivision of Bankura district and including all the police-stations within it and continued southward in Hooghly by the Goghat police-station in Midnapore by police-stations Chandrakona, Daspur, Debra, Pingla, Salhani, Sabang, Narayanganj and Mohanpur and in Hooghly by Dhaniakhali, Polba, Jangipara and Serampore. Elsewhere there has in general been an increase in population.

45. *Burdwan district.*—In Burdwan district the construction of the Damodar Canal and of an irrigation canal passing through Galsi, Bhatar and Ausgram police-stations had attracted a number of labourers who were recorded during the census enumeration many of whom, however, will presumably leave these areas when the work is finished. This immigration together with the natural increase due to excess of births over deaths is given as an explanation for the increase of population in Burdwan, Raina, Khondaghosh, Galsi, Bhatar and Ausgram police-stations. In all the police-stations of Asansol subdivision the increase is attributed by the local officers to the collieries and other industrial concerns which attract an increasingly larger number of immigrants. It is only the iron industry in this district which had an uninterrupted period of prosperity during the decade and the collieries suffered from a depression. The increase is therefore accounted for by the fact that the emigrants, many of whom supplement their earnings in the collieries by agriculture, have not been immediately driven away by unfavourable economic conditions in the collieries, but have been able to remain in anticipation of an improvement. In the police-stations in the Katwa subdivision where an average increase of 14·3 per cent. has been recorded it has been attributed to a general improvement in the health of the people and in the economic condition of the agriculturists. In Kalna subdivision an increase of 12·9 per cent. in Monteswar police-station is attributed to the healthiness of the area situated in the *rarh* tract and to the fertility of the soil, and the increase is probably genuine because although there were two *melas* held on the census night, one at Kulia and the other at Raigram, those attending the *melas* were almost entirely local residents. In the Kalna police-station itself the increase of 5·1 per cent. is attributed to public health measures, particularly anti-malarial in some of the worst villages, improvement in the supply of pure drinking water, the opening of mufassal dispensaries, free distribution of quinine, vaccination and inoculation and the prompt prophylactic measures taken by the district board in the case of epidemics. Purbasthali with an increase of only 1·9 per cent. contains a large area of jungle and decaying villages and is the most affected by malaria in the subdivision. During the decade a new rice mill was opened but the influx of labourers on that account is negligible and the increase in population must be put down to natural causes owing to the excess of births over deaths.

46. *Birbhum district.*—In the Birbhum district some part of the increase in police-stations Suri, Dubrajpur, Muhammad Bazar, Khoyrasole, Sainthia, Bolpur, Illambazar and Labpur is due to transfers of area which they have gained at the expense of Nanor and Mayureswar, the only two police-stations in which a decrease has been recorded. Immigration of Santhals, Koras and other aboriginal labourers from the neighbouring province of Bihar and Orissa is given as an explanation of the increase in Rajnagar, and the healthiness of Rampurhat and Nalhati is said to have encouraged immigration into these two thanas which has also received a stimulus from industrial developments and in the case of Rampurhat the establishment of a railway settlement. Sainthia police-station which was combined with Bolpur and Illambazar before the present census has also been enlarged by immigration due to the development of Sainthia and Ahmadpur as trading centres and

to the opening of several rice mills. In the remaining police-station Muraroi, natural causes and a healthy climate are given as the cause of the increase.

47. *Bankura district.*—In the Bankura district the decrease in all the police-stations of Bishnupur subdivision is reported to be due to a steady falling off of the birth rate owing to the prevalence of endemic diseases like malarial fever though the local officers also mention the prevalence of a venereal disease as one cause of the decrease. In the sadar subdivision every police-station has shown an increase which is as much as 18·9 per cent. in Saltora and 18·7 per cent. in Bankura police-stations and is over 17 per cent. in Khatra and Indpur. In the sadar police-station, although economic distress is reported to have led to some emigration in search of labour in other districts, the establishment of mills and factories has attracted very many more labourers from elsewhere than were compelled to leave the police-station. In Onda and Chatna police-stations mills have been opened and the manufacture of bell metal has been encouraged. These industries have attracted labour to Chatna police-station which is free from malaria, whilst the fertile soil of Onda retains the population in spite of the prevalence of fever. In Gangajalghati, Borjora, Saltora and Mejhia police-stations, where the increase has been not less than 11 per cent. in any case, the increases are alleged to be due to successful preventive work against malaria, small-pox and other epidemic diseases owing to the opening of health centres and the improvement of village sanitation whilst the soil is reported to be improving together with the climate and some immigration is thereby encouraged from neighbouring districts. In Ranibandh, Raipur and Simlapal the increase is ascribed to freedom from epidemic diseases, a succession of good seasons and improvement of village sanitation : whilst in Khatra, Indpur and Taldangra the increase is due to natural causes. Bankura suffered severely from the influenza epidemic which resulted in a considerable decrease in population between 1911-1921 and the increase on the present occasion is clearly an illustration of the recuperative powers of nature by which serious losses are in ordinary circumstances made good.

48. *Midnapore district.*—In Midnapore the Ghatal and Sadar subdivisions show the smallest increase and Jhargram the largest. The last subdivision has been newly created since the last census and separate figures are therefore not available for the increase of each of the police-stations now forming it. The town is growing owing to its constitution as a subdivisional headquarters, the climate is good and as the Bengal Nagpur Railway main line passes through it a number of immigrants are being encouraged to settle there. In the south and west the subdivision is comparatively sparsely populated and contains a good deal of jungle and waste land into which Santhals and other aboriginal tribes are migrating. In the Tamluk subdivision which shows an increase of 7·9 per cent., Sutamata police-station, which shows an increase of 10·6 per cent. is said to enjoy together with Nandigram, where the increase is also high, a healthy climate whilst in Panskura where the increase is only 4·4 per cent. malaria is said to be endemic ; but in general in the remaining police-stations of this subdivision natural causes only appear to be the reason for the increase since there has been practically no immigration and there has been no considerable increase of industrial enterprise. In the Contai subdivision Ramnagar, with an increase of 11·5 per cent., shows the only considerable increase for which no particular reason is assigned by the local officers. In the sadar subdivision a transfer of jurisdiction principally explains the decrease in Narayangarh and the increase in Keshiari. In Debra, Sabang, Pingla and Mohanpur the decrease is ascribed to the prevalence of malaria whilst in Salbani, the only other police-station in which a decrease was recorded, it is said to be due to the emigration of a number of Santhals and Kurmis who left the police-station when they found that they could not obtain a livelihood from the land. The increase in Kharagpur police-station is due to the expansion of the railway settlement, an increase in the number of employees in the railway workshops and an influx of unemployed relatives of employees from other parts of India. Ghatal subdivision with an increase of only 1·3 per cent. and a

decrease recorded in two out of its three police-stations is said to owe its falling off in population to the prevalence of malaria. The increase in Ghatal police-station is ascribed to the sinking of a large number of tube-wells and to the immigration of Santhals for employment as agricultural labourers.

49. *Hooghly district.*—In the Hooghly district the increase is 3·2 per cent. and in spite of the decrease in some police-stations to which reference has already been made every subdivision has also recorded an increase. In the Sadar subdivision Pandua, Balagarh, Chinsura and Magra have increased, the last two police-stations having shown an increase of 10·2 and 31·5 per cent. In all these areas improved measures of public health are given as a cause of the increase by checking the spread of epidemic diseases and by the provision of pure drinking water. In Magra and Pandua there has been an increase in the number of rice mills leading to an increased immigration of Santhals, Bauris and other aboriginals who are also bringing waste land under cultivation. No other explanation for the decrease in Dhaniakhali and Polba is forthcoming except an increase in the prevalence of malaria. In the Serampore subdivision the largest increase is in the Uttarpara police-station. There has been some improvement in the sanitary condition of this police-station but the main cause for the increase on the present occasion is the establishment of a large number of brick fields, its increasing popularity as a residence for workers in Howrah and Calcutta city and particularly the construction of the Willingdon Bridge and the Calcutta Chord Line which were in process at the time of the census. In Haripal police-station the population is practically stationary: the local officers consider that there must have been a decrease owing to the prevalence of malaria had not the temporary influx of harvesters from Bankura increased the numbers recorded, whilst it is possible that the settlement operations which were in progress led to the return to their native villages of a number of persons ordinarily resident elsewhere. In Tarakeswar also the rate of increase is small. In the interior of the police-station malaria is prevalent and is said to be leading to a decrease in population. Immigration of Santhal labourers from Bankura and the progress of the settlement operations referred to in the case of Haripal police-station also have helped to counteract this tendency whilst Tarakeswar proper is reported to be a growing commercial centre where conditions of health are improving. In Jangipara the same conditions were generally operative as in Haripal and Tarakeswar but the influx of Santhal labourers for the harvest was not sufficient to convert a decrease into an increase. Serampore police-station is now practically an urban area and is becoming increasingly popular as a place of residence for clerical workers in Calcutta; and the decrease of 18·6 per cent. is ascribed entirely to the discharge of a number of mill workers just before the census was taken. A similar consideration might have been expected to result in a decrease in Bhadreswar police-station also but although some of the operatives of the mills were discharged this police-station also is becoming increasingly popular as a place of residence like Uttarpara and Serampore, and these immigrants together with the increase owing to improvement in the sanitary conditions of the area have more than counterbalanced the loss due to the discharge of mill workers. In Singur and Chanditala also the increasing popularity of localities outside Calcutta and Howrah as a residence for workers in these cities together with the advent of temporary Santhal labourers has resulted in an increase of population although these police-stations are reported to be malarial. In the Arambagh subdivision the two police-stations which show the greatest increase are Pursoora and Khanakul. These together with the eastern portion of the Arambagh subdivision lie in the spill area of the Damodar river and are comparatively free from epidemic or endemic diseases. In some places the fertility of the soil has actually increased, and there is said to be some movement of population within each police-station according as the lands of the different mauzas improve or deteriorate. Unlike Pursoora and Khanakul, Goghat police-station in which a decrease of 5·8 per cent. was recorded is partly outside the reach of the Damodar floods and in the south is water-logged owing to the defective outlet for the streams, Amodar and Tarajuli, whilst malaria is said to be prevalent throughout the whole police-station.

50. *Howrah district.*—In the Howrah district there has been an increase of 10·2 per cent. evenly distributed between the two subdivisions, Sadar and Uluberia. Increases have been shown of as much as 24·4 per cent. in Bally, 17·1 per cent. in Uluberia, 16·6 per cent. in Bagnan, 14·7 per cent. in Shampur and 10·9 per cent. in Panchla and there has been a decrease only in that part of Sibpur lying outside the Howrah city and in the Bowria police-station which, however, still remains the most thickly populated police-station in Bengal. The decreases are ascribed to the closing down of mills and factories and the retrenchment of staff: increases recorded are explained in addition to the natural growth of population by excess of births over deaths principally by the immigration of labour in connection with railway constructions in progress at the time of the census.

51. **Presidency Division.**—The figures for the Presidency Division are illustrated in diagram No. I-23 overleaf. The greatest percentage of increase has been in the Barrackpore subdivision running northwards from Calcutta city along the side of the Hooghly river, in the Sundarbans areas in the 24-Parganas and the central part of Khulna. There has also been considerable increase in Sripur and Naraganti police-stations in Jessore and in Raninagar police-station in Murshidabad. The areas in which decreases have been recorded run principally in a strip north to south from police-stations Mirpur, Kushtia, Kumarkhali, Hanskhali, Ranaghat, Chakdah and Haringhata in Nadia district through the whole of Jhenida subdivision, the Magura and Salikha police-stations of Magura subdivision, the Narail and Abhaynagar police-stations of the Narail subdivision, all the police-stations of the Sadar subdivision of Jessore with the exception of Naopara and Keshabpur, all the police-stations of Bongaon subdivision, all the police-stations of Barasat subdivision except Rajarhat, the Sarupnagar and Baduria police-stations of Basirhat subdivision in the 24-Parganas and the police-stations of Kalaroa, Satkhira and Kaliganj in Khulna. There has been an increase in the population in each police-station elsewhere.

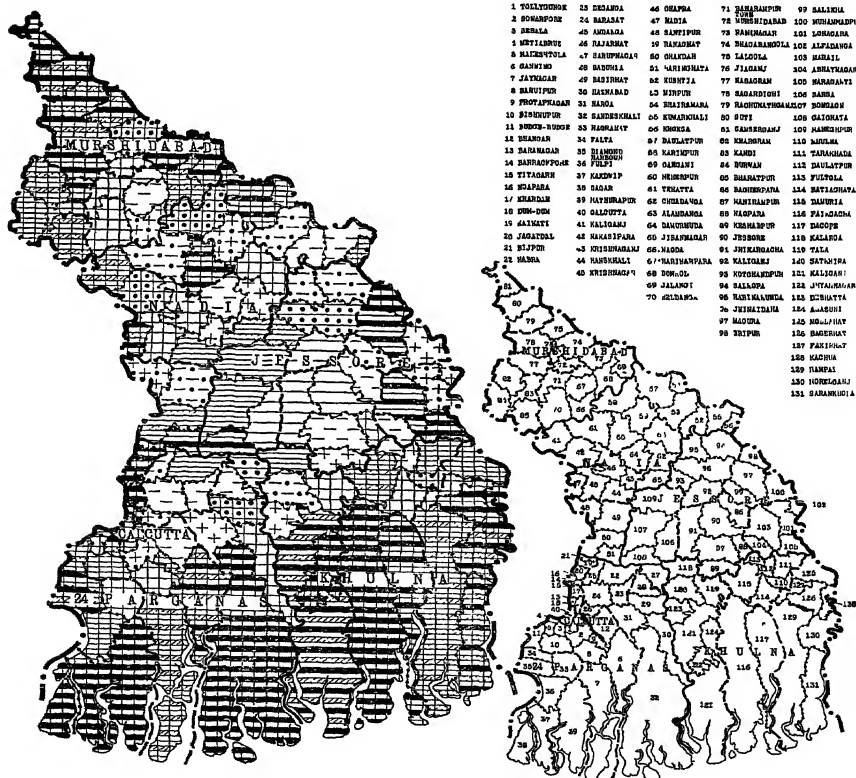
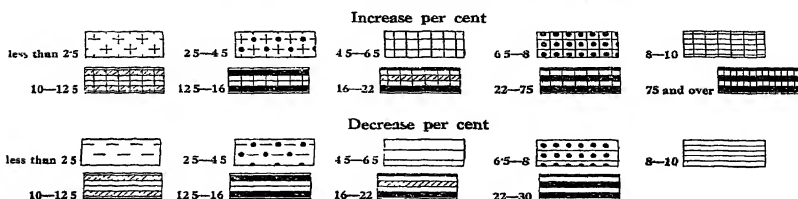
52. *24-Parganas district.*—In the 24-Parganas the subdivisions of Barrackpore with 18·1 per cent. and Diamond Harbour with 16 per cent. have shown the largest increase. In the Barrackpore subdivision decreases in Barrackpore and Tittagarh police-stations were due to the discharge of labourers in the mills immediately before the census operations, but in every other police-station in the subdivision increases ranging from 6·1 per cent. in Bijpur, to as much as 53·4 per cent. in Noapara and even 62·6 per cent. in Naihati were due to natural causes and to the expansion of industrial concerns which attracted a number of labourers. In the Diamond Harbour subdivision no police-station returned a decrease and in the Sagar police-station the increase was as much as 62 per cent., which, however, does not raise it above being the most thinly populated police-station in the plains of Bengal. Increased facility of communications and expansion of business are given as the causes of the increase in this subdivision, but there has been considerable immigration also in connection with the development of the Sundarbans and during the decade in areas like the police-stations of Kakdwip, Sagar and Mathurapur land previously uncultivated has been brought under cultivation. In the Sadar subdivision Bhangar and Metiabruz are the only police-stations which have recorded a decrease: the decrease in Bhangar (0·7 per cent.) is very small and that in Metiabruz police-station is due to the transfer of portions to the Calcutta area. Tollygunge and Behala police-stations border on the city of Calcutta and their expansion is due partly to the natural increase of population by excess of births over deaths and partly to the increase in the suburban population of the city. In Canning and Jayanagar besides the natural increase an influx of immigrants has been recorded during the decade and a similar cause together with the expansion of cultivation in the Sundarbans is responsible for the increase in the adjacent police-stations, Baruipur and Pratapnagar. The expansion of industrial concerns in Budge Budge accounts for an increase of 11·5 per cent. In Sonarpore, Maheshtola and Bishnupur the cause for the increase can be traced to no specific cause and is due to the normal excess of births

over deaths. In Barasat subdivision an increase is recorded only by the police-station of Rajarhat. The decrease of 9·4 per cent. in Habra is partly due to a falling off in the birth rate without a corresponding fall in the death

DIAGRAM No. 1-23.

INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION BY POLICE-STATIONS, PRESIDENCY DIVISION, 1921-31

(Changes of less than five in ten thousand are shown by blank hatchings)



rate as well as to unfavourable climatic conditions and emigration to neighbouring industrial areas. In the Basirhat subdivision, except the police-stations of Sarupnagar and Baduria already mentioned, where the decrease is ascribed to a deficiency of births and the general unhealthiness of the country, every police-station has recorded an increase. Natural causes are ascribed for the increase in all the remaining four police-stations, Basirhat,

Sandeskhali, Hasnabad and Haroa and in addition Basirhat and Sandeskhali have received an accession of immigrants, whilst the Sundarbans area of Sandeskhali, in which as large an increase as 43·4 per cent. has been recorded, has recently been brought under cultivation.

53. *Nadia district.*—The Nadia district recorded a decrease of 8 per cent. between 1911 and 1921 but has increased by 2·3 per cent. in the last decade. In the Ranaghat and Chuadanga subdivisions there has been a decrease. Ranaghat is described as an unhealthy subdivision and the decrease in Ranaghat, Chakdah and Haringhata police-stations is accounted for by this fact and by the resulting emigration of middle-class people in search of employment and for the education of their children. Santipur police-station, which alone in this subdivision shows an increase, is comparatively healthy but the increase of 2·8 per cent. is ascribed mainly to immigration of Muslim labourers into the char lands. In the Chuadanga subdivision the increase in Chuadanga police-station amounts only to 0·5 per cent. and is due to the growth of the subdivisional headquarters. The increase of 4·5 per cent. in the Alamdanga police-station is due to the influx of population in the Alamdanga Bazar and its neighbourhood for business purposes and to the existence of Boalia and Gokulkhali, which are trade centres attracting business men. In the remaining two police-stations, Damurhuda and Jibannagar, the latter of which has declined by 12 per cent., the decrease is ascribed to general unhealthiness attributed in Jibannagar mainly to the decay of effluents of the Ganges passing through these police-stations. In the Sadar subdivision, which shows the largest percentage of increase (6·1), only one police-station, Hanskhali, has recorded a decrease and in this area, which is reported to be notoriously malarious, many people have left their homes. Amongst the remaining police-stations Kaliganj has shown the greatest percentage increase (12·3). Kaliganj police-station on the Ganges and Chapra on the Kharia river are reported to be healthy whilst there is a good market in Chapra police-station and a considerable Christian settlement with a standard of living somewhat higher than that of the average cultivator. Krishnagar and Nadia police-stations both owe their increased population largely to the existence of towns within them. During the decade a filtered water-supply was installed by the municipality of Krishnagar which has had the influence of increasing the health of the town and attracting middle-class residents from rural areas to settle there particularly for the education of their children. In the Nadia police-station the town of Nabadwip is a sacred place of the Hindus and is attracting an increasing number of settlers, whilst the village of Mayapur on the other side of the Ganges claimed by one section of Vaishnavas as the birth-place of Sri Gauranga is also receiving inhabitants and developing into a town. The increase in the remaining police-stations in this subdivision, Nakasipara and Krishnagar, can be accounted for only by the healthiness of the place and by natural increase. In the Meherpur subdivision an increase of 4·5 per cent. has been recorded to which Meherpur police-station, with an increase of 14·4 per cent., makes the largest contribution. Meherpur, however, has gained some area by transfer from Tehatta police-station, the decrease in which is thus explained, but communications have improved during the decade and business facilities have increased particularly in Meherpur town the population of which has increased by 15 per cent. In the Karimpur police-station Kechuadanga Bazar is growing in importance and has attracted settlers from Murshidabad district, whilst at the time of the census it was observed that a number of people had crossed the river from Murshidabad and temporarily settled there to enjoy the excellent facilities for cattle grazing. In the Gangani police-station no explanation of the increase is forthcoming except by the natural excess of births over deaths. In the Kushtia subdivision the rate of increase is 3·3 per cent., but a decrease has been recorded in three out of six police-stations. The decrease in the Kushtia police-station itself is due, however, to transfer of a number of mauzas to Pabna district and similarly transfer of a mauza from Mirpur to Bhairamara together with the emigration of a number of people from villages lying in the old Goral river to the char areas of the Bhairamara police-station is

responsible for the decrease in Mirpur and for part of the increase in Bhairamara which also is a comparatively healthy area. In the Kumarkhali police-station also the decrease of population is apparent rather than real. The decrease is no more than 1,881 whereas areas with a population of 5,097 and 2,730, respectively, in 1921 have been transferred to Khoksa police-station. The increase in Khoksa is thus more than accounted for by changes in its jurisdiction whilst the increase in Daulatpur police-station is due to transfers from the Rajshahi district as well as from the neighbouring subdivision of Meherpur.

54. *Murshidabad district.*—In the Murshidabad district the only police stations showing a decrease are Hariharpara which is described as a malarial area and Jiaganj where a decrease of 3·5 per cent. is explained by the decay of the silk industry which has led to a number of silk workers leaving the locality in which some areas have subsequently run to jungle. The rate of increase in the whole district is 12 per cent. It is greatest in the Jangipur subdivision where it amounts to 16·9 per cent. though the police-station of Raninagar in Lalbagh subdivision with 36·4 per cent. increase shows the largest proportion of increase in any police-station of the district. The district suffered heavily from the depopulation caused by the influenza epidemic during the preceding years and the increase is very largely due to the ordinary recuperation generally noticed when a calamity has reduced the population. Specific explanations are offered only for Domkol and Jalangi police-stations which owe their increase to a healthy climate and the settlement of immigrants in Jalangi police-station as a result of erosions in the river Padma elsewhere. In Beldanga the increase is partly due to immigration of labourers on the railway and in the brick-fields, but the increase in Berhampore, if any has occurred, is difficult to assess owing to the fact that Beldanga, Berhampore town and Murshidabad were differently distributed at the census of 1921.

55. *Jessore district.*—In Jessore there has been a decrease of 3 per cent. The police-stations in which it occurs have been already mentioned. The decrease is particularly marked in Bongaon, Jhenida and Sadar subdivisions. Such emigration and immigration as takes place in this district is temporary. Labourers from the western provinces visit the district but return to their homes after completing their work and those persons from the district who go to Calcutta also return to their home districts as soon as their work is finished. The Jessore district has for some time been an area in which the population has been decreasing and in every instance the cause is ascribed to the action of the rivers. Where they flow strongly they provide not only irrigation for the fields but also communication for farmers and trade. In the west and central parts of the district, however, the offshoots from the Ganges have decayed and no longer flow freely, with the result that local trade and commerce have been hampered and land tends to go out of cultivation and to be covered with jungle. Upon a country deprived of the services of its rivers in this way the mosquito descends and takes possession with the result that malaria prevails and the effect of continued attacks of this disease leaves the people weak and listless. Such returns as are maintained of vital statistics show that deaths during the period 18th March 1921 to February 1931 as shown in subsidiary table IV had exceeded births by more than 70,000. A special cause for the decrease in Kotchandpur police-station is the decay of the sugar industry which received relief after the Great War but again declined between 1921 and 1931.

56. *Khulna district.*—In the Khulna district also the decline in the Kalaroa and Satkhira police-stations is ascribed to the silting up and deterioration of the rivers and khals once forming the natural drainage of these areas. Kaliganj police-station has been reduced by transfer of some mauzas to police-stations Shyamnagar and Assasuni and these transfers partly account for the enormous increase of 87·2 per cent. in the population of Shyamnagar though in both these police-stations there has been some reclamation of land leading to immigration from outside and the climatic conditions are good. The population of Debhatta police-station has remained

practically stationary and the increase of 5·9 per cent. in Tala police-station is ascribed to natural causes and a good climate. In the Sadar subdivision the increase has been 12·3 compared with 8·4 per cent. in the Satkhira subdivision. The small decrease in Fultola is ascribed to cholera and other epidemic diseases. The Paikgacha and Dacope police-stations including reserve forest areas contain stretches which have been brought under cultivation since the last census. Similar causes account for an increase in Daulatpur, Batiaghata and Damuria police-stations, whilst Khulna and Tarakhada police-stations have enjoyed freedom from epidemic diseases and are healthy regions. In the Bagerhat subdivision the increase is 12·1, being most marked in Sarankhola which has shown an increase of 18·2 per cent. This police-station with Morelganj and Rampal contain reserve forests and areas which were not under cultivation in 1921 and have since attracted agriculturists from other districts. In the Mollahat police-station the increase is due to transfer from Bakarganj district of two union areas and in the remaining police-stations the increase is due to natural causes, viz., the excess of births over deaths. In parts of the district the cyclone which occurred before the last census not only drove away from their homes a number of people who have since returned but also led to breaches in the embankments and to the consequent infiltration of salt water into parts of Shyamnagar, Assasuni, Kaliganj and Morelganj police-stations. During the past ten years fresh water from the Kalindi river has entered these areas and is gradually clearing away the brackish water and leading to the recultivation of the parts affected.

57. **Rajshahi Division.**—The most significant decrease in the Rajshahi Division, figures for which are illustrated in diagram No. I-24 overleaf, has occurred in the area comprising the Thakurgaon subdivision of Dinajpur and extending thence into the Moynaguri police-station in Sadar subdivision of Jalpaiguri and into the western half of the Cooch Behar State. In the Thakurgaon subdivision only one police-station, Khansama, has shown an increase and the increase in that case is comparatively small. The two police-stations of Raiganj and Biral in the Sadar subdivision of Dinajpur and Phulbari in the Balurghat subdivision have also shown decreases. In the south-west of the division also there is an area in which there has been a decrease. It comprises all police-stations of the Nator subdivision in Rajshahi with the exception of Nandigram together with those of Sadar subdivision adjoining except Tanor and Godagari and extends also to police-stations Nandanali, Raninagar, Manda and Mahadebpur in Naogaon and it is continued to the north-east by Rayganj police-station in Pabna whilst three police-stations, Chatmohar, Atgharia and Pabna, continue it to the south-west. This area of decrease in the south-west of the division therefore continues the strip in which a decrease has been recorded in Khulna, Jessore and Nadia.

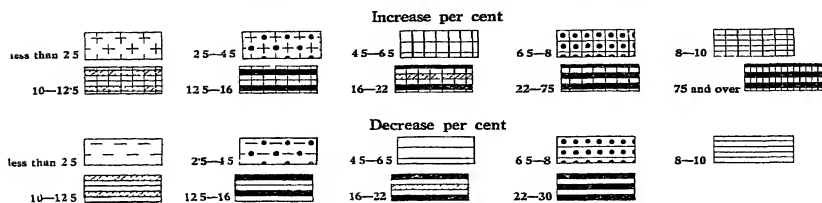
58. *Rajshahi district.*—In Rajshahi district the decrease has been 4·6 per cent. In the Sadar subdivision, of the two police-stations which have shown an increase, Tanor has a practically stationary population the increase being only 0·7 per cent. whilst Godagari is largely inhabited by Santhals and other aborigines who appear to multiply more quickly than the local inhabitants. In Boalia police-station there has been a certain amount of diluvian in the char area which has led to the emigration of some of the inhabitants. In Bagmara, Mohanpur, Puthia, Paba and Charghat police-stations the prevalence of malaria, small-pox and cholera together with the water-hyacinth which chokes the water channels is the cause ascribed for decreases amounting to as much as 15·1 per cent. in Boalia and 13·1 per cent. in Mohanpur, whilst in Puthia and Paba police-stations it is reported that the silk industry is dying out and that here and also in Charghat the substitution of jute for paddy crops has made the locality unhealthy. In the Nandigram police-station of Nator there has been some immigration from Bogra and the area itself is reported to be healthy but elsewhere in the Nator subdivision the decrease is ascribed to unhealthy conditions and to the fact that the measures for preventing and dealing with ill-health are extremely unsatisfactory. In the Naogaon subdivision, which shows a decrease of 2·4 per cent., the increase of Badalgachhi and Naogaon is partly due to transfer

of 48 manzas from Mahadebpur, which owes some part of its decrease to this transfer. Naugon also is reported to be a healthy place whilst the population of Badalgachhi has been swelled by immigration of permanent residents of

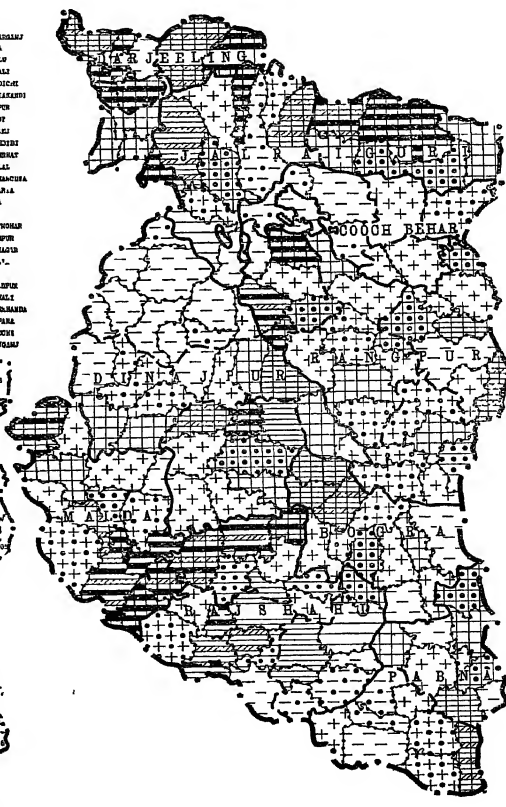
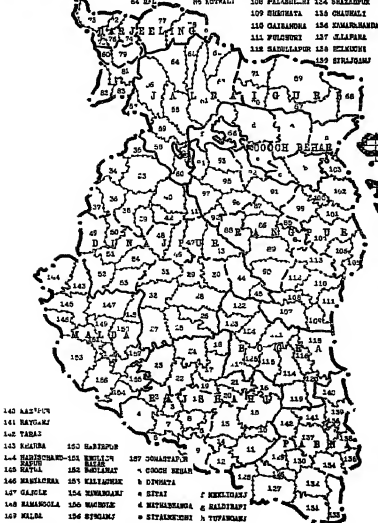
DIAGRAM No. 1-24.

INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION BY POLICE-STATIONS, RAJSHAHI DIVISION, 1921-31

(Changes of less than five in ten thousand are shown by blank hatching)

KEY TO POLICE STATIONS
RAJSHAHI DIVISION & COCHO BEHAR

1. BODHIA	25. KATIA	43. PURNAPUR	63. METTALA	87. GARGHONIA	115. STANESWARI
2. CHUN	26. KILCHUPUR	44. KAPANGAL	64. PATRABAR	88. KANAKPUR	116. BOGA
3. CHANDPUR	27. KALCHANDPUR	45. GORHAPUR	65. ALUPUR	89. PITALPURA	117. KALIA
4. GORHAPUR	28. PATELLA	46. BHALUPUR	66. BHALUPUR	90. PATELLA	118. KALIA
5. BODHIA	29. BODHIA	47. GORHAPUR	67. KALIA	91. KALIA	119. KALIA
6. PATELLA	30. KALIA	48. KALIA	68. KALIA	92. KALIA	120. KALIA
7. KALIA	31. KALIA	49. KALIA	69. KALIA	93. KALIA	121. KALIA
8. KALIA	32. KALIA	50. KALIA	70. KALIA	94. KALIA	122. KALIA
9. KALIA	33. KALIA	51. KALIA	71. KALIA	95. KALIA	123. KALIA
10. KALIA	34. KALIA	52. KALIA	72. KALIA	96. KALIA	124. KALIA
11. KALIA	35. KALIA	53. KALIA	73. KALIA	97. KALIA	125. KALIA
12. KALIA	36. KALIA	54. KALIA	74. KALIA	98. KALIA	126. KALIA
13. KALIA	37. KALIA	55. KALIA	75. KALIA	99. KALIA	127. KALIA
14. KALIA	38. KALIA	56. KALIA	76. KALIA	100. KALIA	128. KALIA
15. KALIA	39. KALIA	57. KALIA	77. KALIA	101. KALIA	129. KALIA
16. KALIA	40. KALIA	58. KALIA	78. KALIA	102. KALIA	130. KALIA
17. KALIA	41. KALIA	59. KALIA	79. KALIA	103. KALIA	131. KALIA
18. KALIA	42. KALIA	60. KALIA	80. KALIA	104. KALIA	132. KALIA
19. KALIA	43. KALIA	61. KALIA	81. KALIA	105. KALIA	133. KALIA
20. KALIA	44. KALIA	62. KALIA	82. KALIA	106. KALIA	134. KALIA
21. KALIA	45. KALIA	63. KALIA	83. KALIA	107. KALIA	135. KALIA
22. KALIA	46. KALIA	64. KALIA	84. KALIA	108. KALIA	136. KALIA
23. KALIA	47. KALIA	65. KALIA	85. KALIA	109. KALIA	137. KALIA
24. KALIA	48. KALIA	66. KALIA	86. KALIA	110. KALIA	138. KALIA



the Oraon and other aboriginal tribes. The increase in the Atrai police-station is comparatively small and is partly due to the fact that jute traders and labourers were attracted here during the period when jute was fetching high prices up to 1929. Niamatpur, the only other police-station in this subdivision which has shown an increase, like Badalgachhi, is being peopled

by aboriginal tribes such as the Santhals who are coming to reside there permanently. The decrease in police-stations Nandanali and Raninagar as well as in Manda, in spite of transfer of area from Mahadebpur, is ascribed to malaria and epidemics.

59. *Dinajpur district.*—The district of Dinajpur has the reputation of being unhealthy but it contains large stretches of waste and jungle land which invite aboriginals such as the Santhals and Oraons to settle and bring them under cultivation. In the Sadar subdivision there has been a decrease, and that small only, in two police-stations, Biral and Raiganj, which is ascribed in the latter police-station to the migration of foreign labourers who were attracted to the place by the prosperity of the jute industry up to 1929 but had left before the census was taken. The extension of the broad-gauge railway beyond Parbatipur and an increase of trade and of the mills in operation account for the 9·9 per cent. increase in Parbatipur police-station. The immigration of Santhals, Shershabadia Muslims and other colonists accounts for the increase in Banshihari, Kaliaganj, Itahar, and Hemtabad, police-stations, whilst in Ghoraghat and Nawabganj there have been new settlements in waste and jungle lands and an improvement in the incidence of epidemic diseases. Natural causes, an improvement in public health and a change of climate are ascribed as the reasons for increases in Dinajpur, Kushmundi and Chirirbander police-stations. In the Thakurgaon subdivision the only police-station which has increased is Khansama, which owes its small increase to immigration from elsewhere; but in the other police-stations of this subdivision the unhealthy climate and the prevalence of malaria are ascribed as the causes of a decrease whilst from Baliadangi and Atwari emigrants are said to have gone to Purnea and Jalpaiguri in search of cultivable land. In the Balurghat subdivision a decrease was recorded only in Phulbari and is ascribed to a curtailment of area by transfer of two unions from Phulbari and the emigration of Santhals to other places, whilst the increase in all other police-stations of this subdivision is ascribed to natural causes and also to the settlement of Santhals, Kols and other aborigines and in Gangarampur, of Shershabadia Muslims from Malda and Murshidabad.

60. *Jalpaiguri district.*—The Jalpaiguri district shows an increase of 5 per cent. Some part of this increase is ascribed to the more comprehensive arrangements made on the present occasion for the census of new recruits to the tea gardens who had come after the preliminary census was made and are thought previously to have escaped enumeration. In the Sadar subdivision Rajganj, Boda, Debiganj, Maynaguri and Pathgram returned decreases which were as many as 10·4 per cent. in Rajganj and 5·8 per cent. in Boda. The decrease in Rajganj is more than accounted for by the transfer of over half the taluk Sanyasikata to the Tetulia police-station. The area transferred had a population of almost 6,500 in 1931 which practically accounts for the whole increase of Tetulia thana. In addition to this transfer from Rajganj there was a decrease in the number of coolies on two tea gardens whilst the bad conditions of the Shikarpur forests where some 3,000 coolies used to work cutting fuel and wood led to their numbers on the present occasion being only about 1,500. Boda had suffered in 1922-1924 from cholera and small-pox which again visited it in 1925 and these unfavourable conditions were also reinforced by the emigration of a number of people from this police-station to Purnea or Assam or to the Alipur subdivision. Debiganj, for which also a decrease was reported, also suffered during 1925 from a small-pox epidemic. The decrease in Maynaguri is apparent only, for the census of 1921 was taken when the Jalpesh fair was in full swing and a number of pilgrims estimated at 52,000 were present on the occasion of the Sivaratri festival whereas in 1931 the visitors to the fair were reckoned to be 20,000 only and this falling off of some 20,000 or 30,000 visitors more than accounts for the decrease of about 3,200 recorded on the present occasion. In Pathgram the small decrease of one per cent. is due to an epidemic of small-pox in 1924 and to distress caused by the very low price of tobacco. Pachagar owes its increase to the transfer of a part of the sadar police-station whilst the increase of tea cultivation with the employment of a larger number of labourers accounts for the increase in Dhuhguri, Mitiali, Mal and Falakata.

and in Nagrakata also though no new gardens appear to be opened during the decade there was an extension of tea cultivation with a consequent increase in the labour force employed. In the Alipur Duar subdivision some part of the increase is attributable to the improved arrangements made for the census of coolies engaged in collecting and breaking stones in the river beds. Both in Sadar and Kumargram police-stations as well as in Madarihāt and Kalchini the opening of new tea plantations or the extension of tea cultivation is responsible for the greater part of the increase. In the whole of the district there has been considerable improvement in road communications which has facilitated immigration. There has been an extension of public health services which has also contributed to the improvement of conditions and it is reported that the birth rate is steadily increasing whilst the death rate is very much lower than the birth rate.

61. *Darjeeling district.*—In Darjeeling district also similar causes have resulted in the increase of 13 per cent. recorded on the present occasion. Rangli-Rangliot is the only police-station which has returned a decrease and this is comparatively small. In the Sadar subdivision the opening of new tea gardens and the natural increase by excess of births over deaths have accounted for the increases. Immigrants from Nepal are in the whole district actually 10 less than were recorded in 1921. In the Siliguri police-station the increase in the population of Siliguri town itself consequent upon the extension of the broad-gauge railway to this place probably accounts for the greatest part of the increase, but an accurate estimate cannot be made owing to the fact that Khoribari police-station, which is now shown separately, was not separately shown in 1921 and it is reported that the bulk of the increase of population almost certainly comes from outside from such places as Muzaffarpur, Patna and Darbhanga in Bihar and from the hills. In the hill station of Kalimpong the increase is ascribed to natural causes. It is unlikely that there has been any increase in immigration since the numbers of immigrants from Bhutan and Tibet was less at the present census than in 1921, though the immigrants from Sikkim were over 1,700 more in the whole district than in that year. In the Kurseong subdivision apart from the natural increase the causes alleged are the settlement of ex-officers in Kurseong police-station and the extension of tea cultivation during the time when tea was fetching a high price leading to the establishment of a larger number of coolies in the tea gardens who have permanently settled down.

62. *Rangpur district.*—In the Rangpur district a decrease was recorded only in the Nilphamari, Ulipur, Fulchuri and Domar police-stations. In Nilphamari it is accounted for by the reduction of the area on a redistribution of jurisdiction in 1926. In Domar it is accounted for by the depression in the jute trade which threw a large number of labourers out of work and compelled them to return to their own homes as well as leading to a reduction in the staff of the firms engaged in this trade. In Fulchuri police-station the decrease is accounted for by the emigration of the inhabitants of the chars to Assam and other places. The total increase in the whole district was 3·7 per cent. and it was greatest in the Nilphamari subdivision which increased by 5 per cent. In the Sadar subdivision transfers of jurisdiction account for some of the increase in Kaunia and Hatibandha police-stations, whilst the increase in other police-stations is comparatively small and is due to natural excess of births over deaths. Changes in area are responsible for a decrease in Kishoreganj and Saidpur, although some part of the increase in Saidpur is also attributable to the expansion of the railway settlement in Saidpur town. No other cause is ascribed for the great increase, 33·3 per cent., at Dimla than the excess of births over deaths and to the same cause is ascribed the increase in Jaldhaka police-station which has actually lost a part of its area by transfer to Hatibandha police-station in the Sadar subdivision. In the Kurigaon subdivision Ulipur police-station has lost by transfer as has already been stated and also suffered from erosion from the river Teesta. In Kurigaon subdivision, Nageswari and Bhurangamari police-stations contain char areas and they together with Rahumari have received from the districts of Mymensingh, Pabna and Bogra, immigrants commonly known as Bhatiyas who have colonised the chars. Lalmonirhat police-station owes its increase

largely to the growth and increasing importance of the railway colony and town of that name and to the establishment of railway workshops there. In the Gaibandha subdivision the increase is accounted for mainly by the excess of births over deaths, though there is a tendency in the Gaibandha police-station for immigrants to move into the subdivisional town of Gaibandha from other places.

63. *Bogra district*.—In Bogra a decrease of population was recorded in Shariakandi and Sherpur police-stations during the last decade. In Shariakandi between 1921 and 1931 a number of villages were washed away and the inhabitants went to Mymensingh and Assam as well as to the Panchbibi, Khetlal and Joypurhat police-stations of Bogra district. In Sherpur there has been some cholera during the decade and many parts of the police-station are unhealthy and full of jungle. In Dhunot, Adamdighi and Bogra a small increase has been recorded which is less than it would otherwise have been if health conditions had been better, whilst there is also an annual migration from Dhunot to Assam owing to the liability of this area to heavy floods damaging crops and driving the inhabitants away. Panchbibi, Joypurhat and Khetlal owe their increase not only to the immigration of people from Shariakandi and Dhunot police-stations but also to the influx of aboriginals. Hili and Joypurhat are also attracting a number of merchants and labourers : there are for instance thirteen rice mills at Hili employing a considerable labour force. Joypurhat has also received an accession of territory by the transfer of five mauzas from Dinajpur in 1924. In Gabtali, Kahalu, Sibganj and Dhupchanchia the increase is attributed to more vigorous public health measures and to the prosperous condition of a rice mill in Dupchanchia police-station.

64. *Pabna district*.—The Pabna district has shown an increase of 3·7 per cent. principally contributed by the Sirajganj subdivision which has increased by 4·6 per cent. Decreases recorded at Atgharia and Pabna are attributed to the general insanitary condition of the police-stations resulting from the drying up of a number of small rivers which become stagnant pools and centres for the dissemination of malaria. In the case of Pabna police-station the decrease in the whole area of 0·3 per cent. is all the more notable owing to the 13·4 per cent. increase in Pabna town which has attracted labourers from outside by the development of its hosiery manufactures and the establishment of a regular motor service from Ishurdi. A decrease has also been recorded in Chatmohar police-station also attributed to the silting up of the Boral river and the falling out of cultivation of certain tracts of lands. The largest percentage increase in any rural part of the district is shown by police-station Bera, which is flanked by the two great rivers of the district, Jamuna and Padma, has a healthy climate and has attracted immigrants from the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and Faridpur to settle on the chars formed in the beds of the rivers. The Sara police-station contains the big railway colonies of Paksey and Ishurdi and these together with the development of business around them and the formation of chars in the river Padma have led to immigration and an increase of 2·4 per cent. in the population. Immigrants have also been attracted to the chars in the Sujaganagar police-station and here as well as in Faridpur and Santhia immunity from epidemics and a healthy climate have resulted in an excess of births over deaths. In the Sirajganj subdivision the police-station of Shazadpur shows the greatest rate of increase, viz., a percentage of 9·9 due to the absence of any serious epidemic during the decade and also due to the prosperity of the jute trade up to the year 1929. Kazipur and Belkuchi with 7·6 and 7·2 per cent. increase, respectively, are healthy regions in which there has been an absence of malaria or other epidemics. Taras police-station, formerly notorious for malaria and in a backward and inaccessible part of the district, owes its increase to the settlement of immigrants largely from Rayganj police-station who are reclaiming waste lands and bringing them under cultivation. The increase in Sirajganj police-station is very largely due to the increase in the Sirajganj town caused by the prosperity of the jute trade during the decade, in spite of serious erosions by the river which has engulfed almost the whole of the original town and is still threatening. Freedom from

epidemics is responsible for the increase in Kamarkhanda which has increased by 3·8 per cent. and in Ullapara where the population is almost stationary. The 1·9 per cent. decrease in Chauhali is due to the erosion of Jamuna compelling emigration to other districts and even to Assam and the emigration from Rayganj, to which reference has also been made, is due to the liability of the area to heavy floods.

65. *Malda district.*—The increase in the Malda district is 4·1 per cent. During the decade a new railway—Amnura to Nawabganj—has been opened which, however, has not yet affected the population of the area through which it passes. There have been considerable changes of jurisdiction between police-stations within the district and these are reported to have concealed the decline which might have been expected in English Bazar, Kaliachak and Bholahat owing to the decline of the silk industry which is ascribed as the reason for a decline in Sibganj police-station. A similar cause, namely, the decline of the lac industry, might have been expected to result in decreases in Manikchak and Kaliachak and to have contributed to the decrease in Sibganj police-station, but in the first two police-stations changes of jurisdiction have concealed this, whilst the Ganges now moving over to the Santhal Parganas is throwing up chars which are attracting some immigration of Shershahadi Muslims from Murshidabad. The whole of the *barind* area, namely, the police-stations of Gomastapur and Nachole with that part of Nawabganj east of the Mahananda and Malda, Bamangola and Gajole, is said to be decreasing in fertility, but it is only in Gomastapur, Malda and Bamangola that an actual decrease of population has been recorded, although the immigration begun 30 years ago from the Santhal Parganas is now said to have ceased and the tide is said to have turned backward since a time of scarcity in 1926. In the Harischandrapur police-station land is still being brought under cultivation and the population has increased. In the central part of the country, the district officer comments on a large growth of mango gardens which is either cause or result and at any rate a concomitant of the decrease in population.

66. *Cooch Behar State.*—In the Cooch Behar State there has been a small decrease of less than 2,000 persons during the decade. The figures maintained by the state for births and deaths during the period from 1920-1921 to 1929-1930 shown in statement No. I-15 in the margin result in a

STATEMENT No. I-15.

Births and deaths in Cooch Behar State.

Year.	Births	Deaths
1920-21	9,579	8,140
1921-22	7,798	8,219
1922-23	6,712	6,008
1923-24	7,712	6,004
1924-25	8,948	9,063
1925-26	8,104	8,578
1926-27	8,191	8,447
1927-28	7,649	8,893
1928-29	8,821	10,878
1929-30	9,360	9,593
Total	82,923	81,377

net increase of 1,607 births over deaths during that period, but little reliance can be placed upon these vital statistics since the returns are apparently not strictly enforced. The figures of birth-place do not suggest that the depopulation of the state is due to an excessive emigration elsewhere. Imperial table VI shows that of the population of Cooch Behar only 76,712 were born outside the state of whom 61,731 were born in British districts of Bengal, 10,801 in Bihar and Orissa and Assam and over 2,000 in the United Provinces. Subsidiary table III to chapter III shows, however, that the total number of emigrants from Bengal states to all parts of India including Bengal amounted to no more than 31,396 and this figure includes those for Tripura State. The number of emigrants from the state to British districts was only 22,219 at the census of 1931. The figures of birth-place, therefore, appear to suggest on the balance an increase in the population of the state as a result of migration. The decrease in the state is entirely contributed by the Hindus who are nearly 18,000 less in 1931 than they were in 1921. The state suffered heavily from cholera and small-pox epidemics in 1928-1929, which accounted for over 4,000 known deaths alone, whilst it is probable that a very great number of deaths were unreported; but although this epidemic no doubt contributed to the decline it does not exclusively explain the very considerable decrease in the number of Hindus. The Hindus of the state are principally of the Rajbangshi, Poliya, Koch and Mechh tribes. The last named are throughout

Bengal being driven away into the foot hills and also into Assam by the advance of settled cultivation whilst there is a strong movement amongst the three other groups for an enhancement of their position and a change of traditional custom such as the abandonment of widow remarriage, which is now being discontinued amongst those members of the caste who aspire to Kshattriya status. It is possible that the prohibition of widow remarriage has contributed to the falling off in the numbers of Hindus, but it is also a speculation that these groups are finding that the change in traditional customs is indirectly responsible for their decrease in numbers by the same process which is contributing to the depopulation of Melancasia, where the decay of ancient customs appears to induce a lethargy or indifference affecting the vitality of the people.

67. **Dacca Division—Dacca district.**—The figures for the increase or decrease of population in each police-station of the Dacca Division are illustrated by diagram No. I-25. In the Dacca district the increase of 8·7 per cent. was mainly contributed by the Narayanganj subdivision where an increase of 12·9 per cent. has been recorded. Throughout the district there has been little further development of industrial concerns or communication and immigration has contributed no part of the increase. It must consequently be looked upon as due entirely to the natural increase owing to the excess of births over deaths. In Sivalay and Daulatpur police-stations in Manikganj subdivision the increase is partly ascribed to the accretion of several chars in the Padma and Jamuna rivers and to the transfer of several chars which were previously in the district of Palna. The decrease in the combined population of Munshiganj and Tangibari police-stations in the Munshiganj subdivision is mainly due to the transfer of char areas from this police-station to Madaripur and Chandpur subdivisions, whilst Tangibari has also suffered from erosion both on the north by the Dhaleswari river and on the south by the Padma. Srinagar and Lohajang police-stations have also suffered from erosions but the population shows an increase and apparently those persons affected by the erosions have migrated merely to the interior of the police-station whereas persons similarly affected in Tangibari have left the police-station altogether. The district has been free from serious epidemics and although malaria was prevalent in the Manikganj subdivision the death rate is not reported to have been much higher than normal whilst here as elsewhere also there has been during the decade a very considerable improvement in sanitary conditions and in the measures adopted for the improvement of public health and sanitation. The increase is fairly well distributed over the whole of the district but it is largest in the police-stations of Narayanganj subdivision bordering the river Meghna, the average increase of the whole subdivision being 12·9 per cent. The Sadar subdivision with an increase of 11·4 per cent. comes next and shows the greatest percentage increase in those police-stations bordering on the Narayanganj subdivision in the eastern part of the subdivision.

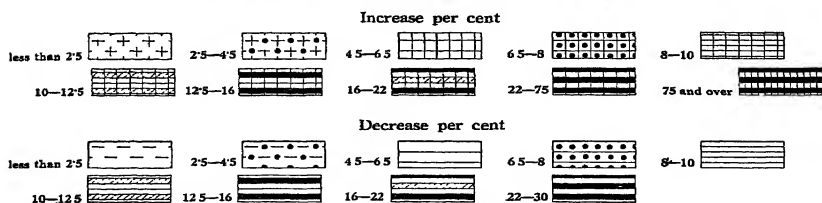
68. **Mymensingh district.**—In the Mymensingh district out of 51 police-stations only 9 have returned a decrease and the increase in the whole district is 6·1 per cent. In the Jamalpur subdivision decreases in Jamalpur, Melandaha and Sarishabari are due to emigration to Assam where till recently virgin land was available and by migration the cultivator was tempted to try to escape debts incurred in his old home. Similar causes explain decreases in Barhatta, Atpara, Mohanganj and Durgapur in the Netrakona subdivision and also in the Itna and Astagram police-stations of Kishoreganj subdivision which are in a low-lying backward area and in which water-hyacinth and early floods have reduced by 75 per cent. the winter paddy locally grown about two decades ago and then forming the principal crop. Purbadhala, Khaliajuri and Kalmakanda police-stations in the Netrokona subdivision contain large areas not yet brought into cultivation which are attracting immigrants, and the colonisation of uninhabited char lands in Nagarpur police-station of Tangail is also attributed as a reason for the increase. In this last police-station there has been an increase of area by transfer from the Sirajganj police-station and some part of the increase in Nikli police-station

is due to the transfer of an area from Kathiadi police-station of the same subdivision which, however, has not lost sufficient population by this transfer to record a decrease. Bhairabbazar contains the biggest business

DIAGRAM No. I-25.

INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION BY POLICE-STATIONS, DACCA DIVISION, 1921-31

(Changes of less than five in ten thousand are shown by blank hatchings)



KEY TO POLICE STATIONS - DACCA DIVISION

1. DHAKA TOWN	44. KOPALIPARA	67. MADANBARAJ	92. PURANABALLA	127. MATAMBARA
2. TRENDA	45. BAKARIPUR	68. SARTHAKABATI	93. ATAPARA	128. PATRACHHATE
3. KHAMTIGANJ	46. PULIA	69. PHULPUN	94. KOLAKALIA	129. BANNA
4. JYOTHSIPUR	47. AJLAJIT	70. NAJIBABAD	95. DURGAPUR	130. PRASADPATTI
5. KAPATA	48. PULPO	71. BAKALI	96. KALAKALIA	131. RAJIPUR
6. SIVPUR	49. GOKULPATT	72. ISWARIKAT	97. KISHORABAZAR	132. BAKARIPARA
7. KALIDANG	50. KENDRABAZAR	73. KUTALI	98. TAILAL	133. FENUGUR
8. BANABAZAR	51. KALTA	74. KENDRABAZAR	99. KALIBAZAR	134. KENDRABAZAR
9. DOLAR	52. JALPATA	75. PULABATI	100. KOLABAZAR	135. BAKARIPARA
10. BAKHAR	53. SIKHAR	76. GANAPATKAT	101. TALA	136. KALABALLA
11. KALIBAZAR	54. MATRAPUR	77. TIRAL	102. KATULI	137. KALABAZAR
12. GANAPAT	55. GOKULPATT	78. BAKALI	103. PUNDIRA	138. KENDRABAZAR
13. KALIBAZAR	56. GOKULPATT	79. KOLABAZAR	104. KALIBAZAR	139. KALIBAZAR
14. KALABAZAR	57. KALIBAZAR	80. KALIBAZAR	105. KALIBAZAR	140. KALIBAZAR
15. KALIBAZAR	58. KALIBAZAR	81. KALIBAZAR	106. KALIBAZAR	141. KALIBAZAR
16. KALIBAZAR	59. KALIBAZAR	82. KALIBAZAR	107. KALIBAZAR	142. KALIBAZAR
17. KALIBAZAR	60. KALIBAZAR	83. KALIBAZAR	108. KALIBAZAR	143. KALIBAZAR
18. KALIBAZAR	61. KALIBAZAR	84. KALIBAZAR	109. KALIBAZAR	144. KALIBAZAR
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20. KALIBAZAR	63. KALIBAZAR	86. KALIBAZAR	111. KALIBAZAR	146. KALIBAZAR
21. KALIBAZAR	64. KALIBAZAR	87. KALIBAZAR	112. KALIBAZAR	147. KALIBAZAR
22. KALIBAZAR	65. KALIBAZAR	88. KALIBAZAR	113. KALIBAZAR	148. KALIBAZAR
23. KALIBAZAR	66. KALIBAZAR	89. KALIBAZAR	114. KALIBAZAR	149. KALIBAZAR
24. KALIBAZAR	67. KALIBAZAR	90. KALIBAZAR	115. KALIBAZAR	150. KALIBAZAR
25. KALIBAZAR	68. KALIBAZAR	91. KALIBAZAR	116. KALIBAZAR	151. KALIBAZAR
26. KALIBAZAR	69. KALIBAZAR	92. KALIBAZAR	117. KALIBAZAR	152. KALIBAZAR
27. KALIBAZAR	70. KALIBAZAR	93. KALIBAZAR	118. KALIBAZAR	153. KALIBAZAR
28. KALIBAZAR	71. KALIBAZAR	94. KALIBAZAR	119. KALIBAZAR	154. KALIBAZAR
29. KALIBAZAR	72. KALIBAZAR	95. KALIBAZAR	120. KALIBAZAR	155. KALIBAZAR
30. KALIBAZAR	73. KALIBAZAR	96. KALIBAZAR	121. KALIBAZAR	156. KALIBAZAR
31. KALIBAZAR	74. KALIBAZAR	97. KALIBAZAR	122. KALIBAZAR	157. KALIBAZAR
32. KALIBAZAR	75. KALIBAZAR	98. KALIBAZAR	123. KALIBAZAR	158. KALIBAZAR
33. KALIBAZAR	76. KALIBAZAR	99. KALIBAZAR	124. KALIBAZAR	159. KALIBAZAR
34. KALIBAZAR	77. KALIBAZAR	100. KALIBAZAR	125. KALIBAZAR	160. KALIBAZAR
35. KALIBAZAR	78. KALIBAZAR	101. KALIBAZAR	126. KALIBAZAR	161. KALIBAZAR
36. KALIBAZAR	79. KALIBAZAR	102. KALIBAZAR	127. KALIBAZAR	162. KALIBAZAR
37. KALIBAZAR	80. KALIBAZAR	103. KALIBAZAR	128. KALIBAZAR	163. KALIBAZAR
38. KALIBAZAR	81. KALIBAZAR	104. KALIBAZAR	129. KALIBAZAR	164. KALIBAZAR
39. KALIBAZAR	82. KALIBAZAR	105. KALIBAZAR	130. KALIBAZAR	165. KALIBAZAR
40. KALIBAZAR	83. KALIBAZAR	106. KALIBAZAR	131. KALIBAZAR	166. KALIBAZAR
41. KALIBAZAR	84. KALIBAZAR	107. KALIBAZAR	132. KALIBAZAR	167. KALIBAZAR
42. KALIBAZAR	85. KALIBAZAR	108. KALIBAZAR	133. KALIBAZAR	168. KALIBAZAR
43. KALIBAZAR	86. KALIBAZAR	109. KALIBAZAR	134. KALIBAZAR	169. KALIBAZAR
44. KALIBAZAR	87. KALIBAZAR	110. KALIBAZAR	135. KALIBAZAR	170. KALIBAZAR
45. KALIBAZAR	88. KALIBAZAR	111. KALIBAZAR	136. KALIBAZAR	171. KALIBAZAR
46. KALIBAZAR	89. KALIBAZAR	112. KALIBAZAR	137. KALIBAZAR	172. KALIBAZAR
47. KALIBAZAR	90. KALIBAZAR	113. KALIBAZAR	138. KALIBAZAR	173. KALIBAZAR
48. KALIBAZAR	91. KALIBAZAR	114. KALIBAZAR	139. KALIBAZAR	174. KALIBAZAR
49. KALIBAZAR	92. KALIBAZAR	115. KALIBAZAR	140. KALIBAZAR	175. KALIBAZAR
50. KALIBAZAR	93. KALIBAZAR	116. KALIBAZAR	141. KALIBAZAR	176. KALIBAZAR
51. KALIBAZAR	94. KALIBAZAR	117. KALIBAZAR	142. KALIBAZAR	177. KALIBAZAR
52. KALIBAZAR	95. KALIBAZAR	118. KALIBAZAR	143. KALIBAZAR	178. KALIBAZAR
53. KALIBAZAR	96. KALIBAZAR	119. KALIBAZAR	144. KALIBAZAR	179. KALIBAZAR
54. KALIBAZAR	97. KALIBAZAR	120. KALIBAZAR	145. KALIBAZAR	180. KALIBAZAR
55. KALIBAZAR	98. KALIBAZAR	121. KALIBAZAR	146. KALIBAZAR	181. KALIBAZAR
56. KALIBAZAR	99. KALIBAZAR	122. KALIBAZAR	147. KALIBAZAR	182. KALIBAZAR
57. KALIBAZAR	100. KALIBAZAR	123. KALIBAZAR	148. KALIBAZAR	183. KALIBAZAR
58. KALIBAZAR	101. KALIBAZAR	124. KALIBAZAR	149. KALIBAZAR	184. KALIBAZAR
59. KALIBAZAR	102. KALIBAZAR	125. KALIBAZAR	150. KALIBAZAR	185. KALIBAZAR
60. KALIBAZAR	103. KALIBAZAR	126. KALIBAZAR	151. KALIBAZAR	186. KALIBAZAR
61. KALIBAZAR	104. KALIBAZAR	127. KALIBAZAR	152. KALIBAZAR	187. KALIBAZAR
62. KALIBAZAR	105. KALIBAZAR	128. KALIBAZAR	153. KALIBAZAR	188. KALIBAZAR
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72. KALIBAZAR	115. KALIBAZAR	138. KALIBAZAR	163. KALIBAZAR	198. KALIBAZAR
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74. KALIBAZAR	117. KALIBAZAR	140. KALIBAZAR	165. KALIBAZAR	200. KALIBAZAR
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78. KALIBAZAR	121. KALIBAZAR	144. KALIBAZAR	169. KALIBAZAR	204. KALIBAZAR
79. KALIBAZAR	122. KALIBAZAR	145. KALIBAZAR	170. KALIBAZAR	205. KALIBAZAR
80. KALIBAZAR	123. KALIBAZAR	146. KALIBAZAR	171. KALIBAZAR	206. KALIBAZAR
81. KALIBAZAR	124. KALIBAZAR	147. KALIBAZAR	172. KALIBAZAR	207. KALIBAZAR
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86. KALIBAZAR	129. KALIBAZAR	152. KALIBAZAR	177. KALIBAZAR	212. KALIBAZAR
87. KALIBAZAR	130. KALIBAZAR	153. KALIBAZAR	178. KALIBAZAR	213. KALIBAZAR
88. KALIBAZAR	131. KALIBAZAR	154. KALIBAZAR	179. KALIBAZAR	214. KALIBAZAR
89. KALIBAZAR	132. KALIBAZAR	155. KALIBAZAR	180. KALIBAZAR	215. KALIBAZAR
90. KALIBAZAR	133. KALIBAZAR	156. KALIBAZAR	181. KALIBAZAR	216. KALIBAZAR
91. KALIBAZAR	134. KALIBAZAR	157. KALIBAZAR	182. KALIBAZAR	217. KALIBAZAR
92. KALIBAZAR	135. KALIBAZAR	158. KALIBAZAR	183. KALIBAZAR	218. KALIBAZAR
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94. KALIBAZAR	137. KALIBAZAR	160. KALIBAZAR	185. KALIBAZAR	220. KALIBAZAR
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101. KALIBAZAR	144. KALIBAZAR	167. KALIBAZAR	192. KALIBAZAR	227. KALIBAZAR
102. KALIBAZAR	145. KALIBAZAR	168. KALIBAZAR	193. KALIBAZAR	228. KALIBAZAR
103. KALIBAZAR	146. KALIBAZAR	169. KALIBAZAR	194. KALIBAZAR	229. KALIBAZAR
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105. KALIBAZAR	148. KALIBAZAR	171. KALIBAZAR	196. KALIBAZAR	231. KALIBAZAR
106. KALIBAZAR	149. KALIBAZAR	172. KALIBAZAR	197. KALIBAZAR	232. KALIBAZAR
107. KALIBAZAR	150. KALIBAZAR	173. KALIBAZAR	198. KALIBAZAR	233. KALIBAZAR
108. KALIBAZAR	151. KALIBAZAR	174. KALIBAZAR	199. KALIBAZAR	234. KALIBAZAR
109. KALIBAZAR	152. KALIBAZAR	175. KALIBAZAR	200. KALIBAZAR	235. KALIBAZAR
110. KALIBAZAR	153. KALIBAZAR	176. KALIBAZAR	201. KALIBAZAR	236. KALIBAZAR
111. KALIBAZAR	154. KALIBAZAR	177. KALIBAZAR	202. KALIBAZAR	237. KALIBAZAR
112. KALIBAZAR	155. KALIBAZAR	178. KALIBAZAR	203. KALIBAZAR	238. KALIBAZAR
113. KALIBAZAR	156. KALIBAZAR	179. KALIBAZAR	204. KALIBAZAR	239. KALIBAZAR
114. KALIBAZAR	157. KALIBAZAR	180. KALIBAZAR	205. KALIBAZAR	240. KALIBAZAR
115. KALIBAZAR	158. KALIBAZAR	181. KALIBAZAR	206. KALIBAZAR	241. KALIBAZAR
116. KALIBAZAR	159. KALIBAZAR	182. KALIBAZAR	207. KALIBAZAR	242. KALIBAZAR
117. KALIBAZAR	160. KALIBAZAR	183. KALIBAZAR	208. KALIBAZAR	243. KALIBAZAR
118. KALIBAZAR	161. KALIBAZAR	184. KALIBAZAR	209. KALIBAZAR	244. KALIBAZAR
119. KALIBAZAR	162. KALIBAZAR	185. KALIBAZAR	210. KALIBAZAR	245. KALIBAZAR
120. KALIBAZAR	163. KALIBAZAR	186. KALIBAZAR	211. KALIBAZAR	246. KALIBAZAR
121. KALIBAZAR	164. KALIBAZAR	187. KALIBAZAR	212. KALIBAZAR	247. KALIBAZAR
122. KALIBAZAR	165. KALIBAZAR	188. KALIBAZAR	213. KALIBAZAR	248. KALIBAZAR
123. KALIBAZAR	166. KALIBAZAR	189. KALIBAZAR	214. KALIBAZAR	249. KALIBAZAR
124. KALIBAZAR	167. KALIBAZAR	190. KALIBAZAR	215. KALIBAZAR	250. KALIBAZAR
125. KALIBAZAR	168. KALIBAZAR	191. KALIBAZAR	216. KALIBAZAR	251. KALIBAZAR
126. KALIBAZAR	169. KALIBAZAR	192. KALIBAZAR	217. KALIBAZAR	252. KALIBAZAR
127. KALIBAZAR	170. KALIBAZAR	193. KALIBAZAR	218. KALIBAZAR	253. KALIBAZAR
128. KALIBAZAR	171. KALIBAZAR	194. KALIBAZAR	219. KALIBAZAR	254. KALIBAZAR
129. KALIBAZAR	172. KALIBAZAR	195. KALIBAZAR	220. KALIBAZAR	255. KALIBAZAR
130. KALIBAZAR	173. KALIBAZAR	196. KALIBAZAR	221. KALIBAZAR	256. KALIBAZAR
131. KALIBAZAR	174. KALIBAZAR	197. KALIBAZAR	222. KALIBAZAR	257. KALIBAZAR
132. KALIBAZAR	175. KALIBAZAR	198. KALIBAZAR	223. KALIBAZAR	258. KALIBAZAR
133. KALIBAZAR	176. KALIBAZAR	199. KALIBAZAR	224. KALIBAZAR	259. KALIBAZAR
134. KALIBAZAR	177. KALIBAZAR	200. KALIBAZAR	225. KALIBAZAR	260. KALIBAZAR
135. KALIBAZAR	178. KALIBAZAR	201. KALIBAZAR	226. KALIBAZAR	261. KALIBAZAR
136. KALIBAZAR	179. KALIBAZAR	202. KALIBAZAR	227. KALIBAZAR	262. KALIBAZAR
137. KALIBAZAR	180. KALIBAZAR	203. KALIBAZAR	228. KALIBAZAR	263. KALIBAZAR
138. KALIBAZAR	181. KALIBAZAR	204. KALIBAZAR	229. KALIBAZAR	264. KALIBAZAR
139. KALIBAZAR	182. KALIBAZAR	205. KALIBAZAR	230. KALIBAZAR	265. KALIBAZAR
140. KALIBAZAR	183. KALIBAZAR	206. KALIBAZAR	231. KALIBAZAR	266. KALIBAZAR
141. KALIBAZAR	184. KALIBAZAR	207. KALIBAZAR	232. KALIBAZAR	267. KALIBAZAR
142. KALIBAZAR	185. KALIBAZAR	208. KALIBAZAR	233. KALIBAZAR	268. KALIBAZAR
143. KALIBAZAR	186. KALIBAZAR	209. KALIBAZAR	234. KALIBAZAR	269. KALIBAZAR
144. KALIBAZAR	187. KALIBAZAR	210. KALIBAZAR	235. KALIBAZAR	270. KALIBAZAR
145. KALIBAZAR	188. KALIBAZAR	211. KALIBAZAR	236. KALIBAZAR	271. KALIBAZAR
146. KALIBAZAR	189. KALIBAZAR	212. KALIBAZAR	237. KALIBAZAR	272. KALIBAZAR
147. KALIBAZAR	190. KALIBAZAR	213. KALIBAZAR	238. KALIBAZAR	273. KALIBAZAR
148. KALIBAZAR	191. KALIBAZAR	214. KALIBAZAR	239. KALIBAZAR	274. KALIBAZAR
149. KALIBAZAR	192. KALIBAZAR	215. KALIBAZAR	240. KALIBAZAR	275. KALIBAZAR
150. KALIBAZAR	193. KALIBAZAR	216. KALIBAZAR	241. KALIBAZAR	276. KALIBAZAR
151. KALIBAZAR	194. KALIBAZAR	217. KALIBAZAR	242. KALIBAZAR	277. KALIBAZAR
152. KALIBAZAR	195. KALIBAZAR	218. KALIBAZAR	243. KALIBAZAR	278. KALIBAZAR
153. KALIBAZAR	196. KALIBAZAR	219. KALIBAZAR	244. KALIBAZAR	279. KALIBAZAR
154. KALIBAZAR	197. KALIBAZAR	220. KALIBAZAR	245. KALIBAZAR	280. KALIBAZAR
155. KALIBAZAR	198. KALIBAZAR	221. KALIBAZAR	246. KALIBAZAR	281. KALIBAZAR
156. KALIBAZAR	199. KALIBAZAR	222. KALIBAZAR	247. KALIBAZAR	282. KALIBAZAR
157. KALIBAZAR	200. KALIBAZAR	223. KALIBAZAR	248. KALIBAZAR	283. KALIBAZAR
158. KALIBAZAR	201. KALIBAZAR	224. KALIBAZAR	249. KALIBAZAR	284. KALIBAZAR
159. KALIBAZAR	202. KALIBAZAR	225. KALIBAZAR	250. KALIBAZAR	285. KALIBAZAR
160. KALIBAZAR	203. KALIBAZAR	226. KALIBAZAR	251. KALIBAZAR	286. KALIBAZAR
161. KALIBAZAR	204. KALIBAZAR	227. KALIBAZAR	252. KALIBAZAR	287. KALIBAZAR
162. KALIBAZAR	205. KALIBAZAR	228. KALIBAZAR	253. KALIBAZAR	288. KALIBAZAR
163. KALIBAZAR	206. KALIBAZAR	229. KALIBAZAR	254. KALIBAZAR	289. KALIBAZAR
164. KALIBAZAR	207. KALIBAZAR	230. KALIBAZAR	255. KALIBAZAR	290. KALIBAZAR
165. KALIBAZAR	208. KALIBAZAR	231. KALIBAZAR	256. KALIBAZAR	291. KALIBAZAR
166. KALIBAZAR	209. KALIBAZAR	232. KALIBAZAR	257. KALIBAZAR	292. KALIBAZAR
167. KALIBAZAR	210. KALIBAZAR	233. KALIBAZAR	258. KALIBAZAR	293. KALIBAZAR
168. KALIBAZAR	211. KALIBAZAR	234. KALIBAZAR	259. KALIBAZAR	294. KALIBAZAR
169. KALIBAZAR	212. KALIBAZAR	235. KALIBAZAR	260. KALIBAZAR	295. KALIBAZAR
170. KALIBAZAR	213. KALIBAZAR	236. KALIBAZAR	261. KALIBAZAR	296. KALIBAZAR
171. KALIBAZAR	214. KALIBAZAR	237. KALIBAZAR	26	

district is largely Muslim the rate of increase in which is higher than amongst the Hindus. The whole district is comparatively healthy and has enjoyed freedom from epidemics during the last decade and it has benefited from the prosperity of the jute industry during the major part of the ten years under review. In most cases, therefore, where no specific cause is given, the increase is due to the natural fecundity of the people and the healthiness of the climate.

69. *Faridpur district.*—In the Faridpur district all the subdivisions with the exception of Goalundo, where a decrease of 2·9 per cent. has been recorded, have shown an increased population. In the Goalundo subdivision only the police-station of Baliakandi has shown an increase due to a lesser incidence of malaria than elsewhere and to the influx of labourers from other districts in connection with the construction of Kalukhali-Bhatiapara Railway. In the other three police-stations of this subdivision erosions of the river Padma have resulted in an emigration to other districts particularly to Pabna whilst Goalundo, Rajbari and Pangsa have also suffered from malaria and other epidemic diseases and Goalundo (Rajbari) has been further depleted by the removal of the office of the Assistant Traffic Superintendent of the Eastern Bengal Railway and allied offices to Paksey in the Pabna district. The falling off in the jute trade during 1930 also led to there being present when the census was taken a smaller number of labourers at Goalundo steamer ghat than previously. In the Sadar subdivision there has been a decrease only in one police-station, Bhusna, which is reported to be exceedingly malarious and full of jungle land and to have suffered considerable emigration on this account which would have resulted in a larger decrease except for the presence of a number of labourers employed in connection with the construction of the Kalukhali-Bhatiapara Railway. A similar cause to the last accounts for an increase in Madhukali police-station which is also malarious and full of jungle land and where a decrease would probably have been recorded had it not been for a large temporary settlement of railway labourers at Madhukhali and Kamarkhali. There has been accretion of land to the district in police-stations Faridpur, Char Bhadrasan and Sadarpur and this has led to considerable immigration and would have resulted in an even larger increase than 7·3 per cent. in the Faridpur police-station, had not the southern part of the area been unhealthy. In Nagarkanda and Bhanga police-stations no explanation of the increase is forthcoming except the natural increase of population, although the trade centre at Bhanga and a new and thriving bazar at Baliati seemed to have contributed also in the case of Bhanga police-station. In the Gopalganj subdivision increases have been recorded in all police-stations and they are mainly attributed to immigration from the districts of Jessore and Khulna, improvement of public health and freedom from epidemic diseases and to the labour attracted by the construction of the new railway line. In the Madaripur subdivision decreases were recorded only from Gosairhat and Sibchar police-stations and are accounted for by erosion by the river and by transfer of certain areas to Dacca and Tippera district. Bhedarganj and Janjira with 35·6 and 13·3 per cent. increase, respectively, have received an accession of territory by the transfer of large mauzas of the Dacca district to these police-stations and also by the re-formation of chars which have attracted immigrants. In the rest of the subdivision increases ranging from 3·8 in Rajair police-station to 6·3 per cent. in Naria are due to the general healthiness of the locality, its freedom from epidemic diseases and the general prosperity of the jute trade during the last decade which has attracted settlers for employment.

70. *Bakarganj district.*—In the Bakarganj district there has been a decrease in no police-station. In the Sadar subdivision comparative freedom from malaria and other epidemics and the formation of new lands in Mehendiganj, Hizla and Muladi together with an improvement of the soil due to the excavation of new khals in Gaurnadi, Uzirpur and Babuganj have resulted in increases ranging from 9·9 per cent. in Babuganj to 16·4 per cent. in Nalchiti. In Patuakhali subdivision the most important cause of increase is immigration from Noakhali, Faridpur and Tippera due to the extreme

fertility of the soil which has steadily improved since 1921 and to the increasing colonisation of the Sundarbans area particularly in Amtoli police-station, which has shown an increase of 24·2 per cent. in this decade. In Galachipa and Baufal new char areas have become available and in Mirzaganj and Barguna, as in Amtoli, what was formerly Sundarbans land has been reclaimed and colonised during the decade. In the Pirojpur subdivision also a healthy climate, freedom from epidemic diseases and increasing cultivation of jungle areas and marsh lands have resulted in increases of population ranging from 9·6 in Banaripara to 21·3 per cent. in Patharghata. The whole of the Bhola subdivision compared with the rest of the district is fairly sparsely populated and its area is increasing owing to the recession of the bay in the south. It therefore offers land for an increasing number of immigrants and it is to the immigration from neighbouring districts that the increase of 16·9 per cent. in the whole subdivision is due. The population of the whole district is predominantly Muslim and their superior fecundity helps to account for the high rate of natural increase whilst even amongst the Hindus of this locality also widow remarriage is in vogue and is ascribed as a cause of a more rapid rate of increase.

71. Chittagong Division.—In the Chittagong Division and Tripura State the changes in the population during the decade are illustrated in diagram No. I-26. With the exception of the Banderban police-station of Chittagong Hill Tracts no area within this division has shown a decrease of population. The average increase, 13·7 per cent. is very high, and even in Banderban police-station the decrease is due to transfers of jurisdiction. The increase is greatest in Tripura State (25·6 per cent.) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (22·9 per cent.) but is as much as 15·9 per cent. in Noakhali and 13·3 per cent. in Tippera districts.

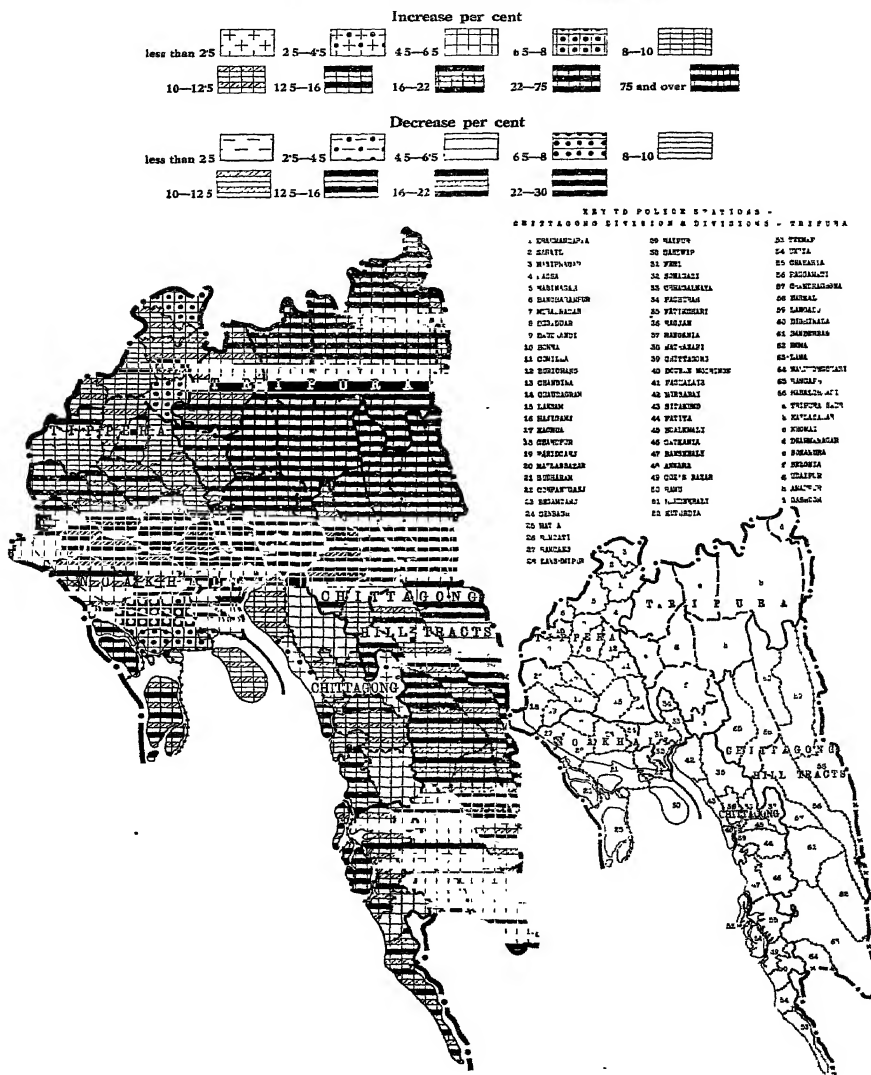
72. Tippera district.—In no police-station in the Tippera district has a rate of increase been recorded less than 7·6 per cent. which itself is greater than the average increase for the whole province. The increase has been most marked in the Chandpur subdivision and in the central and southern parts of the Sadar subdivision. Throughout the Chandpur subdivision the prosperity of the jute industry encouraged the influx of a large number of skilled and unskilled labourers all of whom had not returned home upon the depression which set in in the trade in 1929: but there were also accessions of land on the banks of the Meghna and the increase in Chandpur police-station is partly due to the transfer of some large char areas from neighbouring districts. In the Sadar subdivision the smallest rate of increase is shown by Daudkandi (8·7 per cent.) and Burichang (8·9 per cent.) From the first it is reported that there has been some emigration to char lands in the districts of Dacca and elsewhere and its very high density of population (1,414 to the square mile) would suggest that the territory is approaching saturation point although Homna with a density of 1,547 persons per square mile has increased by no less than 14·7 per cent. Burichang is reported to suffer almost annually from floods which destroy the crops, and this is put forward as an explanation of the comparatively small increase in this police-station. In other police-stations the increase is ascribed to natural causes assisted by better sanitary arrangements, improvement in the drinking water supply, absence of epidemics and general prosperity due to the high prices of jute during the decade. In the Brahmanbaria subdivision the comparatively small rate of increase is ascribed to a succession of bad harvests compelling population to migrate to Assam, Mymensingh, etc. Kasba police-station is malarial and the growing population has not shared in the general prosperity of the jute trade whilst in Nabinagar with an increase of 9·7 per cent. the density of population (1,240 to the square mile) appears to be resulting in some pressure on the land, and it is reported that there was emigration during the decade in search of land on the other side of the Meghna river in the district of Dacca. In the Brahmanbaria police-station there has been immigration both in the Brahmanbaria town owing to the expansion of business and also to waste and marshy lands on the border of Tripura State being brought under cultivation.

73. *Noakhali district.*—In the Noakhali district in spite of considerable erosions by the sea in the south of the district the population has shown a very high rate of increase, namely, 16·7 per cent. in the Sadar subdivision

DIAGRAM No. 1-26.

INCREASE OR DECREASE OF POPULATION BY POLICE-STATIONS. CHITTAGONG DIVISION, 1921-31

(Changes of less than five in ten thousand are shown by blank, hatchings)



and 13·5 per cent. in the Feni subdivision. Ramgati police-station in the Sadar subdivision has increased by 58·3 per cent. owing to immigration from 10

Bakarganj to the char lands and also to migrations from Sandwip and Sudharam police-stations of persons whose lands had been eroded, although this migration is not sufficient to result in a decrease in the population of these last two police-stations where there has been an increase respectively of 11·6 and 6·7 per cent. Immigration from other districts to char lands is also ascribed as a cause of the 21·2 per cent. increase in Raipur police-station and in the island of Hatya also there is said to have been some migration from Sandwip and Sudharam of those whose lands have been eroded. In the Feni subdivision generally and in the rest of the district also the principal cause, however, must be ascribed to the great fecundity of the population.

74. *Chittagong district.*—In the Chittagong district similar causes also explain the increase of 11·5 per cent. The district is healthy and has suffered neither from epidemics nor from scarcity of food stuffs during the decade, whilst there has been a steady improvement in public health measures. Anti-Chittagonian demonstrations in Burma have led to a decrease of emigration to that province and in some parts of the district the influx of workmen employed on the construction of the Chittagong-Dohazari and Chittagong-Nasirhat Railway lines has led to an increase in the population. The police-stations of Double Moorings with Pachalais together with the police-station Chittagong contributing to the area covered by Chittagong town show respectively 47·8 per cent. and 16·2 per cent. increase, which are due to the development of industries in the port of Chittagong together with improved communications.

75. *Chittagong Hill Tracts.*—In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the decrease in Banderban police-station was due to the transfer to Chandraghona police-station of a number of mauzas in 1924 and this transfer together with immigration due to the fertility of *jhum* soils accounts for a very large increase of 75·6 per cent. in the population of Chandraghona. Immigration from Tripura, Noakhali and Chittagong is ascribed as a cause of a part at least of the increase in Ramgarh police-station. The figures for birth-places show, however, only 15 persons born in Tripura and enumerated in the district, and only 920 in all were born in India outside Bengal, of whom 432 came from Burma and 314 from Assam. Increase of immigration facilitated by the improved communication between Chittagong and Rangamati and the prosperity of trade in cotton, paddy and forest produce go to explain the increase in the Rangamati police-station.

76. *Tripura State.*—In the Tripura State the increases are very high and range from 17 per cent. in the Sadar to 40·2 per cent. in Khowai divisions. The state is still very sparsely populated having only an average of 93 persons to the square mile and no greater incidence of population than in Sadar with a population of 215 per square mile. The climate of the state is comparatively healthy and there is a good deal of waste land available for settlement which attracts settlers from Bengal who feel the pressure of population or whose lands are washed away or rendered unproductive by water-hyacinth. In addition there has been an influx of labourers for the tea gardens from other provinces as well as forest and other daily labourers from adjacent districts of Bengal. There has been an increase of nearly 22,000 in the numbers recorded in Tripura who were born in British Bengal but the numbers born in Assam and Assam States are more than 3,500 less on the present occasion than in 1921 and those born in British Territory outside Bengal are almost 5,500 less than in 1921. The increase in the state, therefore, appears to be due actually less to immigration than to increase of the native born population and possibly also to increased accuracy of the enumeration on the present occasion.

Part VI—Miscellaneous, inhabited houses, steamers, etc.

77. *Census definition of a house.*—The definition of “house” adopted is given below :

“A ‘house’ is defined for census purposes as consisting of the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one family; that is by a number of persons living and eating together in one mess with their resident dependents, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and

their servants who reside in the house. In other words the unit is the commensal family, and not the homestead or enclosure. Houses, however, at a distance from each other and entirely separate though belonging to the same commensal family, should be treated as separate. Ordinarily the unit will correspond to the unit commonly adopted for the *chaukdari* tax."

The definition clearly must be modified in some cases, *e.g.*, principally in dealing with institutions, cooly lines, hotels and thickly populated city *bastis*. For these the directions were as follows:—

"In police lines, jails, hospitals, lunatic asylums, etc., which are comprised in separate blocks, each barrack-room, guard-room, officers' quarters, apartment, cell or ward within their precincts will be treated as a house and separately numbered.

In cooly lines similarly formed into separate blocks each room will be numbered as a separate house.

In hotels and *sarais* each room or suite of rooms allotted to a different traveller or family should be treated as a separate house.

In city *bastis*, such as those found in Howrah, each hut should be treated as a separate house and numbered accordingly."

The definition covers and the numbers of inhabited houses include boats in which the crew were living on the night of the census. The number of houses in each district and larger areas is shown in imperial table I and similar figures for the police-stations are given in provincial table I. Substantially the same definition of a house has been used at each successive census.

STATEMENT No. I-16.

Number of inhabited houses per square mile, 1931.

BENGAL—

Rural areas .. 116
Howrah district .. 340
Khulna district .. 57

TOWNS AND CITIES aggregate 1,304

CITIES aggregate 4,503

Tittagarh	14,103
Serampore	7,050
Howrah	5,797
Naihati	5,639
Bhatpara	4,820
Rohra-Komnagar	3,984
Chandpur	3,468
Bogra	3,440
Dacca	4,498
Garulia	3,173
Bhadreswar	3,100
Baranagar	2,110
Bally	2,820
Uttarpara	2,797
Mymensingh	2,737
Budge-Budge	2,631
Rampurhat	2,601
Kharagpur Railway Settlement	2,214
Feni	2,100
English Bazar	2,144
Kamarhati	2,020
Ramganj	2,019
Asansol	1,903
Baruckpore	1,812
Burnpur	1,805
Kulti	1,770
Narayanganj	1,774
Katwa	1,771
Chittagong	1,752
Midnapore	1,653
Bhola	1,582
Jhalakati	1,563
Kurigram	1,540
Laimonirhat	1,534
Saidpur	1,486
Kusla	1,420
Kurseong	1,352
Burdwan	1,337
Kalna	1,306
Darjeeling	1,303
Kanchrapara	1,271
Comilla	1,265
Agartala	1,240
Bansberia	1,232
Baytupur	1,185
Madaripur	1,184
Chandpur	1,181
Dumkai	1,160
Cooch Behar	1,158
Rajshahi	1,156
Hoochly	1,133
Madhabbanga	1,130
Atkagacha	1,114
Baidyabati	1,113
Cox's Bazar	1,096
Nabadwip	1,047
Noakhali	1,038
Dum-Dum	1,027
Nawabganj	1,024
Brahmanbaria	1,016
North Dum-Dum	109

areas. Some figures for selected areas and towns are given in statement No. I-16 in the margin. Between 1921 and 1931 the increase in the

78. **Houses per square mile.**—On an average there are now in each square mile 120 inhabited houses in the census sense of the word. The number of houses per square mile is greatest in the Burdwan Division, where it is 139 on the average and is least in the Rajshahi Division where it is 105 on the average. In Bengal as a whole the average number of houses per square mile has increased regularly at every census since 1881 and there has been a corresponding increase in each division at every year, with the exception of the Presidency Division where there has been a decrease in every district except Khulna. There are now on an average 6 more inhabited houses in every square mile than there were in 1921 and 28 more than there were in 1891. Outside Calcutta the largest number of inhabited houses per square mile is found in the Howrah district and (in the plains) the lowest number in Khulna district, the figures for which respectively are 460 and 58. The figures for Calcutta show a considerable decrease from those at the previous census, a result due partly to the inclusion of considerable areas previously recorded in the 24-Parganas and having fewer houses to the square mile than in the average in Calcutta in 1921, but also partly to the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust which has cleared certain areas during the decade upon which fresh houses have not yet been built to replace those demolished. Taking the aggregate of the Calcutta Municipality with suburbs in the 24-Parganas the decrease in the number of houses per square mile is less than 200 compared with almost 1,400 in the municipal area. On the whole, however, there is a greater increase in the number of houses per square mile in urban than in rural

number of houses per square mile has been 5 in rural areas, 18 (from 322 to 340) in the rural part of Howrah which has the largest number of houses to the square mile and 7 (from 50 to 57) in the rural part of Khulna which includes a large and sparsely populated area in the Sundarbans. Taking the aggregate of all cities the increase has been 120 to the square mile from 4,383 to 4,503. Serampore Municipality has now actually a larger number of houses to the square mile than Calcutta, and Howrah city and Naihati Municipality have each between 5,500 and 6,000 houses to the square mile.

79. Persons per inhabited house.—The average number of persons per inhabited house is the same on the present occasion as it was in 1921 and 1901, viz., 5.1. It has varied little since 1891 and the figure of the present census reinforces the conclusion drawn in 1921 that the considerable decrease between the figures for 1881 and 1891 was due less to a marked disruption of the joint family in that decade than to a difference in the interpretation of the definition of "house". In Chittagong Division, which has shown the largest percentage of increase during the decade, the number of persons per house on the average has remained the same and has varied in individual districts only in Tippera and Noakhali. In Tippera where there has been a percentage increase of population during the decade greater than in any but two other districts, there has been actually a decline in the average number of persons per inhabited house. In Noakhali there has been a slight increase and it is in this district that there is the second largest percentage increase in the population during the decade. The largest number of persons per inhabited house is found in Eastern Bengal and Northern Bengal and the smallest in the Burdwan Division. Smaller commensal families would be expected in the industrial parts of the province and it is this factor which probably accounts for the small number in Burdwan Division. In Burdwan and Hooghly districts the numbers are respectively 4.1 and 4.2 persons per house. The high figure in Calcutta (5.7) cannot be confidently accepted as an indication of over-crowding owing to the peculiarities of housing conditions in the city and to the very different constitution of the census house in different parts of the city. The decline in the average number of persons in each inhabited house in the Burdwan Division during the decade 1911 to 1921 and also probably to some extent in the Presidency Division during the same period is no doubt partly due to the depletion caused by the influenza epidemic. Such disruption of the joint family system as is proceeding is practically confined to the middle and upper classes and in general has not extended to the cultivators where convenience demands that the family should remain together in the ancestral homestead upon the land from which it draws a sustenance; but the very slight variation in Eastern Bengal between the average number of persons in each inhabited house between 1921 and 1931 suggests either that a very considerably larger proportion of boats, etc., have been included as census houses on the present occasion or that even amongst the cultivating classes the tendency to split up into smaller commensal groups is gaining ground.

80. Boats and steamers.—Subsidiary table VII shows the results of an attempt to obtain an estimate of the numbers of boats and steamers in Bengal. Bengal is unique in India for the extent of its navigable waterways and for the number and variety of boats which ply upon them, but no estimate for the whole province exists from which their numbers can be calculated. The figures given in subsidiary table VII make no pretence to completeness or accuracy but they are interesting as the first attempted estimate of their kind. It was not until instructions had already been issued and the census operations begun that it was decided to attempt to collect these statistics. In the ordinary course of census enumeration occupied boats were entered as census houses in the enumerators' block list or summary of houses. It was accordingly directed that details of the local name of the boat and its maundage should be entered in the descriptive column of the list. Enumerators were also directed to enquire from house-holders

how many small boats they had which were used for going to and from the fields, markets, etc., and enter them in the remarks column of the list. Enumerators dealing with ghats and river areas were also directed upon final enumeration to enter separately in their block list an estimate of the number of uninhabited big boats with the local name and an estimate of their maundage. During sorting the schedules and the block-lists were scrutinised and compared and the number of uninhabited boats added to those returned as inhabited census houses. It is inevitable that the returns should show a very wide margin of error as regards both their numbers and also their size. No maundage was given for the great majority of boats and the number of big boats with an estimated capacity of 50 maunds or over is scarcely 119 thousand, a total very much smaller than might be expected. The numbers are largest in the Dacca Division and this is in accordance with anticipation. Between districts also the figures may be taken to indicate roughly the actual proportions, although it might perhaps have been expected that a larger number of big boats would be found in the 24-Parganas than were actually returned. The figures for steamers and launches, however, may be taken to be rather more accurate than those for boats. These were obtained in collaboration with the steamer companies owning the majority of steamers and with private owners in districts, particulars of whom were known to the local officers, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the margin of error for these vessels is comparatively small.

Part VII—The problem of population growth and an estimate of future population

81. Malthus and Doubleday.—Starting with the proposition that population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence there are in the field two principal rival theories of population growth. That deriving from Malthus has been* stated thus: first that population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks; and secondly that the checks which repress the superior power of population and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice and misery. In other words nature having arranged for population to increase at a rate at which it is bound to overtake and pass the means of subsistence periodically redresses the balance by famines, epidemics and other calamities unless human intelligence steps in and prevents the excessive increase either by moral restraint or by measures for limiting the birth rate or for despatching the excess of population. The other theory derives from Thomas Doubleday and gives nature a rather less sinister role. It is that when the existence of a species is endangered—

“ a corresponding effort is invariably made by nature for its preservation and continuance by an increase of fertility, and that this especially takes place whenever such danger arises from a diminution of proper nourishment or food, so that consequently the state of depletion or the deplethoric state is favourable to fertility, and that, on the other hand, the plethoric state or the state of repletion, is unfavourable to fertility in the ratio of the intensity of each state”

It has been thought that this statement lays too much stress upon food and the position has been thus† restated:—

“ In circumstances of ease the birth rate tends to fall; in circumstances of hardship the birth rate tends to rise ”

82. Pell's "Law of Births and Deaths".—The recorded census figures of population in Bengal probably cover too short a period to offer clear support to either one of these theories against the other. During the last sixty years the population of Bengal has become nearly half as large again as it was in 1872. There can be no question of intelligence checks having operated, and Bengal has been free from major calamities except in the decade before

* e.g., by W. S. Thompson—*Population, A Study in Malthusianism*, 1915.

† by H. Sutherland, see *Proceedings of World Population Conference*, 1927, page 58.

last when the influenza epidemic from which virtually the whole world suffered operated to reduce the rate of increase during the decade to a figure lower than any in its recorded census history. If the Malthusian doctrine holds Nature is not yet aware of any need to apply a check to the increase of population in Bengal. If the Darwinian theory holds and "fecundity is in direct relation to the chances of death", and if the "law" of Doubleday applies, Nature still finds it necessary to maintain in Bengal a high birth rate in order to keep pace with the high death rate. In some points at least the Malthusian theory fails to explain the facts. In European countries and America where most investigation has been carried out it has been* found (a) that the birth rate is negatively correlated with wealth and (b) that the indirect psychological and social effect of relative poverty as contrasted with relative wealth express themselves definitely and clearly in the sexual activity of human beings and through sexual activity in birth rates. On the Malthusian theory in the wealthier classes where the means of subsistence are plentiful the population should increase more rapidly than in the poorer classes where they are less plentiful unless there were some voluntary interference with the rate of birth. The evidence of any such voluntary restriction is not conclusive and the theory generally held is that fertility itself decreases in the higher classes with increasing wealth and culture. The Malthusian doctrine also fails to account for the fact that a high birth rate and a high death rate are apparently invariably found together and that conversely where there is a low birth rate there is also a low death rate. This fact and the extreme doubtfulness of any evidence to show that conscious limitation of the family can account for the whole or a considerable part of the decrease in the birth rate where it is low have led to the enunciation of the †theory that—

"the net result of the variations of the degree of fertility under the direct action of the environment will bear an inverse proportion to the variations of the capacity for survival"

Under this theory variations in the birth rate are mainly due to the operation of a natural law which adjusts the degree of fertility to suit the death rate of the race. The theory involves the postulate that the same conditions which lead to a reduction in the death rate lead also to a decrease in fertility in some manner not yet known. The author of the theory suggests that the hormones assist in regulating the fertility of the germ cells, that the output of hormones by the endocrine glands is regulated by the nervous system which responds to the action of the environment and that the variations in the degree of fertility in response to the direct action of the environment will bear an inverse proportion to the development of nervous energy.

83. Raymond Pearl's "Logistic Curve".—What may be considered to be a development of the second of these two theories is that put forward by ‡Raymond Pearl. This theory deduces that populations grow in size according to the same mathematical law that individual animals and plants follow in the growth of their bodies in size and that human populations grow according to the same law as do experimental populations of lower organisms. The law of growth postulated on these deductions may be expressed by an equation with three constants, and the curve representing this equation is called by Pearl a "logistic curve". Equations have been worked out and fitted to the populations of fifteen countries of the world, the whole world and the population of certain cities and have been shown to give over the whole recorded census history of each a very reasonable congruity with the recorded facts. Assuming the mathematical form of the curve this theory allows account to be taken of the fact that a population is necessarily confined to a certain area and therefore must have an upper limit of population as well as a lower (which may be nil) and for the fact that population growth takes place in cycles conditioned amongst other factors by cultural achievement. It is possible that over a restricted period the logistic curve may not

*Raymond Pearl—*Biology of Population Growth*, 1926.

†C. E. Pell—*The Law of Births and Deaths*, 1921.

‡R. Pearl—*Studies in Human Biology*, 1924; *The Biology of Population Growth*, 1926.

give so accurate an approximation to the recorded population as a curve of some other form. As a method of predicting future growth also it is liable to the irruption of influences not previously prevalent. Pearl states—

"Predictions of future growth may at any time be altered by the entrance into the situation of new economic or social factors of a different sort to those which have operated during that past period which the equation covers. The population may be stimulated to start upon a new cycle of growth or slighter but still in kind new factors may alter somewhat the upper limiting value of the present cycle."

In certain instances, however, the logistic curve calculated by him gives astonishingly close approximations to the population actually recorded later. For the United States of America in 1920, for instance, a curve worked out before the census of 1920 suggested a population within 5 per 1,000 of that actually enumerated.

84. The logistic curve applied to Bengal.—Three curves of Pearl's logistic type have been fitted to the census population of Bengal and the population calculated from them is given in statement No. I-17 where it is compared with the observed population. The first is the equation worked out by Mr. P. J. Griffiths, I.C.S., and it was hoped to give in an appendix brief notes on the method by which it was calculated. Difficulties in setting up the rather complicated mathematical formulæ involved however have

STATEMENT No. I-17.

Equation $p = \frac{73,743}{9904 + e^{-0.0162x}}$					Equation $p = \frac{69,632}{87065 + e^{-0.01408x}}$					Equation $p = \frac{79,963}{116244 + e^{-0.01775x}}$				
Year.	*Census population (P)	Calculated population (p)	Difference (p-P)		Year	†Census population (P)	Calculated population (p)	Difference (p-P)		Year	Census population (P)	Calculated population (p)	Difference (p-P)	
			Actual figures	Per cent of (P)				Actual figures	Per cent of (P)				Actual figures	Per cent of (P)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1872 (Dec. 71 Jan. 72)	34,845	34,460	-385	1.1	1871	34,486	34,433	-53	0.4	1891	39,931	-445	-1.3	
1881 (17 Feb)	37,016	37,040	+33	0.1	1881	37,032	37,098	+66	0.2	1901	36,973	-54	0.1	
1891 (28 Feb)	39,899	39,875	-24	0.2	1891	39,815	39,890	+75	0.2	1901	39,983	+170	0.4	
1901 (1 March)	42,884	42,969	+85	0.5	1901	42,898	42,870	-28	0.1	1911	42,907	+10	0.0	
1911 (10 March)	46,396	45,402	-994	2.0	1911	46,302	45,459	-843	1.9	1921	45,704	-692	-1.5	
1921 (18 March)	47,592	48,040	+448	1.0	1921	47,591	48,144	+553	1.2	1931	48,343	+752	1.6	
1931 (28 Feb)	51,087	50,676	-411	1.0	1931	51,091	50,768	-323	0.6	1941	50,798	-293	-0.6	
1941	..	52,972	..	..	1941	..	53,292	..	..	1951	53,056	..	..
1951	..	55,219	..	..	1951	..	55,698	..	..	..	55,103	..	..

*Without adjustment for changes of area since the census was taken

†Adjusted (a) for the area now constituting the province, and (b) to the 1st March in each census year, on the assumption that the population changed at a regular rate between each count and the next

NOTE.—In each equation "x" is the number of years after (or before) (1) 1st March 1881

prevented this. Briefly the method consists in fitting a curve of the required type to three of the recorded census figures and then adjusting it by successive approximations to all the recorded figures. The desired approximation is one in which the algebraic sum of differences between the calculated and the actually recorded populations is nil and the sum of the squares of these differences is a minimum. Mr. Griffiths' curve was worked out for the population actually recorded in Bengal treating the interval between each census count as being exactly ten years and assuming that a negligible error only was introduced by this treatment and by neglecting to make an adjustment for change of area. For the other two calculations the recorded census population was adjusted to represent the estimated population in the area now constituting Bengal on the 1st March of each census year after 1881 and on the 1st March 1871. In making this calculation it was assumed that the population between any two census years changed at a uniform rate and that the rate of change between March 1871 and the date of the census in 1872 was the same as between 1872 and 1881. In arriving at the third equation allowance has been made for a small factor which Mr. Griffiths has noted as being disregarded in his calculation. The equations give a curve of reasonable fit and the last shown is the most accurate approximation for the observations in so far as the algebraic sum and the sum of squares of differences between the observed and calculated population

at all census years from 1881 to 1931 is less with this equation than with the other two, whilst for all years including 1871 the sum of the differences is least and the sum of their squares not indeed least but very near to it.

85. General tendencies of population growth and upper limit of population suggested.—On the first equation the rate of increase was being successively enhanced till 1881 when it began to decline and the maximum population would be about 74 millions, which would be practically attained in 2063 A.D. On the third equation the point of maximum increase was passed in 1872, the rate of growth is also diminishing and a maximum population of about 68½ millions would be expected which would be approximately reached in 2076 A.D. On neither equation is any lower limit of population implied, i.e., the equations do not suggest that the present cycle of population growth began at any definite period, although on the third equation Bengal should have had a population of not less than two millions in 1668 A.D.

86. The logistic curve applied to the Muslim and Hindu population.—Mr. Griffiths also fitted curves to the population of Muslims and Hindus and obtained the results shown in statement No. I-18 below. The correspondence of these figures, particularly for Hindus, is not so close as is obtained by the equation for the total population, but the Muslim equation gives a reasonable fit for the years 1881 to 1921. The total maximum population towards which the equations suggest that each community is tending

STATEMENT No. I-18.

Year	Muslims					Hindus				
	Equation		$p = \frac{136.2}{1.422 + e^{-0.0279x}}$			Equation		$p = \frac{853.4}{3.744 + e^{-0.0226x}}$		
	Observed population in hundred thousands (P)	Calculated population in hundred thousands (p)	Difference (p-P)		or	Observed population in hundred thousands (P)	Calculated population in hundred thousands (p)	Difference (p-P)		or
			Actual figures	Per cent (P)				Actual figures	Per cent (P)	
1881	183.0	182.0	-1.0	1.0		180.7	179.9	-0.8		
1901	201.7	203.1	+1.4	7		189.6	187.9	-1.6	1.0	
1901	219.6	222.6	+3.1	1.4		201.6	194.8	-6.8	3.4	
1911	242.4	240.1	-2.3	0.9		209.5	200.7	-8.8	4.2	
1921	254.9	255.3	+0.4	2		208.1	205.7	-2.4	1.2	
1931	278.1	268.1	-10.0	3.6		222.1	209.8	-12.3	5.5	

Note.—In each equation x is the number of years with (+) or before (-) 1881.

would be for Muslims about 32 millions and for Hindus about 23½ millions: in aggregate these figures fall short by 14 to 20 millions of the upper asymptotic population calculated for all communities. The Muslim and Hindu equations imply that the point at which the rate of increase ceased to be successively greater than in previous decades was passed in about 1886 by the Muslims and 1812 by the Hindus who are now approaching a stationary population. In any case the implication is that the Hindu community is further along its present growth cycle than the Muslim: in other words that it is approaching its maximum whilst by comparisons the Muslim community is still rapidly growing. It is possible to find a suggested explanation, if this is actually true, in the fact that Muslims live mainly in the healthier regions of Eastern Bengal and Hindus in the less healthy and less progressive portions of West Bengal: but it would be interesting if similar calculations have been made, to know whether the implication arises also in the case of other provinces.

87. Estimate of population in 1941.—The equations for total populations suggest a population of between 53 and 53½ millions in 1941. The communal equations appear (and Mr. Griffiths holds them) to be inappropriate. Equations of a more complicated form might give closer correspondence with the observed census figures, but the calculation involves very great labour, they might give no better estimates for the future and in any case they are scarcely worth making in view of the fact that only seven counts are on record. For

the future all that can be said is that if the type of equation used is applicable to population growth and if the conditions influencing population growth in Bengal over the period to which it has been applied continue substantially unchanged for the future, the estimates of total population made by use of the equations deduced should represent the population to be expected. The equations themselves suffer however by being fitted to so few observed counts and the conditions influencing population growth cannot be predicted and are difficult to discover if a change in the cycle suggests their existence. Thus after the formation of the German Empire and the institution of the present constitutions in Japan, Pearl found that the cycle of growth was as it were speeded up and Germany and Japan starting from the population of that critical time took a leap forward and continued their cycle as if they had been at an earlier stage when growth was more rapid. It is by no means impossible that constitutional change may have a similar effect in Bengal and may affect the different communities to a different degree.

88. Can Bengal support a larger population?—The prospect or even the possibility of so considerable an increase in a population already one of the densest in the world may lead to apprehension that the population of Bengal is rapidly approaching numbers which cannot be sustained at any reasonable standard of living upon the means of subsistence which Bengal can produce for long. If population actually does increase according to some such law as that illustrated by the logistic curve the fact that considerable increases are inevitable makes the apprehension futile. Pearl himself has pointed out that this inevitable increase need not necessarily increase the misery in the world since first this result has not happened up to the present, secondly—

“the orderly evolution of human knowledge justifies us in assuming that science will keep pace in discovering means of expanding opportunities of happy human subsistence,”

and thirdly the human organism is itself adaptable to an extent not yet imagined. It cannot be denied that a large part of the population of Bengal lives at a very low level of subsistence, and that any increase of population must lead to increased distress unless the potentialities of the province are developed. What is suggested here is that these potentialities are such that pessimism as to the future condition of its population if considerable increases take place is not necessarily justified. Like the rest of India Bengal is notable for its undeveloped resources and the inefficiency with which such resources as it has are exploited. The soil is probably unlikely to deteriorate further and the general opinion about areas such as Bengal, where scanty manuring necessitates small crops, is that a dead level of yield was reached long ago and is conditioned by the rate at which plant food constituents are made available by weathering. The cultivator in Bengal practically never enriches the soil with any manure and the use of manures together with an improvement in the implements of agriculture which would then be rendered possible would probably increase enormously the output of the soil. It has been *estimated that improved methods would result in a reasonable expectation of increased food output of 30 per cent. throughout the whole of India. There is no doubt that any additional labour required under a more intensive form of cultivation could easily be obtained since the agriculturist in Bengal on the whole probably works less than agriculturists in almost any other part of the world. Subsidiary table I also shows that of the total area cultivable only 67 per cent. is now actually under cultivation. If the total cultivable area were brought under cultivation and if improved methods of cultivation yielding an increase of 30 per cent. over the present yield were adopted it is clear from a †simple rule of three calculation that Bengal could support at its present standard of living a population very nearly twice as large as that

*G. Clarke—*Proceedings of the XVIIth Indian Science Conference.*

† $\frac{100}{67} \times \frac{130}{100} = 1.94$

recorded in 1931. Fresh areas in course of time will be brought under cultivation as lands on the Bay of Bengal accrete and reach a stage suitable for cultivation. Even at present it is clear that by far the majority of the food stuffs consumed in Bengal are locally produced. During 1930-1931, taking only grains, pulses and flour, salt, sugar and spices, provisions and oilman's stores Bengal imported goods of the value of Rs. 821 lakhs and exported goods of the value of Rs. 281 lakhs. But the balance of trade during the same year amounted to Rs. 34,52.41 lakhs or more than three times the aggregate export and import trade. The sea-borne trade of Calcutta is not confined to goods originating in or meant exclusively for Bengal, but in the year 1930-1931 jute, tea and hides contributed 77½ per cent. of the total and Bengal contributed all the jute, nearly all the hides and a very considerable part of the tea. It is consequently clear that the favourable balance of trade to a very small extent only was dissipated outside Bengal and that the balance itself provides sufficiently for an enormously increased importation of food stuffs were it necessary to import them at any time. Not only agriculture but also industry is at present in Bengal practically in its infancy. Reviewing production in India a *Bengali writer in 1924 came to the conclusion that the—

“ outstanding feature of the productive system of India is its inefficiency which is shown by the great wastage of resources on the one hand and the lower productivity of the industries on the other. . . . It is insufficient production to which is due India's poverty, both absolute and relative. . . . The lack of capital is partly responsible for the present low productivity. . . . but. . . could not. . . be regarded as the fundamental cause of insufficient production in India. . . . Insufficient production is the result of inefficient labour, i.e., lack of capacity on the part of the people to mobilise the physical, intellectual and moral forces of the country and to organise land and capital effectively for national production.”

Improvement in methods of production both agricultural and industrial should, therefore, very easily make possible the subsistence of such an increased population as is suggested by the figures already discussed and the considerations deduced in this paragraph also make it possible to hope that such an increase of population may be attended with a very considerable increase in the material condition of the people and in the standard of living. It is clear at least that it is not yet time to indulge in gloomy forebodings on the grounds that Bengal is over-populated, provided full use is made of the available resources of the country by improved methods.

89. Extravagant methods of population increase are a practical problem.—A final problem suggested by the growth of population in Bengal concerns the enormous wastage of life with which that growth is achieved. It is clear that what is of importance in population growth is the rate of increment. A high rate of increment can be achieved by a relatively low birth rate if the death rate is also low, whilst on the contrary a comparatively low rate of increase results from even a high birth rate if the death rate also is high. Considerations adduced in chapter IV show that actually both the birth rate and the death rate in Bengal are very high and that there is consequently an appalling wastage of reproductive energy in maintaining the present increase of population. If the logistic theory of population growth is correct a retarded rate of increase is inevitable at the upper stages of the cycle of growth until finally a population is reached which to all intents and purposes is stationary. France in Europe where there is a notoriously low birth rate probably illustrates this position best but an exhaustive enquiry into the Arab population of Algiers suggested to Pearl that the retardation of the rate of increase is in general effected at the upper stages of the population growth by decrease both in the birth rate and in the death rate. The Arab population of Algiers showed both a decrease in the birth rate which could not be ascribed to any voluntary measures and a decrease in the death rate which equally could not be ascribed to improvement in public health measures since the traditional customs of the Arabs offer the utmost possible resistance to any changes in their habits which would improve sanitary conditions. Attempts to effect a retardation of the rate

*Rajani Kanta Das—*Production in India*.

†*Biology of Population Growth*.

of increase by voluntary limitation of the birth rate are almost certainly doomed to failure particularly in Bengal. They are repugnant to common sentiment in this country, the methods adopted are so expensive as to be beyond the reach of the great majority of the inhabitants and it is probably true to say that there are as yet none which can be relied upon as being absolutely certain and satisfactory. Figures for the different strata of society adduced in the appendix to chapter IV show that there is no evidence to believe that contraceptive measures are used by the upper classes or those engaged in professions and the liberal arts; and it is certain that they are not practised at all in the lower strata of society. What appears to happen, if the analogy of Western Europe may be accepted, is that a decrease in the birth rate is inevitably followed at some period by a corresponding decrease in the death rate. It is clear also that fertility in western countries decreases with the increase of wealth and intellectual interests. It is therefore possible to expect that a reduction of the birth rate by the adoption of improved measures of public health accompanied by an improvement in the standard of living, an increase in the spread of education and perhaps principally by a further emancipation of women and their introduction to spheres of usefulness and activity from which they are now in Bengal generally debarred by social custom and by the institution of purdah will in due course result in a decrease in the birth rate corresponding with the decrease in the death rate which it is the object of public health measures to bring about.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Mean density (persons per square mile), cultivable and cultivated areas, irrigation, rainfall, and distribution of crops by districts.

Natural division and district or state	Mean density	Percentage of total area		Percentage of cultivable area		Percentage of gross cultivated area under—	Annual rainfall		Percentage of gross cultivated area under—							
		Cultivable	Cultivated	Cultivated	Cropped annually more than once	Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated	* Normal	† Average 1901-30	Rice	Other cereals and pulses	Jute	Fruit and vegetables including sugarcrops	Sugars, dums and narcotics	Fodder, oilseeds and other crops		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
BENGAL	616	71	2	47	67	0	3	8	75	8	72	5	3	10	2	6
BURDWAN DIVISION	618	78	3	47	80	5	3	14	2	54	60	8	0	1	14	2
Burdwan	581	82	3	32	39	1	13	19	53	50	1	88	1	0	2	4
Birbhum	558	87	9	55	62	9	5	19	58	40	1	95	5	1	7	0
Bansura	524	69	4	41	53	7	5	23	53	52	7	89	0	4	0	3
Madhupore	584	80	5	59	74	0	4	7	60	1	58	94	1	0	0	2
Hoojly	632	84	4	59	68	2	9	10	57	54	75	0	4	0	7	2
Hovra	5105	84	3	31	38	9	1	60	60	66	80	5	1	6	5	1
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	566	66	3	46	55	7	16	2	61	58	1	6	6	2	3	1
24 Parganas	519	43	6	33	38	5	9	0	63	7	68	1	84	8	0	1
Nadia	519	27	54	26	35	2	0	02	63	7	68	1	84	8	0	1
Murshidabad	574	70	2	55	1	64	3	17	52	4	7	68	1	84	8	0
Jessore	576	64	7	39	1	64	3	17	52	4	7	68	1	84	8	0
Khulna	519	43	6	33	38	5	9	0	63	7	68	1	84	8	0	1
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	557	80	0	50	63	6	8	2	82	0	84	8	11	4	1	2
Rajshahi	545	86	0	48	58	4	15	1	1	58	0	67	6	8	5	1
Dinapur	545	80	2	45	1	53	3	7	72	4	70	1	81	7	0	1
Jalpaiguri	555	71	4	30	5	45	8	15	7	145	6	107	1	83	0	6
Darjeeling	554	35	0	21	2	53	1	7	0	121	7	126	0	14	1	3
Rangpur	549	86	5	72	0	88	8	7	8	67	0	10	7	1	12	5
Bogra	579	86	4	50	0	84	18	7	0	63	1	68	0	70	2	4
Pabna	502	91	1	79	5	87	30	5	5	57	6	61	3	10	4	0
Maida	597	80	0	51	7	60	2	4	8	56	5	67	1	7	0	6
COOCH BEHAR STATE	445								128	9	130	8				
DACCRA DIVISION	835	79	6	71	83	23	8	0	81	7	64	1	4	17	5	1
Dacca	1,205	84	0	50	5	94	18	0	74	3	71	6	54	4	24	4
Mymensingh	1,523	94	4	59	2	85	3	4	69	1	61	7	57	20	8	1
Faridpur	1,003	80	7	43	0	70	5	9	72	0	65	10	57	20	8	1
Bakarganj	834	80	3	50	2	89	9	7	91	1	90	8	57	3	2	7
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	684	55	3	37	0	5	18	0	4	108	6	10	7	4	2	8
Tippera	1,197	73	3	68	2	83	28	3	8	90	5	71	4	3	29	0
Kokhali	1,124	81	2	71	3	87	3	4	112	2	104	0	8	0	0	4
Chittagong	680	54	3	43	0	79	4	2	1	114	5	116	0	95	0	0
Chittagong Hill Tracts	93	4	1	6	4	12	2			90	0	4	45	5	2	4
TRIPURA STATE	93								78	7	92	8				

* District figures are those published by the Director-General of Observations from records up to 1920. They are obtained by (a) averaging over the total period during which observations have been taken at any station up to 1920 the annual rainfall of each station for which there were records in 1920 for at least five years and (b) taking an unweighted arithmetic average of the averages thus computed for each observation station without regard to the number of years of observation. Figures for all Bengal and for divisions are the unweighted averages of the figures shown for the districts included.

† Figures for districts are calculated by taking an unweighted arithmetic average of the figures published yearly during 1901-30 by the Director of Agriculture as the district annual average rainfall. These district annual averages are themselves unweighted averages of the annual rainfall of all the observation stations within the district for which normal rainfall figures are on record (see above).

Figures for all Bengal and for divisions are the unweighted averages of the figures shown for the districts included.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Population density (persons per square mile) with variations per cent. by districts at each census, 1872-1931.

Division, district or state	Mean density (persons per square mile)							Variation per cent of population (increase +, decrease -) during the period									
	1871	1901	1911	1921	1931	1881	1872	1901-31	1911-21	1901-11	1891-01	1881-91	1872-81	1872-71	1872-61	1872-51	1872-41
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
BENGAL	616	578	563	521	484	450	422	+7	+3	+2	+8	+0	+7	+7	+5	+6	+7
West Bengal	618	581	611	595	555	534	545	+7	+4	-9	+2	+8	+7	+2	+0	-2	+3
BURDWAN DIVISION	618	581	611	595	555	534	545	+7	+4	-9	+2	+8	+7	+2	+0	-2	+3
Burdwan	603	332	572	570	317	618	552	+7	+8	-6	+0	+10	+1	-0	-2	-6	+3
Birbhum	558	483	534	515	466	432	496	+11	+8	-4	+3	+13	+0	-0	-1	-7	+0
Bansura	511	339	434	428	403	397	370	+9	-10	+5	+7	+4	+8	+1	-3	-7	+6
Madhupore	584	525	535	563	521	498	503	+5	+5	+1	+2	+0	+0	+6	+0	+1	+0
Hoojly	632	500	518	583	570	521	521	+2	+2	+0	+0	+0	+1	+4	+0	-12	+9
Hovra	5105	1,482	1,850	1,668	1,497	1,324	1,247	+10	+3	+5	+10	+11	+4	+13	+1	+3	+2
Central Bengal	566	543	541	515	489	470	425	+7	+0	+4	+5	+1	+4	+3	+9	+10	+3
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	566	543	541	515	489	470	425	+7	+0	+4	+5	+1	+4	+3	+9	+10	+3
24 Parganas	519	341	512	429	390	349	328	+10	+4	+8	+0	+17	+1	+9	+11	+9	+8
Nadia	519	341	512	429	390	349	328	+10	+4	+8	+0	+17	+1	+9	+11	+9	+8
Murshidabad	574	581	545	501	464	432	496	+11	+8	-4	+3	+13	+0	-0	-1	-7	+0
Jessore	576	595	630	622	584	572	567	+12	+0	+8	+0	+2	+9	+6	+8	+0	+0
Khulna	519	341	512	429	390	349	328	+10	+4	+8	+0	+17	+1	+9	+11	+9	+8
North Bengal	557	538	528	489	463	444	422	+2	+5	+1	+9	0	+7	+4	+1	+5	+3
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	557	538	528	489	463	444	422	+2	+5	+1	+9	0	+7	+4	+1	+5	+3
Rajshahi	545	560	565	558	549	553	543	-2	+7	+2	+0	+8	+2	+7	+4	+7	+4
Dinapur	545	432	428	397	376	366	302	+8	+1	+0	+7	+6	+7	+1	+0	+9	+0
Jalpaiguri	555	319	389	299	233	193	148	+10	+3	+7	+14	+18	+17	+17	+39	+10	+13
Darjeeling	554	334	389	299	233	193	148	+10	+3	+7	+14	+18	+17	+17	+39	+10	+13
Rangpur	549	717	686	619	594	603	619	+8	+0	+5	+10	+6	+11	+6	+11	+6	+11
Bogra	579	760	724	628	562	506	472	+3	+6	+6	+15	+12	+11	+11	+3	+7	+0
Pabna	502	585	581	620	642	628	732	+7	+7	+0	+4	+0	+0	+0	+0	+0	+0
Maida	597	538	548	481	443	387	369	+4	+1	-1	+8	+19	+8	+14	+5	+0	+3
COOCH BEHAR STATE	445	480	484	434	403	443	481	+0	-3	-1	+4	-2	-1	-3	+12	+0	0
DACCRA DIVISION	835	868	808	728	682	598	511	+8	+2	+7	+1	+4	+6	+13	+0	+16	+3
Dacca	1,205	1,145	1,060	922	861	758	657	+7	+7	+8	+11	+9	+10	+16	+14	+4	+0
Mymensingh	1,523	893	776	692	608	509	377	+11	+6	+5	+16	+17	+19	+17	+19	+19	+17
Faridpur	1,003	940	905	833	795	710	558	+8	+4	+8	+9	+0	+2	+9	+9	+8	+5
Bakarganj	834	814	804	784	754	704	644	+8	+4	+8	+9	+0	+2	+9	+9	+8	+5
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	684	512	467	410	383	309	238	+13	+7	+8	+8	+12	+8	+17	+4	+8	+8
Tippera	1,197	1,072	972	844	713	606	562	+12	+8	+7	+14	+18	+17	+17	+7	+9	+11
Kokhali	1,124	972	792	684	614	499	511	+15	+9	+13	+10	+18	+18	+18	+18	+18	+18
Chittagong	680	545	608	643	618	588	638	+7	+6	+8	+10	+12	+12	+12	+12	+12	+12
Chittagong Hill Tracts	93	84	80	84	21	20	14	+25	+12	+6	+23	+26	+16	+6	+6	+6	+6
TRIPURA STATE	93	78	28	31	21	17	23	+25	+12	+6	+23	+26	+16	+6	+6	+6	+6
SIKKIM	30	29	31	21	17	23	23	+34	-7	+1	+49	+83	0	0	0	0	0

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Aggregate area and population of police-stations classified by districts according to density of population—persons per square mile, 1931.

NOTE.—The proportion per cent. which the area and population of each group bear to the total are given in Italic below the absolute figure, for the Province and the natural divisions.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Under 150		150-200		200-250		250 and over	
	Area	Population.	Area	Population.	Area	Population.	Area	Population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BENGAL	12,002	507,240	4,543	1,125,867	15,059	5,748,266	15,282	7,887,074
West Bengal	<i>16.2</i>	<i>50.2</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>17.3</i>	<i>14.4</i>	<i>23.4</i>
BURDWAN DIVISION			1,311	379,426	4,116	1,573,987	3,600	1,875,380
Burdwan			<i>9.1</i>	<i>4.1</i>	<i>2.8</i>	<i>78.2</i>	<i>27.7</i>	<i>21.7</i>
Birbhum								
Bankura								
Midnapore								
Hooghly								
Howrah								
Central Bengal	3,805	5,959	448	97,309	2,606	978,390	4,895	2,504,748
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	<i>21.3</i>	<i>9.9</i>	<i>2.1</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>9.7</i>	<i>26.9</i>	<i>24.9</i>
24 Parganas								
Calcutta								
Nadia								
Murshadabad								
Jessore								
Kulna								
North Bengal	173	13,362	2,038	473,279	5,842	23,033,136	4,892	2,510,909
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	<i>1.0</i>	<i>0.1</i>	<i>9.9</i>	<i>4.2</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>10.0</i>	<i>20.9</i>	<i>22.3</i>
Rajshahi								
Dinapur								
Jaipaur								
Darjeeling								
Rangpur								
Bogra								
Farma								
Malda								
COOCH BEHAR STATE	8,624	487,919	746	175,653	2,495	992,753	1,985	998,037
East Bengal	<i>28.2</i>	<i>8.3</i>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>8.1</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>6.5</i>	<i>4.8</i>
DACCA DIVISION								
Dacca								
Mymensingh								
Fardpur								
Bakerganj								
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	5,007	212,922	135	35,633	1,294	503,948	305	161,168
Tippura								
Noakhali								
Chittagong Hill Tract								
TRIPURA STATE	3,617	274,997	499	107,453				
SIKKIM	2,818	109,808						

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	600-750		750-900		900-1,050		1,050 and over	
	Area	Population.	Area	Population.	Area	Population.	Area	Population.
1	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BENGAL	10,810	7,149,003	8,790	7,178,755	4,505	4,315,002	11,374	17,176,331
West Bengal	<i>13.0</i>	<i>24.0</i>	<i>10.6</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>3.4</i>	<i>4.4</i>	<i>13.7</i>	<i>31.6</i>
BURDWAN DIVISION	2,487	1,634,506	964	799,785	560	525,982	946	1,856,123
Burdwan	<i>17.5</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<i>6.6</i>	<i>4.2</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>0.1</i>	<i>6.8</i>	<i>21.3</i>
Birbhum								
Bankura								
Midnapore								
Hooghly								
Howrah								
Central Bengal	2,875	1,911,932	2,186	1,776,992	350	346,443	778	2,466,456
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	<i>16.1</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>4.4</i>	<i>24.6</i>
24 Parganas								
Calcutta								
Nadia								
Murshadabad								
Jessore								
Kulna								
North Bengal	3,250	2,129,945	2,508	2,066,503	1,074	1,029,491	703	832,327
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	<i>15.9</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>12.2</i>	<i>18.4</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>9.1</i>	<i>3.4</i>	<i>7.4</i>
Rajshahi								
Dinapur								
Jaipaur								
Darjeeling								
Rangpur								
Bogra								
Farma								
Malda								
COOCH BEHAR STATE	2,198	1,472,620	3,121	2,535,475	2,521	2,413,086	8,947	11,999,625
East Bengal	<i>7.3</i>	<i>6.9</i>	<i>30.2</i>	<i>12.0</i>	<i>8.2</i>	<i>11.4</i>	<i>29.9</i>	<i>60.9</i>
DACCA DIVISION	2,121	1,418,937	2,882	2,190,485	1,889	1,610,552	5,314	7,287,887
Dacca								
Mymensingh								
Fardpur								
Bakerganj								
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	77	53,683	439	101,360	450	156,132	2,910	4,711,688
Tippura								
Noakhali								
Chittagong Hill Tract								
TRIPURA STATE								
SIKKIM								

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Variation of population in British Territory according to returns of vital statistics compared with the census returns.

NOTE.—From this table, the Chittagong Hill Tracts are excluded as no returns of vital occurrences are kept there.

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	From 1st January 1921 to end of December 1930						
	Total number of reported		Ratio per mille of population enumerated in 1921.		Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of reported births over reported deaths.		
	births	deaths.	Births	Deaths	Actual nos.	Ratio per mille.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
BENGAL British Territory*	13,255,369	11,791,885	285	253	+ 1,463,484	+ 32	
West Bengal	2,416,255	2,067,558	300	257	+ 348,697	+ 43	
BURDWAN DIVISION	2,416,255	2,067,558	300	257	+ 348,697	+ 43	
Burdwan	421,044	381,987	243	206	+ 42,056	+ 29	
Buikhan	326,771	219,789	285	228	+ 82,972	+ 97	
Bankura	351,708	272,305	345	267	+ 79,402	+ 78	
Malda	709,983	644,010	380	342	+ 125,973	+ 47	
Hoojaly	274,342	271,382	255	251	+ 1,451	+ 4	
Howrah	306,847	251,805	270	235	+ 14,788	+ 15	
Central Bengal	2,668,835	2,628,451	282	278	+ 40,384	+ 4	
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	2,668,835	2,628,451	282	278	+ 40,384	+ 4	
24-Parganas	105,138	97,045	240	218	+ 31,193	+ 12	
Calcutta	193,761	322,117	210	355	- 126,356	- 139	
Nadia	486,644	473,715	320	319	+ 14,928	+ 10	
Murshidabad	510,521	392,404	111	81	+ 127,117	+ 100	
Jessore	436,484	514,207	353	299	- 77,723	- 46	
Khulna	426,937	355,063	291	245	+ 71,274	+ 49	
North Bengal	3,082,903	2,976,239	299	288	+ 116,664	+ 11	
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	3,082,903	2,976,239	299	288	+ 116,664	+ 11	
Rajshahi	475,377	514,782	319	345	- 39,405	- 27	
Dinajpur	347,867	347,795	285	281	+ 4,072	+ 14	
Jalpaiguri	302,409	264,138	235	202	+ 33,266	+ 41	
Darjeeling	94,571	94,437	355	354	+ 134	+ 1	
Taungta	715,780	677,779	287	277	+ 47,001	+ 10	
Bogra	237,552	247,068	240	255	- 10,490	- 8	
Palna	345,583	359,256	281	295	- 13,673	- 8	
Malda	328,728	270,947	358	275	+ 52,781	+ 58	
East Bengal	5,077,376	4,119,637	272	221	+ 957,739	+ 51	
DACCA DIVISION	3,502,864	2,819,736	273	228	+ 683,128	+ 45	
Dacca	830,026	807,236	274	228	+ 152,788	+ 51	
Mymensingh	1,235,056	1,021,451	255	211	+ 213,604	+ 44	
Fardpur	684,844	567,297	282	252	+ 67,547	+ 30	
Bakerganj	775,883	738,764	342	325	+ 17,118	+ 14	
CHITTAGONG DIVISION*	1,574,512	1,189,801	270	206	+ 374,511	+ 64	
Tippera	617,493	462,732	225	169	+ 154,771	+ 56	
Noakhali	175,171	350,082	323	298	- 122,909	- 85	
Chittagong	481,848	367,007	299	240	+ 84,751	+ 59	

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	From 18th March 1921 to end of February 1931.						
	Total number of reported		Ratio per mille of population enumerated in 1921.		Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of reported births over reported deaths.		From census of 18th March 1921 to census of 28th February 1931.
	births	deaths.	Births	Deaths	Actual nos.	Ratio per mille.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL British Territory*	13,156,298	11,613,598	283	250	+ 1,542,700	+ 33	+ 3,372,016
West Bengal	2,402,264	2,021,369	298	251	+ 380,895	+ 47	+ 596,547
BURDWAN DIVISION	2,402,264	2,021,369	298	251	+ 380,895	+ 47	+ 596,547
Burdwan	421,745	372,104	293	259	+ 49,541	+ 34	+ 140,928
Buikhan	326,115	258,844	363	282	+ 87,271	+ 103	+ 95,829
Bankura	350,094	266,606	443	362	+ 83,268	+ 81	+ 61,780
Malda	705,035	625,510	398	350	+ 138,525	+ 52	+ 132,433
Hoojaly	274,084	263,404	272	240	+ 30,680	+ 18	+ 31,113
Howrah	266,591	246,692	267	250	+ 16,800	+ 17	+ 101,464
Central Bengal	2,654,317	2,574,443	281	272	+ 79,874	+ 9	+ 662,105
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	2,654,317	2,574,443	281	272	+ 79,874	+ 9	+ 662,105
24-Parganas	604,040	557,040	290	242	+ 47,010	+ 18	+ 255,028
Calcutta	195,923	318,561	216	351	- 122,798	- 135	+ 119,470
Nadia	486,145	462,577	326	317	+ 22,668	+ 18	+ 84,937
Murshidabad	517,334	386,970	110	80	+ 130,884	+ 104	+ 146,496
Jessore	430,850	501,479	350	281	- 70,620	- 41	- 51,055
Khulna	421,117	347,886	290	239	+ 78,291	+ 51	+ 137,178
North Bengal	3,059,179	2,943,840	296	285	+ 115,339	+ 11	+ 281,020
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	3,059,179	2,943,840	296	285	+ 115,339	+ 11	+ 281,020
Rajshahi	469,842	508,006	315	341	- 39,164	- 26	- 83,220
Dinajpur	363,093	341,346	330	317	+ 22,746	+ 18	+ 48,587
Jalpaiguri	300,150	260,623	231	202	+ 39,597	+ 43	+ 47,088
Darjeeling	94,056	90,113	326	317	+ 8,943	+ 15	+ 36,286
Taungta	709,814	671,748	283	268	+ 37,096	+ 15	+ 91,070
Bogra	255,990	244,298	244	238	+ 6,692	+ 11	+ 37,097
Palna	347,540	354,872	350	356	- 6,332	- 6	- 31,504
Malda	310,544	260,856	324	274	+ 49,700	+ 50	+ 41,357
East Bengal	5,077,692	4,073,948	272	218	+ 1,003,746	+ 54	+ 1,832,344
DACCA DIVISION	3,493,898	2,884,661	272	225	+ 609,247	+ 47	+ 1,047,820
Dacca	854,807	890,124	274	281	- 164,633	- 58	- 275,641
Mymensingh	1,285,026	1,014,210	256	210	+ 221,716	+ 46	+ 293,043
Fardpur	698,812	574,779	247	217	+ 70,961	+ 32	+ 142,065
Bakerganj	775,883	621,076	356	298	+ 151,787	+ 48	+ 182,371
CHITTAGONG DIVISION*	1,584,184	1,189,285	272	204	+ 384,899	+ 68	+ 784,424
Tippera	619,238	456,025	228	169	+ 162,613	+ 60	+ 364,275
Noakhali	189,085	347,867	327	356	- 134,165	- 91	- 233,368
Chittagong	485,811	385,393	300	236	+ 66,115	+ 61	+ 155,616

* Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

† Excluding Ooooh Behar State.

‡ Excluding Tripura State.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Variation by natural divisions in the aggregate population in police-stations grouped according to their population density (number of persons per square mile) at the beginning of the decade 1911-21 and 1921-31.

(NOTE.—Figures for 1911-1921 are reproduced from Subsidiary Table VI to Chapter I of the Report on the Census of India, 1921 Vol. V, Part I.)

(a) Actual variation.

Natural Division	Decade	Variation (increase +, decrease -) in the aggregate population of police-stations having at the beginning of the decade a population density (number of persons per square mile) of								
		Under 150	150-300.	300-450.	450-600	600-750.	750-900	900-1,050	1,050 and over.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
BENGAL	..	{ 1911-1921	+146,299	+ 24,355	- 76,755	-190,191	+ 59,345	+328,936	+164,280	+ 831,023
		{ 1921-1931	+151,615	+246,835	+425,020	+259,133	+460,381	+308,077	+310,466	-1,325,578
West Bengal	.	{ 1911-1921	-	18,693	- 223,016	- 189,982	- 48,118	- 24,269	-	26,699
		{ 1921-1931	.	+ 80,782	+132,719	+112,667	+ 44,125	+ 41,471	+ 32,117	+152,656
Central Bengal	..	{ 1911-1921	+ 41,489	.	+ 12,182	- 188,207	+ 17,594	- 31,806	+ 15,353	+121,254
		{ 1921-1931	+ 44,579	+ 36,799	+108,722	+146,016	+ 3,640	+47,618	+33,675	+236,160
North Bengal	..	{ 1911-1921	+10,573	+36,638	.	294	+44,690	+ 854	+69,175	+ 59,126
		{ 1921-1931	+ 1,930	+35,260	+ 58,459	- 60,132	+ 71,375	+ 82,132	+19,049	- 54,378
East Bengal	..	{ 1911-1921	+ 94,237	+ 0,610	+131,925	- 93,398	+ 89,016	+314,553	+12,147	- 637,490
		{ 1921-1931	+102,080	+ 73,938	+120,220	+ 63,562	+311,241	+136,650	+225,555	- 850,405

(b) Percentage variation.

Natural Division.	Decade.	Variation (increase +, decrease -) in the aggregate population of police-stations having at the beginning of the decade a population density (number of persons per square mile) of								
		Under 150	150-300.	300-450.	450-600	600-750	750-900	900-1,050	1,050 and over.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
BENGAL	..	{ 1911-1921	+26.4	+ 2.8	- 1.3	- 2.2	+ 1.0	+ 3.3	+ 4.2	+ 7.9
		{ 1921-1931	+32.7	+16.3	+ 7.0	+ 3.2	+ 8.1	+ 3.9	+ 6.8	+10.0
West Bengal	.	{ 1911-1921		+ 4.4	+11.3	+ 0.4	- 4.3	- 2.4	- 0.1	+ 0.7
		{ 1921-1931		+15.4	+ 8.2	+ 5.7	+ 3.1	+ 1.3	+ 5.9	+ 9.7
Central Bengal	.	{ 1911-1921	+34.5		+ 1.1	- 4.7	+ 1.1	- 3.1	+ 2.3	+ 5.0
		{ 1921-1931	+39.7	+25.8	+ 9.5	+ 5.7	+ 0.2	- 4.5	+ 5.2	+10.4
North Bengal	..	{ 1911-1921	+ 21.4	+ 9.3	+ 0.0	+ 1.3	+ 0.04	+ 3.9	- 9.5	- 1.8
		{ 1921-1931	+17.5	+10.5	+ 2.8	- 2.3	+ 4.3	+ 3.2	+ 4.2	+ 0.7
East Bengal	..	{ 1911-1921	+24.6	+12.8	+18.3	+12.7	+ 6.9	+ 5.0	+ 4.6	+ 8.9
		{ 1921-1931	+26.5	-23.3	+10.1	+ 7.9	+21.2	+ 4.2	+ 7.6	+10.3

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Persons per inhabited house and inhabited houses per square mile, 1881-1931.

	Average number of persons per inhabited house						Average number of inhabited houses per square mile					
	1901	1921	1931	1901	1921	1931	1901	1921	1931	1901	1921	1931
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	5.1	5.1	5.3	5.1	5.2	6.3	120	114	107	101	92	75
West Bengal	4.5	4.3	4.6	4.5	4.5	5.3	139	134	134	132	122	111
BURDWAN DIVISION	4.6	4.3	4.6	4.5	4.5	5.3	139	134	134	132	122	111
Burdwan	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.8	143	133	132	135	121	107
Birbhum	4.1	4.2	4.6	4.3	4.2	4.4	125	115	117	1	107	103
Bakura	4.7	4.5	4.8	4.8	5.0	6.2	90	87	88	88	82	64
Medinipur	4.7	4.6	4.8	4.8	4.9	6.0	114	115	115	114	105	88
Hugli	1.2	4.0	1.1	4.0	3.9	4.2	225	230	221	222	233	195
Howrah	4.1	4.6	1.1	4.0	3.9	5.6	480	411	432	373	307	239
Central Bengal	5.1	5.0	5.5	5.2	5.4	5.8	112	119	98	100	90	80
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	5.1	5.0	5.5	5.2	5.4	5.8	112	119	98	100	90	80
24 Parganas	1.9	4.0	5.1	5.1	5.7	5.4	105	110	94	79	68	58
Calcutta	5.7	5.3	20.3	6.8	10.1	17.7	6,796	8,161	2,109	5,975	3,216	1,848
Sadia	1.5	3.4	4.7	3.8	5.0	5.0	117	121	122	125	119	104
Mohamudabad	4.8	4.5	4.0	4.7	4.4	4.8	136	142	132	132	132	129
Jessore	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	116	118	121	120	120	100
Khulna	6.0	6.0	6.0	5.5	5.7	6.0	68	61	48	48	44	34
North Bengal	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.9	104	101	98	91	84	75
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.5	6.0	103	102	98	92	84	75
Rajshahi	4.8	4.9	4.7	5.1	5.3	6.0	114	115	119	111	107	95
Dinajpur	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.0	5.4	5.6	84	79	76	73	67	65
Faridpur	4.7	4.9	5.3	5.0	5.4	5.1	71	66	68	68	63	53
Darjeeling	4.5	4.3	4.1	4.1	4.0	5.3	59	50	55	53	50	34
Rangpur	4.8	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.7	128	127	116	111	105	97
Bogra	6.6	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.7	7.4	143	133	124	106	90	66
Pabna	6.6	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.7	6.5	145	150	168	154	146	123
Malda	6.8	5.3	5.7	5.5	5.5	6.5	112	101	96	96	81	72
COCH BEHAR STATE	5.1	5.2	5.2	5.1	4.9	5.2	87	87	87	85	90	89
East Bengal	5.5	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.4	7.2	126	115	106	94	85	56
Dacca DIVISION	5.5	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.4	7.2	170	159	151	134	124	81
Dacca	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.6	5.5	6.9	235	211	190	109	157	110
Majumdar	5.0	6.0	5.5	5.9	5.6	7.0	140	130	124	105	98	64
Faridpur	5.2	5.2	5.1	5.2	5.3	7.3	181	177	167	147	114	63
Bikarnaj	5.2	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.9	5.6	160	154	142	135	125	66
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	5.4	5.4	5.6	5.5	5.4	7.0	108	94	82	74	67	44
Chittagong	5.7	5.7	6.0	5.9	5.7	8.5	917	188	161	144	125	72
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	175	145	140	127	114	63
Chittagong Hill Tracts	1.0	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.0	5.4	142	183	132	111	101	82
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	142	183	132	111	101	82
TRIPURA STATE	5.3	5.3	5.1	5.6	*	*	15	14	11	8	*	*
SIKKIM	4.1	5.5	5.3	5.3	*	*	10	5	5	4	*	*

*Not recorded.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Numbers of Boats and Steamers, 1931.

Division, District or State	Cultivators' small boats	Dig boats used for carrying passengers or freight											Steamers.	Launches.	Motor boats	Others
		Capacity (tonnage)														
		Up to 100	100-300	300-500	500-1,000	1,000-1,500	1,500-2,000	2,000-3,000	More than 3,000	Dug.	Small					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BENGAL	830,928	48,632	6,825	10,991	2,311	1,126	134	93	57	58	16,402	78,934	1,054	20	10	95
BRITISH TERRITORY	880,727	48,488	6,795	10,952	2,311	1,126	134	93	57	58	16,384	78,933	1,054	20	10	95
Burdwan Division	5,296	427	63	118	72	59	11	6	5	4	70	742	8	8	1	4
Burdwan	91	5	12	4	14	..	..	..	..	1	60	..	..	..	..	..
Birbhum	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bakura	5,028	115	50	62	61	39	2	5	5	4	469	..	7	1	..	..
Medinipur	40	205	4	17	4	..	..	..	..	..	105	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	127	12	13	26	3	6	9	1	..	..	21	108	1	7	1	4
Presidency Division	54,816	23,754	1,893	2,159	781	344	42	53	12	21	1,885	16,013	980	3	2	12
24 Parganas	3,121	285	308	451	240	105	31	13	12	5	250	470	5	2	1	..
Calcutta	4,022	250	155	110	26	28	..	..	..	..	163	789	..	..	..	..
Nadia	1,553	74	62	106	88	13	..	..	..	..	15	168	95	1	1	..
Mohamudabad	14,050	22,610	96	256	53	58	0	2	..	..	490	54	2	1	..	..
Jessore	32,170	505	1,250	1,196	852	140	15	37	..	..	1,038	13,134	4	..	..	..
Khulna	78,718	17,747	857	1,183	353	188	16	1	..	..	6,793	6,796	11	..	..	..
Rajshahi Division	10,199	3,402	269	234	103	39	11	1	..	..	4,679	2,687	1	..	..	..
Rajshahi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Faridpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bogra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rangpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pabna	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca Division	868,576	5,048	2,890	5,308	943	477	88	30	32	5,561	41,862	51	8	4	77	..
Dacca	190,303	723	1,532	2,155	413	243	98	7	9	1	828	20	6	8	40	..
Mymensingh	78,106	3,408	403	1,021	180	62	1	14	..	29	877	32,546	1	..	..	..
Faridpur	210,591	215	992	1,908	27	79	20	7	11	485	1,220	21	..	..	1	84
Bakarganj	88,805	643	651	1,920	167	104	9	7	10	2	3,391	5,428	9	2	1	5
Chittagong Division	172,820	1,512	1,018	1,214	182	60	7	5	10	1	1,875	14,088	24	1	1	1
Tippera	156,383	1,041	807	892	125	39	7	5	10	1	825	13,665	..	..	1	1
Wakhal	6,188	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	226	471	84	28	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Hill Tracts	48	..	22	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BENGAL STATES	391	143	30	39	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	14	111	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tripora	187	82	27	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*The figures for Dacca represent those for the Dacca district except Dacca city.

APPENDIX

At a very late stage in the preparation of this report figures were received from the Director-General of the Survey of India giving the latest survey figures for Bengal districts with States and Sikkim. In the case only of 24 Parganas, Calcutta, Bandpur and Jessore are these figures based entirely upon modern surveys. The figures for Chittagong Hill Tracts are computed entirely from surveys prior to 1905. In all the remaining areas the modern survey is incomplete and the calculation of area has been in part made upon surveys prior to 1905. The figures were received too late to effect any modification in the tables, or in the statistics prepared from them. The area given for Calcutta is the area of "Calcutta Presidency Town", and that those for districts include areas covered by arms of the sea or large stretches of water. These exclusions, however, are not likely to account for the whole difference between the figures (82,955 square miles) adopted for the purposes of this report and those more authoritative (85,606 square miles) now supplied by the Survey of India. A statement No I-a below shows the areas on both computations and the amount by which those adopted in the census tables exceed or fall short of those now supplied.

STATEMENT No. I-a.

Area in square miles.

Division, district or state.	Area shown in census tables.	Area taken from survey of India maps.	Amount by which the area in census tables exceeds (+) or falls short of (-) that shown in column 3
1	2	3	4
BENGAL	82,955	85,606	- 2,651
BRITISH TERRITORY	77,521	80,163	- 2,642
Burdwan Division	13,864	14,164	- 180
Burdwan	2,705	2,710	- 5
Birbhum	1,099	1,756	- 57
Bankura	2,653	2,658	- 5
Medinipur	2,245	5,230	+ 9
Howrah	1,168	1,210	- 22
Howrah	522	564	- 42
Presidency Division	17,853	17,820	+ 233
24 Parganas	5,217	4,967	+ 250
Calcutta	83	80	+ 23
Soda	2,881	2,837	- 5
Murshidabad	2,091	2,109	- 18
Jessore	2,062	2,027	- 35
Khulna	4,669	4,710	- 21
Rajshahi Division	18,163	19,581	- 418
Rajshahi	2,609	2,602	- 54
Dinajpur	3,943	3,979	- 12
Jalpaiguri	2,632	2,023	+ 51
Dureiching	1,312	1,161	- 99
Raipur	4,490	3,365	- 25
Bonga	1,484	1,469	- 63
Babra	1,818	1,890	- 227
Malda	1,764	1,991	- 227
Dacca Division	14,029	16,164	- 1,335
Dacca	2,718	2,630	- 217
Mymensingh	6,237	6,346	- 109
Faridpur	2,380	2,603	- 147
Bakerganj	3,623	4,885	- 862
Chittagong Division	11,692	12,834	- 942
Tippera	2,307	2,696	- 90
Noakhali	1,518	2,597	- 689
Chittagong	2,670	2,590	- 20
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5,007	5,141	- 134
BENGAL STATES	5,434	5,443	- 9
Cooch Behar	1,318	1,321	- 3
Tripura	4,116	4,122	- 6
SIKKIM	2,818	2,708	+ 110

DIAGRAM No. II-1.

TOWNS IN BENGL, CENSUS OF 1931

Key to Districts and States.

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Burdwan | 17 Rangpur |
| 2 Birbhum | 18 Bogra |
| 3 Bankura | 19 Pabna |
| 4 Midnapore | 20 M. M. A. |
| 5 Hooghly | 21 Dacca |
| 6 Howrah | 22 Mymensingh |
| 7. 24 Parganas | 23 Faisalpur |
| 8 Calcutta | 24 Bakarganj |
| 9 Nadia | 25 Tippera |
| 10 Murshidabad | 26 Noakhali |
| 11 Jessore | 27 Chittagong |
| 12 Khulna | 28 Chittagong Hill Tracts |
| 13 Rajshahi | 29 Cooch Behar |
| 14 Dinajpur | 30 Tripura State |
| 15 Jalpaiguri | 31 Sikkim |
| 16 Darjeeling | |

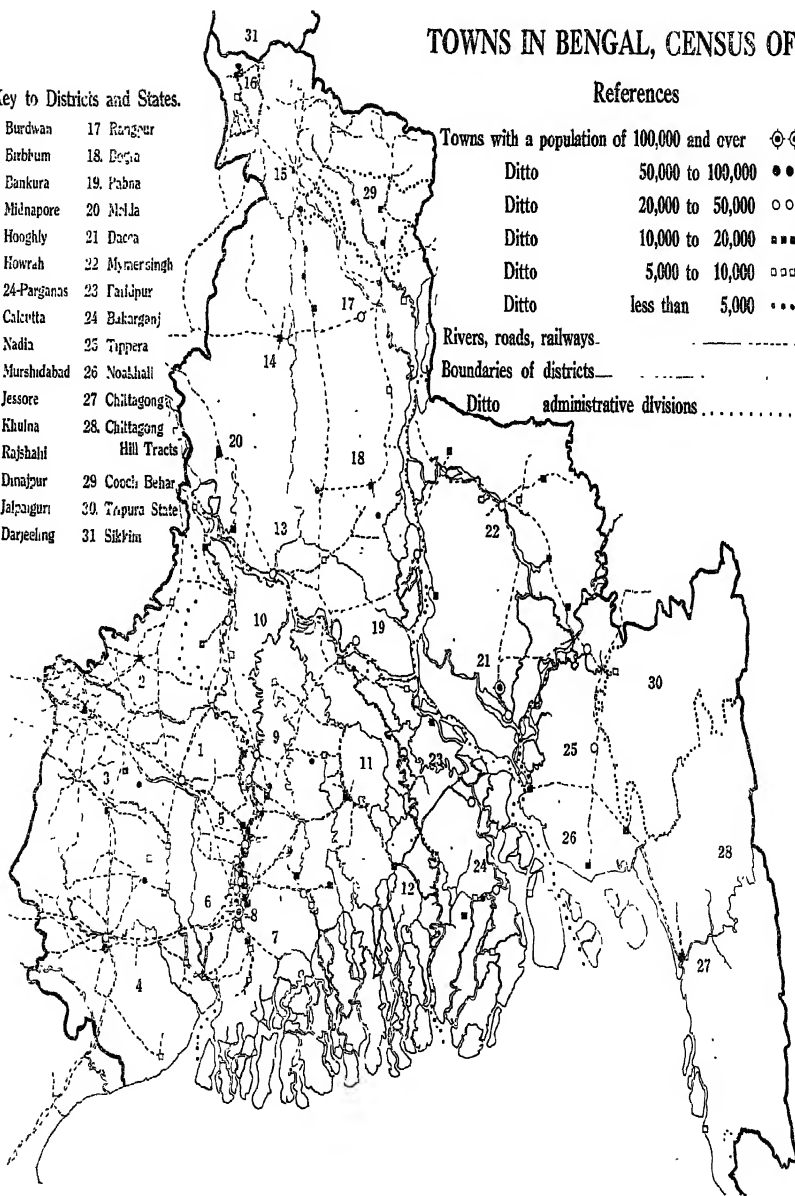
References

Towns with a population of 100,000 and over	⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙
Ditto 50,000 to 100,000	● ● ● ● ●
Ditto 20,000 to 50,000	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
Ditto 10,000 to 20,000	■ ■ ■ ■ ■
Ditto 5,000 to 10,000	□ □ □ □ □
Ditto less than 5,000	.....

Rivers, roads, railways.

Boundaries of districts—

Ditto administrative divisions



CHAPTER II

The population of cities, towns and villages

90. **Introduction.**—The statistics forming the basis of this chapter are principally contained in imperial tables III, IV and V. Five subsidiary tables prepared from the imperial tables and printed at the end of this chapter show—

- I—the distribution of population between towns and inhabited rural mauzas ;
- II—the number living in towns per mille of each religion ;
- III—towns by classes ; number, proportionate distribution of urban population and sex ratio, 1931, with variations of population, 1872 to 1931 ;
- IV—cities : population, density, sex ratio and ratio of foreign born, 1931, with variations per cent., 1872 to 1931 ; and
- V—the growth of rural and urban population in each district and division, 1881 to 1931.

A sketch map (diagram No. II-1) inserted at the beginning of this chapter shows the position of each census town by a separate symbol for each class.

91. **Definition of town.**—For the purpose of the census a town is defined as including all municipalities, all cantonments and all civil lines not falling within municipal limits. In addition the definition includes any other collection of continuous houses with a population of not less than 5,000 persons which it may be decided to treat as a town for census purposes.

92. **Towns in 1921 and 1931.**—In 1921 figures were given for 122 municipalities. Three of these have since been absorbed into the Calcutta municipal area, viz., Maniktala, Cossipore-Chitpore and Garden Reach. Two localities previously treated as census towns have been made into municipalities during the last decade. These are Rajbari in Faridpur district and Gaibandha in Rangpur district. In addition two other localities have been declared towns during the last ten years, namely, Dum-Dum in the 24-Parganas district which was a cantonment in 1921 and was included in the neighbouring municipality, and Gauripur in Mymensingh. There are now, therefore, 123 municipalities and three cantonments in Bengal and in addition to these localities 17 areas only have been treated as towns for census purposes. Of these, Rampurhat, Nilphamari, Kurigaon, Kharagpur, Saidpur, Patrasair, Domar and Beldanga were so treated in 1921 also. The first three are headquarters of subdivisions and are urban in character although Nilphamari proves to have less than 5,000 inhabitants. Kharagpur and Saidpur are important and growing railway settlements. Patrasair and Domar have been retained as towns because the first is said to be a place of great and increasing trade and the second is of some importance in the jute trade, but the population of both is below 5,000 and the census figures show a decline and not an increase of the population. Only nine new towns were, therefore, added on the present occasion. Of these, Contai, Naugaon, Kalimpong, Siliguri and Feni are subdivisional headquarters and all except Naugaon have well over 5,000 inhabitants. Ondal and Lalmonirhat, though with less than 5,000 inhabitants, are important railway centres of growing importance and Kulti and Burnpur with populations of 11,574 and 5,740, respectively, are industrial centres with important iron works. Barrackpore, Jalapahar and Leborg, the three cantonments remaining on the abolition during the last ten years of Buxa and the transformation of Dum-Dum into a municipality, have been counted as separate census towns on this occasion though they were previously included in the adjacent municipalities.

93. **Classes of towns.**—Full details of the classes adopted for table IV are given in the title page to the table. Twenty-three towns in all appear in

the smallest group, namely, those having less than 5,000 inhabitants. Of these, 15 are municipalities and two are cantonments. Of the remaining six, three (Patrasair, Nilphamari and Domar) were treated as census towns in 1921 although even then only Patrasair had a population of more than 5,000. The remaining three, Lalmonirhat, Ondal and Nangaon, are new additions and have been referred to in the preceding paragraph.

94. Definition of city.—A census city means every town containing not less than 100,000 inhabitants. There are only three such places in Bengal, viz., Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca. No town having a smaller population than 100,000 was decided upon for treatment as a city on the present occasion.

95. All urban areas included.—Some account will be given later of the classes into which census towns may be distributed apart from their classification by size. It may be taken as almost certain that no area having any distinct urban characteristics has been omitted from the list of census towns. On the contrary the justification for retaining such places as Patrasair, Nangaon and Domar will require some time in 1941 and in several of the rural municipalities conditions of life scarcely differ from those in villages and they would hardly be included if they were not covered by the definition of town.

96. Figures represent the normal distribution.—The figures represent what may be taken to be the normal distribution of the urban and rural population, and comparatively little allowance is to be made for disturbing factors. In chapter III some account is given of the extent to which workers employed in Calcutta live outside the city. Many of them reside in municipalities actually included as towns in the census figures, but others also reside in areas not yet declared to be municipalities, and some small but incalculable allowance is, therefore, to be made in deducing the effective working population of municipal areas on both sides of the river Hooghly close to Calcutta. There is a certain amount of traffic between Calcutta itself and the neighbouring residential areas as well as from one to another municipality in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and from adjacent stations to the subdivisional headquarters in the Asansol subdivision. In some of the industrial municipalities on both sides of the Hooghly about Calcutta the figures would probably have been higher had the census occurred a month or five weeks earlier for within a month of the census as a result of trade conditions a number of workers in these areas was discharged. No particulars are available to show to what extent these workers actually left the area about the mills in which they were employed. The great majority, however, amounting to more than

STATEMENT No. II-1.
Industrial workers discharged.

Province of residence.	District in which employed						
	24 Parganas.				Hooghly		
	Both sexes.	Males	Females.	Sex not shown	Both sexes	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
All provinces	18,727	10,948	2,085	5,694	5,190	4,226	964
Bengal	3,619	3,671	79	69	4,438	3,619	825
Bihar and Orissa	3,285	2,250	447	588	384	361	23
United Provinces	1,885	1,283	94	485	100	90	10
Central Provinces	68	49	19	19	181	75	106
Other provinces	9,580	3,692	1,416	4,542	87	87	

to their native countries; whilst it is a reasonable assumption that natives of Bengal not permanently domiciled in the industrial areas where they were employed also returned, on discharge, to their native villages.

97. Distribution of urban and rural population.—Of the total population of Bengal in every 1,000 no more than 73 live in urban areas of whom 42 per cent. are accounted for by the population of the three cities of Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca. In Bihar and Orissa and in Assam, the neighbouring provinces, the corresponding proportion is 41 and 34, respectively, but it is considerably greater in the North-West Frontier Province (82·5), the United Provinces (112), Madras (137) and Bombay (209). No less than 54 per cent. of the total urban population is found in the Presidency Division and another 22 per cent. in the Burdwan Division. These figures are accounted for mainly by the population of Calcutta and Howrah just as the figure for the Dacca Division (11·6) is to a lesser extent sensibly increased by Dacca City. In the

20,000 were immigrants to Bengal, as will be seen from statement No. II-1, inset, and it is very probable that the greater part of these returned

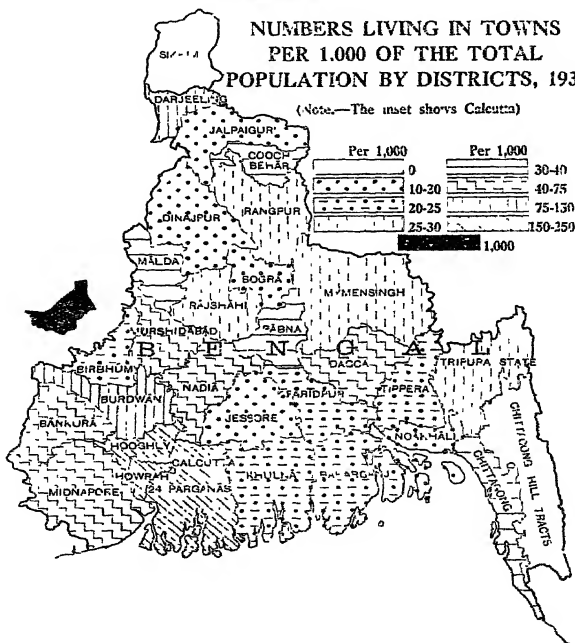
Presidency Division as many as 197 per mille live in towns, but no more than 94 per mille live in urban areas in the Burdwan Division and the figures for Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions are, respectively, only 31, 28 and 23 per mille. It is not only the population of Calcutta and Howrah, however, which sends up the proportion of town-dwellers in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions but a contribution to this result is also made by the concentration of industrial enterprise as well as by the greater number of non-industrial urban areas in these two divisions. The larger towns are also concentrated in Burdwan and Presidency Divisions. Excluding the three cities and taking towns with 10,000 inhabitants and more the numbers in Rajshahi (11), Dacca (12) and Chittagong (6) Divisions total together no more than those of the same size in the Presidency Division (30), and Burdwan Division with 19 has one more than Dacca and Chittagong Divisions together.

98. **Proportions of urban population in districts.**—The figures given in subsidiary table I are illustrated by a map forming diagram No. II-2. There are no towns in the Chittagong Hill Tracts or Sikkim State and less than

DIAGRAM No. II-2.

NUMBERS LIVING IN TOWNS PER 1,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BY DISTRICTS, 1931

(Note.—The inset shows Calcutta)



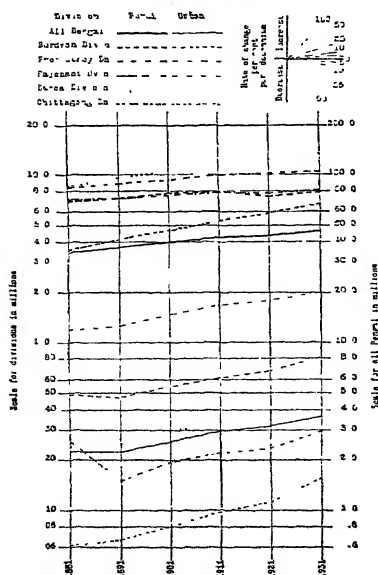
for by the existence of Chittagong Town which has been declared a major port during the last decade and has a large railway colony. In Dacca there are only two towns and the comparatively high proportion is entirely due to the existence of the city of Dacca with its university. In Darjeeling the high proportion is due both to its residential character and also to the existence of a number of schools. The urban population forms a greater proportion of the total in West Bengal and the western part of Central Bengal. Its greatest concentration is in the three districts around Calcutta, viz., 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly, where the proportion is between 15 and 25 per cent. In Burdwan it is 82 and in Bankura, Midnapore, Murshidabad and Nadia it is between 40 and 75 per 1,000. It is in the south-west of the province that the population tends to live in villages more closely resembling the village in northern and central India.

99. Size of towns.—Nearly 96 per cent. of the towns and villages in Bengal contain less than 2,000 inhabitants and account for 69 per cent. of the total population. Of the localities with a population of 20,000 and over only one, namely, Chakganpara in Bakarganj district, is not a census town. Thirty other localities, each with a population of 10,000 or more, are also not municipalities and have no urban characteristics. Of the urban population 73·1 per cent. live in towns with a population of 20,000 and over and 17·3 per cent. in towns with a population of 10,000 to 20,000. These two proportions are almost identical with the distribution of 1921 when there were 73·2 per cent. of the urban population in towns with a population of 20,000 and over and 16·1 per cent. in towns with a population of 10,000 to 20,000; but during the decade cities have gained a greater share of the proportion of population than towns of 20,000 to 50,000 or 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants and now absorb 42 per cent. of the total urban population against 38·1 in 1921. The increase in the class 10,000 to 20,000 and the slight increase from 1·8 to 2 per cent. in the class "under 5,000 inhabitants" has been gained at the expense of the class 5,000 to 10,000 with some accession also from the class 20,000 to 50,000 which accounted for 27·6 per cent. of the population in 1921 but only 25·8 in 1931.

100. Variations in proportion of urban population.—Since 1891 at every successive enumeration the proportion of the population living in towns has increased in every division. Relative to the population in rural areas the population recorded in towns actually decreased between 1881 and 1891 in all except the Presidency Division and in all except eight districts, three of which (Burdwan, Midnapore and Howrah) were in the Burdwan and two (Darjeeling and Pabna) in the Rajshahi Division: but since that date, for every thousand of the rural population, there has been an increasing number living in towns. Thus for every thousand of the rural population in British

DIAGRAM No. II-3.
Changes in the urban and rural population
of divisions, 1881-1931.

Numbers are shown by figures, rates of change by slope.



Territory there were 60 town dwellers in 1891, 65 in 1901, 69 in 1911, 73 in 1921 and 79 in 1931. These figures are given in subsidiary table V which shows the rural and urban population at each successive census since 1881 and from the figures in this table diagrams Nos. II-3 and II-4 have been prepared. No. II-3 shows the changes in the urban and rural population of divisions from 1881 onwards. In the Presidency, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions there has been a continuous rise in the urban population since 1881. In the Burdwan Division and more notably in the Rajshahi Division there was an actual decrease in numbers between 1881 and 1891, but there has since been no decade in which an increase has not been recorded. In the rural population a decrease was recorded only for the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions in one decade between 1911 and 1921, but the diagram illustrates clearly the higher rate of increase in the urban population in every division compared with the rural population. The increase is marked in the case of the Chittagong Division where it is principally contributed by Chittagong and Noakhali districts. In the Noakhali district the largest element of increase was due to the inclusion for the first time of Feni with a population of 10,875. In the Chittagong Division the town of Chittagong

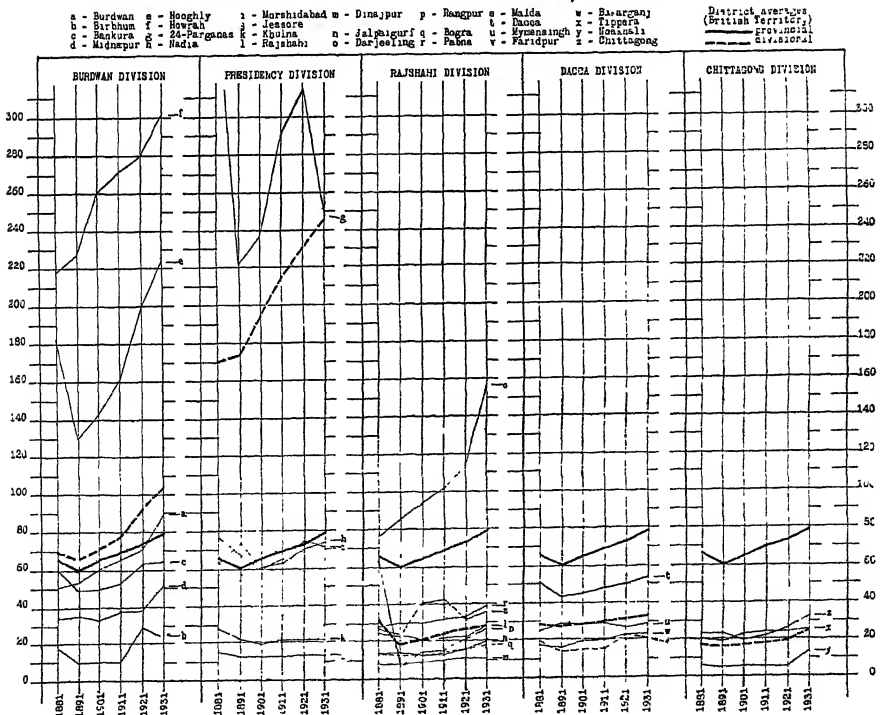
has increased by nearly 17,000 and this increase accounts for the contribution

of this district. In Tippera the main increase has been contributed by Comilla (5,451) and Brahmanbaria (3,248). In the Rajshahi Division the inclusion of Naugaon, Kalimpong, Siliguri and Lalmonirhat has added over 22,600 to the urban population from areas previously treated as rural, but with the exception of Darjeeling and Domar every town in the division has shown some increase during the decade which amounted in the case of Kurigaon to as much as 82.0 per cent. The rate of increase has been less marked in other divisions but amounts in the last decade to over 16 per cent. in Burdwan and 12 per cent. in the Presidency Division. In the whole province the increase in the urban population during the decade is 16 per cent. compared with an increase of only 6.7 per cent. in the rural population.

DIAGRAM No. II-4.

Urban population per 1,000 of the rural population by districts at each census, 1881-1931.

NOTE.—No figures are shown for Calcutta which is entirely urban or for Chittagong Hill Tracts which is entirely rural



101. **Variations of urban population in districts.**—In diagram No. II-4 is shown the percentage borne by the urban population in each district not to the total population but to the rural population. This method of comparison by emphasising the difference in the urban and rural population makes it more convenient to study their relative variations. In spite of the comparatively high rate of increase in the Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions the proportion of town-dwellers compared with the rural population has not risen during the last decade either to anything approaching the

same figure or at so rapid a rate as in West and Central Bengal owing to the concurrent increase in the rural population which in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions has been considerably greater than in other parts. The most striking feature of diagram No. II-4 is the steep increase in the proportion of town-dwellers in Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah and Darjeeling compared with 1921. In Burdwan Division the increase is partly accounted for by the inclusion of four new census towns, viz., Burnpur, Contai, Kultī and Ondal, having between them a population of 25,683. But considerable accessions to the population have been contributed by other towns also. The municipality of Dainhat has increased by two persons only. Bolpur is no longer treated as a census town and there have been decreases in Arambagh, an unhealthy and disaffected area, as well as Patrasair, Kharar, Chandrakona, Khirpai and Ramjibanpur, where there was considerable agitation which may have to some extent affected the accuracy of the returns, but it is more likely to have driven peaceful and well-disposed citizens to their village homes. In every other town, however, there has been an increase and in the case of Kharagpur and Bansberia the increases are considerable and amount, respectively, to 130 and 123 per cent. The removal from the list of towns of Gopalganj and a small decrease in the population of Rajbari in the Faridpur district has reduced the urban population and its proportion to the whole; but the proportion compared with the rural population has increased during the last decade in every other district of the Dacca Division except in Bakarganj where the percentage increase in urban and rural population has been exactly the same and the proportions have remained identical. In Mymensingh district there have been decreases in the population of Jamalpur, Muktagacha and Kishoreganj, but the addition of Gauripur and increases in the other towns have led to an increase in the urban population greater than that in the rural population. In Dacca district both Dacca and Narayanganj, the only two towns, have increased substantially by 16 per cent. and nearly 12 per cent., respectively. In the Presidency Division, owing principally to the removal of three municipalities now included in Calcutta, the urban population has actually decreased during the decade, although of the towns still falling within the district decreases have been shown in the population only of Budge Budge, Tittagarh, Gobardanga and Baduria and all the other towns show an increase which was as much as 129 per cent. in the case of Halisahar, 45 per cent. in Kanchrapara, 32 per cent. in the case of Kamarhati and 29 per cent. in Bhatpara and was due to the expansion of industry, particularly of the jute trade, during most of the decade. In the Nadia district in spite of small decreases in Kumarkhali, and Chakdah increases in the other towns have resulted in a net increase in the urban population (8 per cent.) even greater than that in the rural population (2 per cent.). In Murshidabad district similar decreases in Murshidabad, and Jiaganj-Azimganj have been more than counter-balanced by increases in the other towns, though the 4 per cent. increase in the urban population is less than the 9 per cent. increase in the rural population of the same district. A decrease (2·4 per cent.) in the urban population of Jessore is due to the two municipalities of Moheshpur and Kotchandpur but is less than the decrease (3 per cent.) in the rural population of the district. In Khulna, in spite of a small decrease in Debhatta, there has been an 11 per cent. increase in the urban population as compared with 12 per cent. in the rural population in the same district.

102. Industrial and non-industrial towns.—The towns in Bengal fall into two clearly defined classes, industrial and non-industrial, and amongst the non-industrial towns may be distinguished those which form the administrative headquarters of districts or states and subdivisions. The towns shown in tables IV and V are distributed in statement No. II-2 below according to this principal division and within the class of industrial towns, groups have been formed according to the principal industry carried on in each town. Many of the non-industrial towns not forming the headquarters of districts or subdivisions and a certain number which do form such headquarters differ but little in their conditions from large villages, except in the provision

by the municipality of an infrequent lamp post. Scientific sewerage disposal schemes are in existence only for Calcutta, Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong Bazar, Titagarh, Bhatpara and Dacca city, and of these all except the arrangements for Calcutta and Darjeeling have been made during

STATEMENT No. II-2.

Industrial Towns.	Non-Industrial Towns.		
	Administrative headquarters		Others.
JUTE SPINNING, ETC.			
(a) Serampore (also Cotton-mill)	Durdwan*	Darjeeling*	Damhat
Ru-shra-Konnagar	Katwa	Jalapa-har	Sonamthali
Chandpuri	Kalna	Lehong	Patrasair
Bhadreswar	Sun*	Kalimpong	Kharar
Bally	Rampurhat	Kurseong	Chandrakona
Banlahati	Bankura*	Siliguri	Ranibhanpur
Uttarpura	Bishnupur	Rangpur*	Kurail
Budge-Budge	Midnapore*	Nilphamari	Kotrung
Baranagar	Ghatal	Kurigaon	Banshera
Kamathati	Tamluk	Gaibandha	Rajpur
Titagarh (also Paper)	Contai	Bogra	Jaynagar
Barrackpore	Goody-Chinsura*	Palma*	Barulpur
North Barrackpore	Arambagh	Englishbazar*	Pandhati
Barrackpore Cantonment	Bargat	Tangal	Dum-Dum
South Dum-Dum	Basirhat	Nitakona	North Dum-Dum
Gariah	Krishnagan*	K. Shereganj	Gobardanga
Bhatpara			
Nahati			
(b) JUTE COLLECTION AND PRESSING	Kushia	Faridpur*	Baduria
Narayanganj	Mehpur	Rajbari	Taki
Saiganj	Ranaghat	Fatuakhali	Kumarkhali
Mythen-ingh	Berhampore*	Pirojpur	Nabadwip
Madaripur	Murshidabad	Bhola	Santipur
Jamshpur	Jangipur	Drahnabara	Hiragar
(c) COAL (WITH IRON SMELTING)	Kandi	Comilla*	Chudkai
Asansol	Jessore*	Nunakhi*	Beldanga
Bumtup	Feni	Cox's Bazar	Juganyi-Azimganj
Kulti	Satkhira		Dhulan
Ondal	Naogaon		Mahesipur
Ranganj			
(d) RAILWAY CENTRES	Rajshahi*	Cooch Behar*	Kotchandpur
Howrah	Nator	Dinabata	Debbata
Kharagpur (including Railway Settlement)	Durgapur*	Marhalithanga	Domar
Halsahar	Jalpaiguri*		
Kanchrapara			
Saipur			
Lahmonrhat			
(e) SHIPPING			
Barisal			Gauripur
Chandpur			Baytury
Chittagong			Nalchiti
Jhalakati			Haldibati
(f) OTHERS			
Calcutta with Suburbs			
Dacca			

*Administrative headquarters marked with an asterisk are District or State Headquarters and the others are Subdivisional Headquarters.

the last decade. Excluding Calcutta and the two neighbouring municipalities (South Suburban and Tollygunge) which share the same supply, there are filtered water-supply schemes only in 40 of the 140 towns shown in the tables. The names are given in the margin where an asterisk (*) distinguishes those without any such supply before 1921 and a dagger (†) those in which the schemes previously in existence have been improved or extended between 1921 and 1930.

STATEMENT No. II-3.

Municipalities with filtered water-supply schemes.

1. *Asansol.	23. †Khulna.
2. *Bankura.	24. *Krishnagar.
3. Baranagar.	25. Kurseong.
4. Barisal.	26. *Midnapore.
5. Berhampore.	27. Munshiganj.
6. *Bhadreswar.	28. †Mytensingh.
7. Bhatpara.	29. Nahati.
8. Buxidwan.	30. Narayanganj.
9. Calcutta.	31. Nator.
10. Chandpuri.	32. Noakhali.
11. Chandpur (South).	33. *Patuakhali.
12. †Chittagong.	34. Pirojpur.
13. Comilla.	35. *Ranganj.
14. Dacca.	36. Rajbari.
15. Darjeeling.	37. †Sakthura.
16. Faridpur.	38. Serampore.
17. Garden Reach.	39. †South Suburban.
18. Gariah.	40. Sun.
19. Goody Chinsura.	41. Titagarh.
20. Howrah.	42. †Tollygunge.
21. Jessore.	43. Uttarpura.
22. *Kalmpong.	

*Scheme not existent before January 1921 and carried out during the decade 1921-1930.
†Scheme existent before January 1921 but extended or improved during the decade 1921-1930.

†Uses the Calcutta supply.

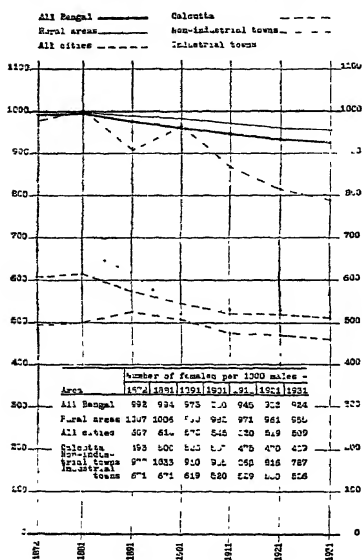
§Supplied from the local mills.

progressive decrease in non-industrial and industrial towns where the figures are 787 and 526, respectively. The figures given in chapter III and there illustrated by diagram No. III-6 indicate how much greater a proportion of the population in industrial towns is immigrant than in rural areas, and the immigrant comparatively rarely brings his women folk with him or marries

and settles in towns in Bengal. Moreover, many persons who seek the town

DIAGRAM No. II-5.

Number of females per 1,000 males in rural areas, cities and towns at each census, 1872-1931.



for a livelihood leave their families behind in their native villages. The figures given and illustrated in diagram No. II-5 show clearly the discrepancies in the sex proportions and indicate how in general the number of females per 1,000 males has been decreasing even in rural areas in Bengal during successive decades, but more rapidly in the urban than in the rural areas, particularly in Calcutta. In 1872 there were actually more women than men in the rural population, but at each successive enumeration this number has progressively declined. In Bengal as a whole there were 992 women for every 1,000 men in 1872 and 994 in 1881, but since that date the number has progressively declined. Even in 1872 the number of females in Calcutta was only 493, which had increased to 500 in 1881 and 526 in 1891 but by 1911 was lower than it had been in 1872 and is now down to the figure already mentioned. The female ratio in industrial towns after remaining the same in 1872 and 1881 has successively declined except between 1901 and 1911 and between 1911 and 1921, but there are now scarcely more than one female to every two males in the industrial areas and even less than that proportion in

Calcutta. In non-industrial towns the proportion was 977 in 1872 and rose to as much as 1,033 in 1881, but has since declined steadily with the exception of the decade 1891 to 1901 when it went up from 910 to 965. These sex ratios illustrate the statement made above that many of the non-industrial towns, even including those which are headquarters of districts or subdivisions, reproduce very much more approximately the ordinary conditions of life in the rural areas. Similar variations in the sex ratio appear in the figures for different classes of towns shown in subsidiary table III: there are 772 females to every 1,000 males in towns with less than 5,000 inhabitants; but on an average the proportion continuously decreases as the population of the towns concerned increases. On the other hand, casual samples do not appear to suggest that the sex ratio has any correlation with density. Figures for the population density of towns are shown on the present occasion for the first time in provincial table I. The density and sex ratio of towns with a population of less than 1,000 to the square mile are given in statement No. II-4 inset. Four of these (Chandrakona, Arambagh, Dum-Dum and North Dum-Dum) have sex ratios less than that of the average town, whilst an equal number have a sex ratio higher than the average for rural areas. Conversely in nine towns with a sex ratio higher than 1,000 only one has a density of less than 1,000 persons per square mile. The details are given in statement No. II-5 inset.

STATEMENT No. II-4.

Towns with a density of less than 1,000 per square mile

	Persons per square mile	Females per 1,000 males
Chandrakona	925	923
Kharpur	925	906
Arambagh	995	907
Dum-Dum	594	826
North Dum-Dum	788	788
Chakdah	997	977
Beladga	817	968
Debhatta	991	1,019

STATEMENT No. II-5.

Towns with a sex ratio of more than 1,000.

	Females per 1,000 males	Persons per square mile
Bahapur	1,016	2,462
Sonamukhi	1,069	1,998
Nabadwip	1,118	4,191
Santipur	1,080	2,777
Jangipur	1,087	4,265
Dhulian	1,070	2,442
Debhatta	1,019	991
Nawabganj	1,111	4,796
Baripur	1,069	6,826

104. **Sex ratio and decay of towns.**—Similarly the towns which show persistent decline of population do not show a corresponding increase in the number of females per 1,000 males from census to census. Such a result might be expected where, first, the towns are reduced to their permanent residents owing to the decay of industries which previously attracted immigrants and, secondly, the decay proceeds so far as to drive even the male residents afield to seek employment elsewhere. At each successive decade during the last 50 years a decline has been returned in the population of Khirpai, Murshidabad, Chandrakona, Jiaganj-Azimganj, Arambagh and Ramjibanpur. The sex ratio in all except Jiaganj and Arambagh is now higher than in the province taken as a whole, but only in Khirpai it is higher than in the rural parts of the province, and the number of females per 1,000 males has shown an increase only in two decades in Khirpai and Murshidabad and one decade in Chandrakona, Jiaganj-Azimganj and Arambagh, whilst it has actually declined continuously in Ramjibanpur, and in all six towns is less than it was in 1881 or even in 1891. Similar figures are given for Kotchandpur, Kharar and Kumarkhali where decrease in number has been continuous for four decades and for Mahespur and Old Malda which have declined at each of the last two enumerations. The actual figures are given in statement No. II-6 inset, together with others of towns which have recorded a decrease of population in more than three of the last five decades: figures in ordinary type are at the end of the decade in which there was an increase of population, and those in italics at the end of a decade in which there was a decrease.

STATEMENT No. II-6.

Sex ratios in selected towns, 1881-1931.

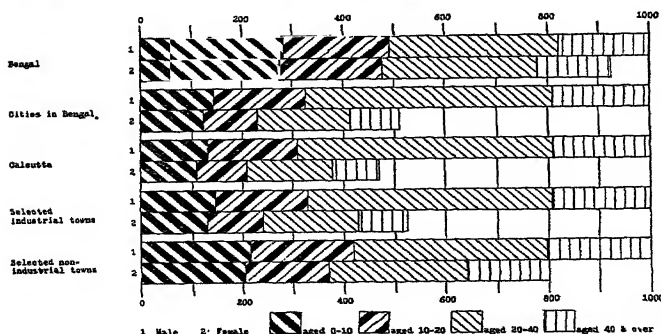
Town.	Number of females per 1,000 males.					
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Khirpai	1,032	<i>1,003</i>	<i>1,018</i>	<i>1,007</i>	<i>1,016</i>	<i>995</i>
Murshidabad	1,076	<i>971</i>	<i>951</i>	<i>1,024</i>	<i>975</i>	<i>974</i>
Jiaganj-Azimganj	1,023	<i>1,010</i>	<i>980</i>	<i>1,013</i>	<i>999</i>	<i>905</i>
Chandrakona	1,084	<i>1,061</i>	<i>973</i>	<i>963</i>	<i>911</i>	<i>907</i>
Arambagh	1,098	<i>1,055</i>	<i>1,047</i>	<i>1,005</i>	<i>985</i>	<i>937</i>
Ramjibanpur	856	<i>820</i>	<i>861</i>	<i>851</i>	<i>907</i>	<i>848</i>
Kotchandpur	1,215	<i>1,162</i>	<i>1,107</i>	<i>1,116</i>	<i>953</i>	<i>920</i>
Kharar	1,084	<i>973</i>	<i>905</i>	<i>862</i>	<i>876</i>	<i>893</i>
Kumarkhali	1,131	<i>1,102</i>	<i>1,057</i>	<i>1,000</i>	<i>1,007</i>	<i>933</i>
Old Malda	1,012	<i>870</i>	<i>1,005</i>	<i>997</i>	<i>884</i>	<i>877</i>
Mahespur	1,219	<i>1,180</i>	<i>1,122</i>	<i>1,040</i>	<i>946</i>	<i>851</i>
Burnagar	1,131	<i>1,030</i>	<i>1,024</i>	<i>1,002</i>	<i>925</i>	<i>869</i>
Gobardanga	1,013	<i>950</i>	<i>991</i>	<i>930</i>	<i>820</i>	<i>794</i>
Nator	1,111	<i>1,152</i>	<i>1,118</i>	<i>1,123</i>	<i>1,071</i>	<i>1,059</i>
Sonamukhi	1,166	<i>1,174</i>	<i>1,149</i>	<i>1,191</i>	<i>1,196</i>	<i>1,080</i>
Santipur	..	..	<i>847</i>	<i>694</i>	<i>683</i>	<i>667</i>
North Barrackpore	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Not on record

105. **Age distribution in urban areas.**—The age distribution of the urban population shows similar deviations from that in the whole of Bengal. This is illustrated in diagram No. II-6 and statement No. II-7 shown overleaf. The towns selected are those given in subsidiary table V to chapter III: and the discrepancy between the sex ratios at all ages for corresponding groups in diagram No. II-5 is due to the selection. The difference is one only in the case of

DIAGRAM No. II-6.

Age distribution of 1,000 males and a proportionate number of females in selected urban areas.



industrial towns, and no more than 14 for non-industrial towns, and the samples may be taken as reasonably representative, though the non-industrial towns selected give a ratio rather closer to that for all Bengal than the

average of all similar localities. In towns there is a larger percentage of males aged 40 and over than in rural areas; but it is

STATEMENT No. II-7.

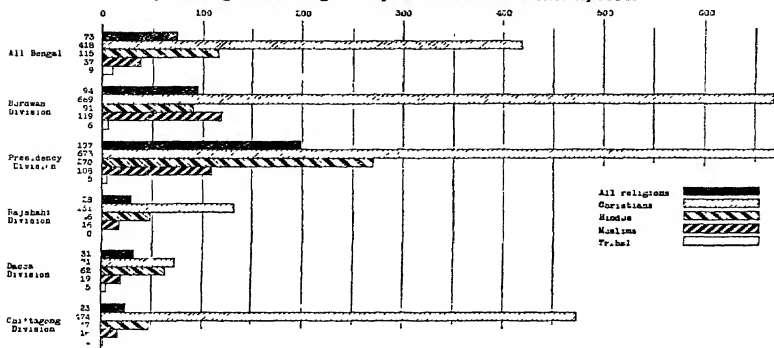
Locality and age.	Number per 1,000	
	Males	Females
1	2	3
BENGAL.		
All ages	1,000	924
0-10	285	273
10-20	307	305
20-40	311	301
40 and over	177	145
Cities.		
All ages	1,000	509
0-10	143	123
10-20	184	107
20-40	483	183
40 and over	190	96
Calcutta.		
All ages	1,000	469
0-10	131	111
10-20	180	98
20-40	300	172
40 and over	189	85
Industrial Towns (sorting units).		
All ages	1,000	525
0-10	144	130
10-20	184	110
20-40	480	189
40 and over	188	90
Non-industrial Towns (sorting units).		
All ages	1,000	801
0-10	216	204
10-20	202	160
20-40	380	360
40 and over	202	102

cities and 34 in Calcutta. The proportions aged 40 and over are almost identical in Bengal (82) and in non-industrial towns (80), but in other towns and cities there are no more than two-thirds as many females to males of this age as there are in all Bengal. These figures point to the deduction that a very great proportion of town-dwellers are temporary residents and where they have their families with them they send them away to their native villages as early as they can. The children up to 10 of both sexes probably represent the families of persons permanently living in towns, and at these ages the general correspondence of the sex ratios with the ratios for other parts of Bengal is the result of this: but beyond that age the influx of male workers, many of whom are without families, increases enormously the proportion of males compared with females.

106. Urban population by religion.—In Bengal Jews, Sikhs, Zoroastrians and Jains live principally in the towns, and Jews, in fact, are found outside urban areas only in the 24-Parganas. Amongst the other religions a greater proportion of Christians live in towns than of any other faith. In all Bengal 418 out of every 1,000 Christians are found in towns and the figure is as high as 673 in the Presidency Division and 669 in the Burdwan Division. In Midnapore where town-dwellers form the major part of the Christian population no less than 721 of every 1,000 or nearly three-quarters live in towns, and more than two-thirds of the Christians in Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah are similarly town-dwellers. It is of course natural that the town should claim the greater proportion of communities the numbers of which are comparatively small and this fact is illustrated by the distribution of town-dwellers amongst Muslims and Hindus. In the whole of Bengal only 37 Muslims out of every 1,000 live in towns, and the corresponding figure for Hindus is 115; but diagram No. II-7 compiled from subsidiary table II illustrates clearly that, in general, a greater proportion of these religions are town-dwellers in the districts where their community forms a minority. Thus in Burdwan and Presidency Divisions 119 and 108, respectively, out of every 1,000 Muslims live in towns, but in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, where Muslims predominate, the corresponding figures are 19 and 16 only. The analogy does not hold completely for Hindus. It is in the Presidency Division that the greatest proportion of this community lives in towns, but with the exception of those professing tribal religions the same principle

DIAGRAM No. II-7.

Numbers living in towns per mille : All Religions, Christians, Hindus, Muslims and those professing Tribal Religions by administrative divisions, 1931.



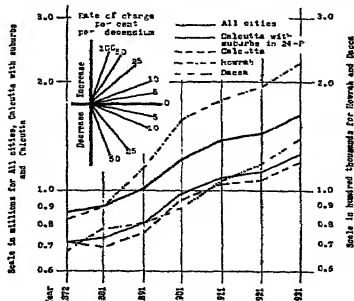
holds good also for every community if only because the proportion of town-dwellers is greatest in this division. Hindus also have taken most readily to town life and to those professions which are particularly exercised in towns, and if a comparison be made with the figures for all religions in each division the proposition will be found roughly to hold good. Thus in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions the proportion of Muslims dwelling in towns is less and the proportion of Hindus is greater than the proportion for all religions. The same also holds good for the Rajshahi Division and for all Bengal and the converse for the Burdwan Division where there is a Hindu majority. It is only in accordance with expectation that the percentage of persons professing tribal religions is negligible in towns. Here also it is in Noakhali and Howrah where the actual numbers are very small that the greatest proportion of those professing tribal religions live in towns. The figures for these two districts are 667 and 431 per 1,000, but the totals are no more than 3 and 306, respectively. The comparatively high figure of 75 per 1,000 in the 24-Parganas is accounted for by the numbers of aborigines who find work as labourers in municipalities about Calcutta.

107. **Population of cities.**—Figures of the growth of cities are given in subsidiary table IV and illustrated in diagram No. II-8 compiled from it and from imperial table IV. In subsidiary table IV as well as in the diagram the figures of population on previous occasions of census are those for the area of the city as at present constituted. Howrah and Dacca cities show the greatest percentage of increase (16 and 15.2 per cent.) during the last decade; but with the exception of 1891 to 1901 when the increase in all cities was 21.9 per cent. the rate of increase in any decade since 1872 has not been so great as at the present occasion when it amounts to 12.2 per cent. The diagram illustrates clearly the concurrent expansion of Calcutta and of its suburbs in 24-Parganas and at every decade except 1891 to 1901 as given above the percentage increase in the suburbs of Calcutta has exceeded that of the area in the city itself, amounting on the present occasion to 16.4 per cent. against 11.1. Since 1872 Howrah City has grown to more than 2½ times its size and Dacca City to well over 2 times its size and the total population of all cities is 85.8 per cent. greater than it was in 1872, for which year, however, no figures are available of Calcutta suburbs.

DIAGRAM No. II-8.

Changes in the population of cities at each census, 1872-1931.

(Numbers are shown by figures, rate of change by slope.)



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Distribution of population between towns and inhabited rural mauzas.

(NOTE.—Chittagong Hill Tracts and the State of Sikkim contain no towns.)

Natural and administrative division, district or state	Average population in each—		Number per mille reading in—		Number per mille of urban population residing in towns with a population of—				Number per mille of rural population residing in mauzas with a population of—			
	Town.	Inhabited rural mauza	Town.	Rural mauza.	20,000 and over.	10,000 to 20,000	5,000 to 10,000	Under 5,000.	5,000 and over.	2,000 to 5,000.	500 to 2,000.	Under 500.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	25,958	519	73	927	731	173	76	20	47	205	473	275
West Bengal	22,850	350	94	906	730	140	110	20	14	102	456	428
BURDWAN DIVISION	22,850	350	94	906	730	140	110	20	14	102	456	428
Burdwan	14,432	549	52	913	846	216	178	81	10	154	557	279
Birbhum	10,428	366	23	973	..	523	478	..	30	94	458	413
Bankura	16,811	500	61	939	472	456	..	72	..	25	409	569
Midnapore	15,393	423	40	951	850	80	251	27	..	55	304	551
Hoochly	20,359	415	163	617	721	101	118	..	7	123	482	388
Howrah	157,010	759	232	768	1,000	..	..	..	25	180	550	245
Central Bengal	39,762	614	197	803	813	126	47	14	25	168	550	445
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	39,762	614	197	803	813	126	47	14	25	168	550	445
24-Parganas	19,046	601	190	801	635	263	83	17	26	167	594	293
Calcutta	1,196,734	593	1,000	951	1,000	239	148	92	14	159	575	254
Nadia	11,448	69	67	933	298	397	305	..	32	249	532	187
Murshidabad	19,116	694	67	933	298	397	305	..	32	249	532	187
Jessore	6,991	460	..	12	968	..	846	294	160	11	81	527
Khulna	11,772	740	22	978	..	860	..	..	39	236	550	179
North Bengal	10,788	443	28	972	327	428	152	93	61	181	422	338
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	11,783	441	28	972	347	414	161	78	61	188	414	339
Rajshahi	12,829	301	27	973	703	..	216	81	1	30	413	556
Dinajpur	19,159	294	11	969	..	1,000	..	..	6	77	360	577
Jalpaiguri	18,962	1,254	19	961	..	1,000	..	..	231	179	324	..
Darjeeling	7,247	130	236	864	..	458	513	29	..	89	616	295
Rangpur	9,405	621	25	973	316	251	267	175	106	289	369	215
Bogra	9,549	466	18	968	779	..	..	..	10	148	390	..
Panna	27,182	599	38	962	1,000	..	..	..	30	193	519	228
Malda	11,537	438	24	966	..	922	..	78	84	208	395	313
COOCH BEHAR	4,668	477	31	969	..	858	..	348	55	83	683	289
East Bengal	21,271	664	28	972	672	237	88	3	61	268	476	195
Dacca DIVISION	21,462	667	31	968	673	233	88	5	46	245	501	206
Dacca	86,454	621	50	950	1,000	..	..	..	29	244	502	225
Mymensingh	15,323	690	27	973	353	528	89	..	19	207	525	249
Faridpur	10,565	637	27	979	548	313	144	..	15	257	532	305
Bakarganj	11,185	907	23	977	532	163	276	29	134	306	442	118
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	22,423	913	23	977	708	280	32	..	98	328	438	136
Tippera	23,965	726	24	976	775	223	..	..	49	234	502	195
Noakhali	11,969	900	14	986	1,000	..	..	..	157	237	448	113
Chittagong	29,057	1,621	32	988	914	..	86	..	139	522	296	89
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	566	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	91	646	264
TRIPURA STATE	4,580	..	25	..	..	..	1,000	..	..	..	330	670
SIKKIM	..	293	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Number living in towns per mille of the total population and of each principal religion.

(NOTE.—Chittagong Hill Tracts and the State of Sikkim contain no towns.)

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number per mille of the same religion who live in towns									
	All religions.	Muslim	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.	Christian.	Jain	Sikh.	Jew.	Zoroastrian.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL	73	37	115	9	47	418	621	903	991	888
West Bengal	94	119	91	6	536	669	321	816	1,000	887
BURDWAN DIVISION	94	119	91	6	536	669	321	816	1,000	887
Burdwan	82	95	70	10	441	678	490	579	1,000	1,000
Birbhum	22	20	25	1	316	..	48	..	..	..
Bankura	61	55	63	1	214	725	961	..	1,000	1,000
Midnapore	49	46	46	3	771	690	1,000	966	1,000	1,000
Hoochly	183	193	181	3	620	660	822	526	..	879
Howrah	232	238	225	481	620	660	822	526	..	879
Central Bengal	197	108	270	5	941	673	905	992	992	920
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	197	108	270	5	941	673	905	992	992	920
24-Parganas	189	145	225	75	618	262	865	859	385	274
Calcutta	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Nadia	69	24	140	..	730	146	227	..	..	..
Murshidabad	27	38	105	1	..	117	728	667	..	..
Jessore	12	6	20	..	..	117	..	..	..	..
Khulna	22	15	25	..	74	56	61	..	..	..
North Bengal	25	16	46	..	136	132	371	201	1,000	444
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	25	16	46	..	136	132	371	201	1,000	444
Rajshahi	28	14	70	1	149	131	319	201	1,000	..
Dinajpur	11	6	10	..	91	40	308	..	1,000	..
Jalpaiguri	19	21	121	..	132	9	112	159	..	..
Darjeeling	138	223	14	..	374	613	370	1,000	..	900
Rangpur	35	18	53	..	687	442	370	1,000	..	..
Bogra	18	8	65	..	1,000	108	134	..	..	..
Panna	18	116	74	..	..	234	339	158	..	..
Malda	34	33	38	..	..	16	161	..	..	..
COOCH BEHAR STATE	31	15	38	4	1,000	331	711	..	..	..
East Bengal	25	15	56	3	12	98	287	275	..	..
Dacca DIVISION	31	15	56	3	12	98	287	275	..	..
Dacca	80	32	82	5	5	71	268	1,000	..	..
Mymensingh	27	17	63	5	473	59	1,000	1,000	..	..
Faridpur	21	12	86	..	482	29	..	..	..	..
Bakarganj	23	11	62	2	177	..	..	..	..	..
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	23	16	47	1	122	474	..	170	..	..
Tippera	24	14	54	..	10	581	..	..	..	..
Noakhali	14	22	66	667	18	274	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	32	22	68	9	99	761	..	170	..	..
TRIPURA STATE	28	13	32	..	..	1	..	1,000	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Towns by classes : number, proportionate distribution of urban population and sex ratio, 1931, with variations per cent. of population, 1872-1931.

Class of towns.	Towns by classes in 1931			Variation (increase +, decrease -) per cent. of the aggregate population falling within each class—							
	Number of towns.	Population per cent. of total urban population.	Females per 1,000 males.	at the census of 1921 : variation for the period—						at the census of 1872: variation for the period—	In 1872 and 1931, respectively, variation for the period—
				1921-31.	1911-21.	1901-11.	1891-1901.	1881-91.	1872-81.	1872-1931.	1872-1931.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
All Classes	143	100	801	+13.9	+4.8	+13.2	+11.9	+10.2	-2.4	+57.9	+90.8
I—100,000 and over	9	49.0	501	+11.2	+3.3	+8.1	+24.4	+12.7	-0.6	+57.4	+146.4
II—50,000 to 100,000	8	5.3	526	+15.3	+22.5	+78.4	+28.4	-12.9	-6.9	+115.4	+6.0
III—20,000 to 50,000	32	25.8	692	+19.2	+0.3	+17.1	+4.2	+14.0	+3.1	+1.0	+135.9
IV—10,000 to 20,000	44	17.3	725	+9.9	+2.5	+8.9	+1.8	+10.2	-3.5	+74.0	+21.1
V—5,000 to 10,000	28	7.0	768	+15.8	-4.4	+4.6	-0.0	+2.8	-13.8	+75.4	+27.1
VI—under 5,000	23	2.0	772	+9.5	+2.6	+3.0	-6.2	-5.5	-12.6	+235.4	+408.7

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Cities in Bengal ; population, density, sex ratio and ratio of foreign born in 1931 with variation per cent. in population 1872-1931.

(NOTE.—Figures of variations refer to the population of each city as constituted in 1931.)

City.	Particulars of 1931.				Percentage of variation (increase +, decrease -) during the period—							
	Population.	Number of persons per square mile.	Number of females per 1,000 males	Number born outside Bengal per 1,000 of the total population	1921-31.	1911-21.	1901-11.	1891-1901.	1881-91.	1872-81.	1851-1931.	1872-1931.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All Cities in Bengal	1,624,100	24,240	569	366	-12.2	+4.8	+11.2	+21.9	+11.7	+3.8*	+79.0	+85.8*
Calcutta with suburbs in 24-Parganas and Howrah City	1,485,582	22,173	490	328	+11.0	+4.3	+11.0	+22.9	+12.5	+2.9*	+79.1	+84.4*
Calcutta	1,160,734	36,265	468	322	+11.1	+3.3	+9.9	+23.3	+10.1	-3.1	+71.1	+65.9
Suburbs in 24-Parganas	13,076	3,544	730	150	+10.1	+10.1	+27.2	+14.8	+17.4	1	+68.2	†
Howrah City	224,873	22,487	550	355	+16.2	+9.1	+19.6	+35.2	+28.4	+9.0*	+147.6	+187.4
Dacca City	126,618	22,086	745	70	+16.0	+10.9	+21.0	+10.0	+4.1	+14.2	+76.8	+101.6

* Excluding suburbs in 24-Parganas for which figures are not on record for 1872.
† Not recorded.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Changes in rural and urban population of districts and divisions 1881-1931.

Natural and administrative division, district and state	1901		1921		1911		1901		1901		1901		1881	
	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
BENGAL	47,375,398	3,711,340	44,357,158	5,211,304	43,337,595	5,068,547	40,281,246	5,403,065	37,587,427	5,221,141	34,772,910	5,243,419		
British Territory	46,429,872	3,684,320	43,539,526	5,169,200	42,537,455	5,045,022	39,566,550	5,379,492	36,889,608	5,209,850	34,084,192	5,233,884		
West Bengal	7,931,788	815,461	7,376,042	874,608	7,855,064	815,269	7,661,357	846,719	7,214,176	874,642	6,906,777	484,177		
BURMAH DIVISION	7,831,788	815,461	7,376,042	874,608	7,855,064	815,269	7,661,357	846,719	7,214,176	874,642	6,906,777	484,177		
Burman	1,445,814	328,880	1,249,155	85,741	1,444,146	94,160	1,445,747	88,728	1,222,108	99,772	1,325,879	67,044		
Chin	6,38,677	20,577	624,119	2,521	6,38,677	2,521	6,38,677	2,521	6,38,677	2,521	6,38,677	2,521		
Kachin	1,044,479	67,242	955,052	60,826	1,044,104	37,398	1,043,186	53,275	1,019,274	50,396	982,943	58,806		
Madrass	3,600,999	128,364	3,564,791	80,866	3,710,249	101,845	3,690,548	98,879	3,541,921	89,685	3,436,099	81,703		
North	619,062	204,565	601,403	179,340	605,016	151,422	612,550	193,462	585,917	123,768	586,109	166,056		
Patna	14,647	355,259	77,532	335,210	745,192	397,460	674,568	176,256	597,006	139,308	580,178	106,296		
Central Bengal	5,120,140	1,938,089	7,685,691	1,775,704	7,776,890	1,674,321	7,530,304	1,462,724	7,268,471	1,265,855	7,010,156	1,194,758		
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	5,120,140	1,938,089	7,685,691	1,775,704	7,776,890	1,674,321	7,530,304	1,462,724	7,268,471	1,265,855	7,010,156	1,194,758		
Calcutta	2,170,295	75,749	1,968,316	620,867	1,865,590	548,514	1,680,229	398,150	1,348,403	313,030	1,370,078	499,181		
Dacca	1,421,401	1,196,731	1,300,764	907,851	1,581,028	896,067	1,678,140	84,918	1,621,104	68,563	1,808,007	119,640		
Muzaffargarh	1,257,569	61,301	1,174,029	87,625	1,286,791	83,483	1,267,276	73,016	1,170,993	80,016	1,187,681	99,189		
Jessore	1,000,572	29,792	1,000,921	21,995	1,000,666	21,198	1,000,666	21,198	1,000,666	21,198	1,000,666	21,198		
Khulna	1,690,938	35,315	1,621,116	31,618	1,627,615	29,151	1,622,807	34,236	1,592,458	26,194	1,600,702	29,846		
North Bengal	10,646,082	312,840	10,685,292	352,881	10,466,004	234,650	9,740,102	296,051	9,348,852	184,122	8,789,590	263,336		
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	10,373,236	294,620	10,110,064	325,890	9,819,446	218,855	9,187,188	192,001	8,861,475	182,631	8,189,820	254,403		
Rajshahi	1,390,232	35,446	1,457,037	32,628	1,448,830	31,697	1,432,104	30,243	1,388,744	30,502	1,304,007	34,671		
Faridpur	1,17,076	19,136	1,087,228	18,083	1,071,915	18,945	1,053,500	18,430	1,043,821	12,284	1,031,796	18,660		
Meerut	894,593	1,962	821,459	19,813	890,695	11,766	877,081	10,280	871,670	9,602	875,666	7,880		
Meerut	570,136	42,479	534,048	25,103	540,971	24,579	537,724	21,393	505,447	17,667	514,138	11,951		
Rampur	3,59,019	63,760	3,427,475	80,819	3,538,066	36,564	3,514,097	28,484	3,501,544	14,519	3,077,833	124,711		
Benares	1,007,021	10,006	1,033,800	10,509	1,070,800	19,201	1,048,835	11,198	1,006,973	10,021	1,024,131	10,146		
Patna	1,391,284	84,371	1,244,632	44,061	1,364,635	44,051	1,378,853	41,536	1,322,839	39,733	1,275,424	59,804		
Meerut	1,018,251	35,312	955,630	29,835	962,745	41,384	949,604	34,120	909,923	17,990	903,324	17,124		
COOCH BEHAR STATE	572,856	18,020	575,226	17,261	577,158	15,794	552,014	14,060	567,377	11,491	593,069	6,538		
East Bengal	20,477,378	898,590	18,634,133	506,139	17,217,747	444,006	16,319,483	385,861	13,864,926	316,722	12,070,078	300,548		
DACCAL DIVISION	15,435,071	459,023	14,698,738	367,573	11,695,351	338,318	10,438,891	295,697	9,552,838	286,141	8,461,637	239,282		
Dacca	8,390,470	172,707	7,975,911	150,052	7,824,973	126,427	7,634,304	115,014	7,320,620	100,030	7,018,477	102,878		
Meerut	3,901,230	7,874	3,701,069	127,061	3,406,454	129,069	3,368,571	105,097	3,278,595	91,791	2,975,010	79,668		
Meerut	2,312,701	49,514	2,191,069	50,551	2,086,710	33,294	1,968,654	29,112	1,772,774	24,548	1,660,521	31,213		
Bahadur	2,710,511	17,160	2,591,149	60,907	2,406,265	49,616	2,240,378	43,074	2,123,197	31,768	1,895,646	30,610		
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	6,695,427	156,077	5,687,701	112,823	5,296,434	97,857	4,658,780	90,861	4,153,860	86,561	3,515,782	81,606		
Chittagong	3,034,570	14,465	2,975,027	40,446	2,978,434	87,704	2,940,545	48,446	2,760,599	38,898	2,486,556	50,610		
Chittagong	1,622,751	23,093	1,465,071	7,715	1,395,084	7,069	1,328,208	6,820	1,094,514	6,479	1,115,648	5,124		
Chittagong	1,738,469	68,174	1,570,700	40,602	1,475,289	38,144	1,367,805	20,865	1,263,781	28,610	1,107,009	25,828		
Chittagong Hill Tracts	113,622		179,243		194,880		134,762		107,586		103,697			
TRIPURA STATE	372,870	9,680	296,064	7,743	222,782	6,321	163,612	6,513	137,442		96,827			

CHAPTER III

Birthplace

108. **Introduction.**—The figures of birth-place are given in imperial table VI. Subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter show—

- I—an abstract of the native born and immigrant population ;
- II—an abstract of the native born population resident in and emigrant from Bengal ;
- III—details of the migration between Bengal and other provinces, states or countries in 1921 and 1931 with variations and figures of net immigration or emigration ;
- IV—number and ratio per 10,000 of the population at each census, 1881 to 1931, whose birth-place was returned as being within and outside Bengal ;
- V—number and ratio per 10,000 of the population of selected towns, 1931, whose birth-place was returned as being some other part of India than Bengal ;
- VI—detailed birth-place of persons born in British possessions in Europe ; and
- VII—Indian emigration between Calcutta and countries overseas.

109. **The source of the figures.**—The statistics of birth-place are taken from entries made in column 13 of the census schedule. The directions for entering up this column were as follows :—

“ Enter the district or state in which each person was born ; and if the person was not born in Bengal add the name of the province to the district of birth. If the person was born out of India, enter the country, as Nepal, Afghanistan, Ceylon. The names of villages, tahsils, etc. are not to be given.”

Particular care was taken in obtaining a correct entry of birth-place in areas with a large immigrant population such as Calcutta and its neighbourhood, Asansol subdivision where there are coal mines, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and Chittagong districts where there are tea gardens. Directions were also issued for a distinction to be made in Dacca and Howrah between those born in the city and those born in other parts of the same district, but no use was made of this additional information. During the process of compilation the district of enumeration was substituted for blank entries unless the name, language or other particulars, such as the relationship to some other person returned, suggested that this entry would be incorrect, and that it would be more accurate to include the entry under “birth-place not returned.”

110. **Restriction of statistics shown.**—The necessity for economy has prevented full use being made of all the details recorded. No attempt has been made to tabulate the returns of birth-place by districts, either in the case of immigrants from other provinces or even in the case of those born in Bengal. Similar restrictions on sorting were adopted in other provinces and in consequence it has not been possible to arrive at any estimate of the natural population of areas smaller than British Territory and States such as was shown in 1921 for districts. Such details as are available are indeed embodied in subsidiary tables II and III ; but as regards emigrants from Bengal to places outside India, these tables include statistics only from Ceylon, Cyprus, Somaliland, Mauritius, Borneo and the Seychelles Islands, whilst even within India complete details of emigrants for the whole province in the aggregate are not available, because for Madras and Coorg and for the Madras States no figures were collected of persons there recorded who were born in Bengal.

111. **Native and foreign born population.**—Of the total population of Bengal all but 1,853,708 (less than 37 per 1,000) were born within the province itself, and of those born outside the province no less than 1,726,370 (nearly 34 per 1,000) were born in other parts of India, amongst whom only 512,434 were born in provinces or states not actually contiguous to Bengal. The proportion of persons born in the province is more than 995 per 1,000 in Madras, nearly 990 in Bihar and Orissa and 955 in Bombay. Amongst the 127,338 persons born outside India no less than 98,620 (or

DIAGRAM No. III-1.

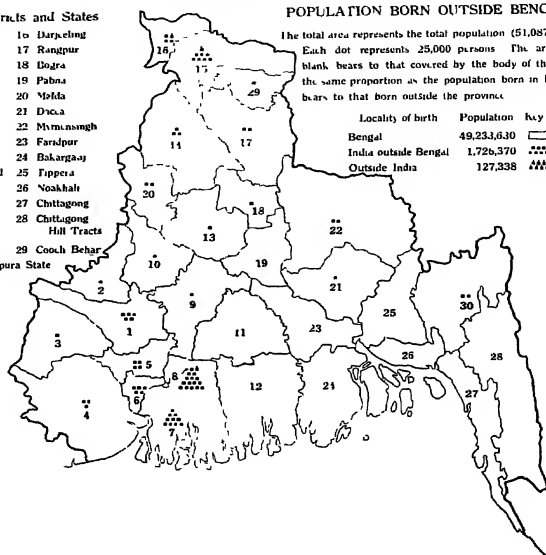
Key to Districts and States

1 Burdwan	10 Darjeeling
2 Bighnam	17 Rangpur
3 Bankura	18 Dogra
4 Malda	19 Patna
5 Hooghly	20 Mifla
6 Howrah	21 Dacca
7 24 Parganas	22 Mymensingh
8 Calcutta	23 Faridpur
9 Nadia	24 Bakerganj
10 Murshidabad	25 Tippera
11 Jessore	26 Noakhali
12 Khulna	27 Chittagong
13 Rajshahi	28 Chittagong Hill Tracts
14 Dinagpur	29 Cooch Behar
15 Jalpaiguri	30 Tripura State

POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE BENGAL.

The total area represents the total population (51,087,338). Each dot represents 25,000 persons. The area left blank bears to that covered by the body of the dots the same proportion as the population born in Bengal bears to that born outside the province.

Locality of birth	Population	Key to map
Bengal	49,233,630	*****
India outside Bengal	1,726,370	*****
Outside India	127,338	*****



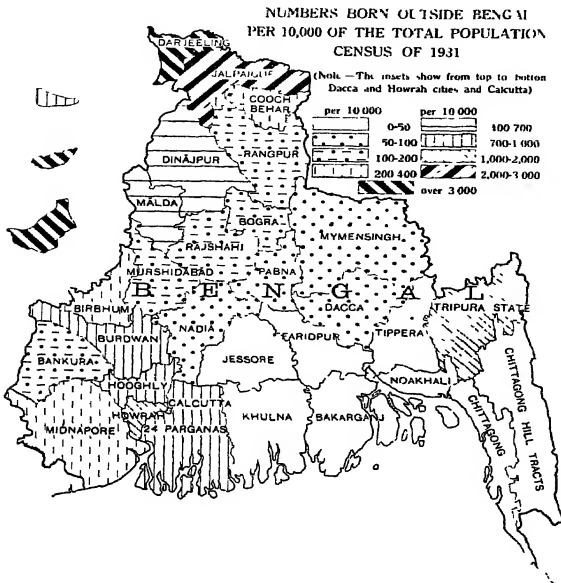
STATEMENT No. III-1.

Division, district, city or state.	Number per 10,000 born		
	In Bengal	outside Bengal	
		In India.	Outside India
BENGAL	9,637	338	25
BRITISH TERRITORY	9,642	333	25
BURDWAN DIVISION	9,453	540	7
Burdwan	9,265	723	12
Birbhum	9,077	320	3
Bankura	9,603	131	1
Midnapore	9,770	226	4
Hooghly	9,000	984	7
Howrah	8,740	1,229	22
Howrah City	6,443	2,494	64
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	9,312	668	20
24-Parganas	9,000	925	9
Calcutta Suburb	5,501	1,443	36
Calcutta	6,080	3,179	141
Nadia	9,917	82	1
Murshidabad	9,838	161	1
Jessore	9,960	30	1
Khulna	9,974	25	1
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	9,503	406	61
Rajshahi	9,823	175	2
Dinagpur	9,565	191	3
Jalpaiguri	7,852	1,615	313
Darjeeling	9,850	1,212	1,098
Rangpur	9,822	161	1
Bogra	9,853	116	1
Patna	9,932	67	1
Mifla	9,677	421	2
DACCA DIVISION	9,945	54	1
Dacca	9,947	51	2
Dacca City	9,246	720	34
Mymensingh	9,918	81	1
Faridpur	9,939	40	1
Bakerganj	9,950	19	1
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	9,974	25	1
Tippera	9,971	20	1
Noakhali	9,998	2	1
Chittagong	9,980	27	3
Chittagong Hill Tracts	9,655	43	2
BENGAL STATES	9,370	618	11
Cooch Behar	9,748	243	9
Tripura	9,786	1,200	14
SIKKIM	155	8,662	1,183

77.5 per cent.) were born in Nepal and a further 14,511 (or 11.4 per cent.) in other Asiatic countries, principally Afghanistan, China, Bhutan, Tibet, Persia and Japan. Europe contributes no more than 13,557: this figure is only 55 greater than the number of persons born in Europe recorded in Bengal in 1911 and amounts to about 265 in every million of the population. The numbers born in Africa, America and Australia are no more than 112, 393 and 143, respectively. Immigrants from America are less than in 1921 and those from Australasia are scarcely more than one-third the number then recorded. An attempt has been made in diagram No. III-1, based on statement No. III-1 inset, to illustrate graphically the very small numbers born outside Bengal. In studying the map, allowance must be made for the effect caused by the entry of district numbers and district boundaries. The insertion of these details by increasing the area covered in ink on the map reduces the expanse of white indicating the proportion native born and thus

modifies the impression which would be produced if the total area representing persons born in Bengal had not been broken up in this way. It must also be borne in mind that the area covered by dots within the district does not represent the proportionate strength of foreign born inhabitants within the district itself, and that these proportions only hold good for the whole of the province.

DIAGRAM No. III-2.



112. Proportion foreign born by districts.—Proportionate figures of the numbers born outside Bengal per 10,000 of the total population are graphically illustrated in diagram No III-2 which is based upon subsidiary table IV. The population born outside Bengal is as much as 30 per cent. in Darjeeling and the cities of Calcutta and Howrah. These figures are mainly accounted for in Darjeeling by the influx of persons (mainly tea garden labourers) born in Nepal who number 59,016 or 18.4

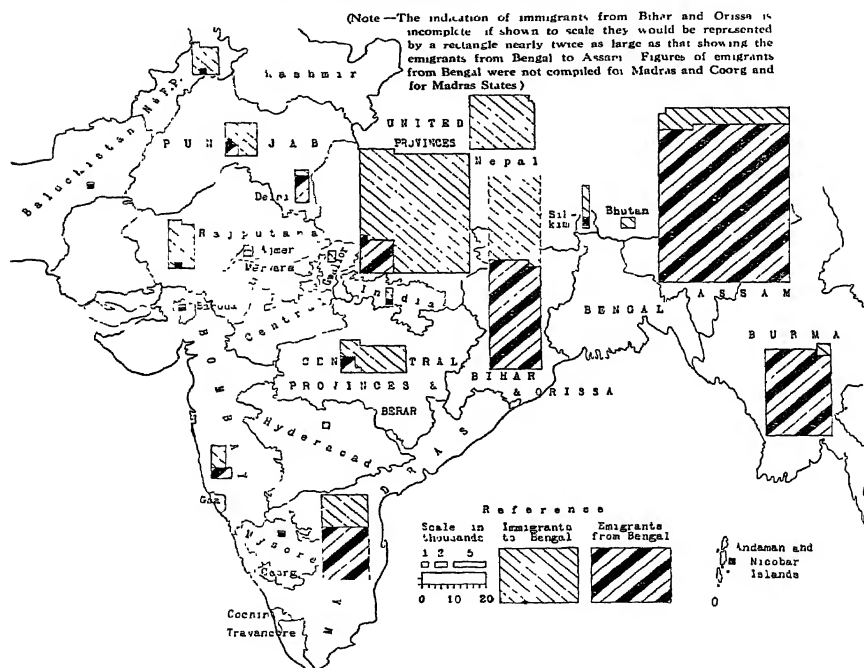
per cent. and from Bihar and Orissa who number 24,540 or 7.7 per cent. In Calcutta immigrants from Bihar and Orissa and from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh total 223,698 and 103,032 or 18.7 and 8.6 per cent., respectively, of the total population. In Howrah city also the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, providing 38,944 and 33,181 persons, contribute 17.3 and 14.7 per cent. of the population. The population born outside Bengal elsewhere reaches as much as 20 per cent. only in Jalpaiguri, where, as in Darjeeling, it is principally contributed by tea garden labourers from Bihar and Orissa and from Nepal, which contribute 155,575 and 29,191 or 15.8 and 3 per cent., respectively, to the population. The large number of immigrants in Howrah city brings up the proportion of foreign born in the whole district to 12.5 per cent. and a similar percentage (12.1) is also foreign born in Tripura State to which Assam makes the largest contribution (33,262 or 8.7 per cent. of the total). The districts of Burdwan, Hooghly and 24-Parganas form a band in which the percentage born outside Bengal is between 7 and 10, contributed principally in each case by Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces. The figures are for Burdwan 94,299 and 10,795 or 6 and 0.7 per cent., respectively; in Hooghly 71,984 and 25,923 or 6.4 and 2.3 per cent. and in the 24-Parganas 161,715 and 68,090 or 6 and 2.5 per cent. Dinajpur and Malda have between 4 and 5 per cent. Cooch Behar and Midnapore between 2 and 3 per cent. and the strip of territory comprised by Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi and Murshidabad between 1 and 2 per cent. of immigrants: in each of these localities the greater part of the immigrants comes from Bihar and Orissa. South-east is another strip composed of Mymensingh, Dacca, Pabna and Nadia where the immigrants are between 0.5 and 1 per cent., again drawn principally from Bihar and Orissa. In the whole of the rest of the province south-east of these districts and 24-Parganas

with the exception of Tripura State to which reference has already been made, the number of immigrants from outside Bengal does not amount to as many as 5 per 1,000.

113. **Migration between Bengal and other parts of India.**—Emigration between Bengal and provinces and states in India is indicated in subsidiary table III which is illustrated in diagram No. III-3. In the diagram states of Assam, Baluchistan, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab and the United Provinces

DIAGRAM No. III-3.

MIGRATION BETWEEN BENGAL AND
OTHER PARTS OF INDIA, CENSUS OF 1931



have been added to the provinces within which they fall. Bengalis migrate in the largest numbers to Assam, to the population of which they contribute 575,199 persons. In Burma and in Bihar and Orissa 158,098 and 157,524 Bengalis were enumerated. To the population of the United Provinces with its states they contributed 30,950 and to the Central Provinces, Bombay, Punjab and Rajputana they contributed respectively 6,946, 6,018, 4,618 and 1,007 emigrants. Amongst the other provinces Bengal receives the largest number of immigrants from Bihar and Orissa, which contributes to its population 1,138,850 or 2.2 per cent. The United Provinces come next with a contribution of 348,399 or 0.7 per cent., followed by Assam with 63,416, the Central Provinces with 45,844, Madras with 42,520 and Rajputana with 32,906 or 0.12, 0.09, 0.08 and 0.06 per cent. of the population,

respectively. The number of persons born outside Bengal is 75,932 less than at the census of 1921, but although the excess of immigration over emigration has been reduced from 1,243,283, the figure of 1921, it still stands at 897,171.

114. Variations in immigration to Bengal.—During the last two decades there has been a progressive decrease in the total number of immigrants recorded at the census of Bengal and a progressive increase of persons born in Bengal and recorded in other parts of India. The figures of the immigrant population of Bengal from other parts of India decreased between 1911 and 1921 by 21,241 and between 1921 and 1931 by 91,405, whilst during the same decades the numbers of Bengalis who were enumerated elsewhere in India increased by 133,608 and 267,604. These figures affect the net balance of immigration into Bengal over emigration from Bengal, which since 1911 has also progressively declined. In 1911 Bengal received from other parts of India 1,286,429 persons more than she sent out as emigrants. But these figures were reduced to 1,131,580 in 1921 and to 772,571 in 1931. Taking an aggregate of states with British Territory, increases in the number of immigrants were indeed recorded during the past decade from Madras, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Burma, but only from Madras was this increase continuous between 1911 and 1931. The numbers of immigrants from Madras had increased in 1921 by 17,681 over those at the beginning of the decade, and the present decade has shown a further increase of 10,496 persons: many of the Madras immigrants are labourers in such centres as Kharagpur and Tittagarh, but in Calcutta the Madras is a serious rival to the Bengali for clerical appointments, and the cry "Bengal for the Bengalis" may be expected in antiphony to the similar protests raised in other provinces against the Bengali. From the Punjab the number of immigrants received is 9,258 more than in 1921, but the figure of 1921 was 2,750 less than that of 1911: more than half the increase during the last decade was absorbed by Calcutta, where the immigrants are very conspicuous as taxi-drivers. The discrepancy in the United Provinces is even more striking. In 1931 there were 5,304 more immigrants recorded in Bengal from the United Provinces than in 1921, but the figure for 1921 was as much as 62,601 less than that for 1911. Immigration from Burma is comparatively little and the increase of 1,430 in the number of persons of Burmese birth recorded in Bengal at the present census as compared with the last census is to be set off against a decrease of 239 between the figures of 1911 and 1921. The decreases in the immigrants received are even more striking than the comparatively small increases mentioned above. The Central Provinces and Assam in 1921 showed increases of 33,833 and 1,492, respectively, over the immigrants to Bengal recorded in 1911; but at the present enumeration these figures have been converted into decreases of 8,966 and 5,386, respectively. But it is from Bihar and Orissa, from which a great majority of Bengal's immigrant population is drawn, that the greatest falling off is recorded and this falling off has been continuous from 1911. In 1921 immigrants from Bihar and Orissa were 24,792 less than in 1911 and at the present census they are 88,729 less than they were in 1921.

115. Variations in emigration from Bengal.—In the case of emigration from Bengal the figures for these seven areas, with the exception of Madras for which no details are on record at the present census, show in every case an increase in the number of emigrants over those recorded in 1921. The increase has been continuous only in the case of Assam and Burma. In Assam persons born in Bengal numbered 181,703 more in 1921 than in 1911 and 199,621 more in 1931 than in 1921. The attraction is principally the opportunity of obtaining tenancies in land and immigrants are drawn largely from Mymensingh district. There is also some emigration to the labour districts of Assam, Cachar and Sylhet. This is controlled by a Superintendent of Emigration under Act VI of 1901, but figures are not maintained to show by sex and tribe or caste the numbers recruited in each district of Bengal, and those so recruited are not necessarily all Bengalis or with a

permanent domicile in Bengal. There is also no record to show how many of those recruited in a district were actually despatched. A statement No. III-2 shows for the decade ending 30th June 1930 the annual recruitment in each district in Bengal with a classification of the total by dependence.

STATEMENT No. III-2.

Statement showing the number of emigrants recruited in the different districts of Bengal from the year ending 30th June 1921 to 30th June 1930 for emigration to Assam and their classification by dependence.

Year.	Total	Burmah	Bishnupur	Burdwan	Midnapore	24-Parganas.	Murshidabad.	Classification.	
								Labourers.	Dependents.
1921-30	3,940	389	1,798	60	1,663	7	17	3,227	713
1921	86	10	1	7	68	..	..	49	37
1922	102	23	1	..	78	..	..	70	32
1923	78	20	6	2	50	..	..	65	13
1924	217	12	19	3	183	..	..	190	27
1925	406	32	3	2	369	..	..	367	39
1926	816	109	46	11	650	..	..	751	65
1927	147	29	22	5	81	7	..	127	20
1928	812	43	776	14	78	..	1	765	147
1929	993	70	846	12	50	..	13	698	295
1930	183	41	78	10	53	..	1	145	38

There were 3,940 labourers registered during the decade but there is no record of those who returned from Assam to Bengal. The figures for emigration to Burma are not comparable in size but are similar in proportion to those for Assam, the increase of emigration from Bengal amounting in 1921 to 10,331 over the figure of 1911 and in 1931 to 12,011 over the figure of 1921. Numbers of Bengalis from Chittagong visit Arakan during the cold weather for the rice harvest, and Bengali seamen, traders and mechanics are to be found in Rangoon. Apart from Assam the largest increase in the number of emigrants from Bengal is recorded in Bihar and Orissa, where the figures have increased by 40,602 since 1921, and in the United Provinces where the corresponding increase is 12,316. In both these provinces the figures of 1921 showed a decrease compared with those of 1911, amounting in Bihar and Orissa to 48,462 and in the United Provinces to 7,185. In the Central Provinces and in the Punjab the increase of Bengal-born inhabitants over the figures of 1921 is 3,672 and 1,446, respectively, compared with decreases in the corresponding figures amounting in the previous decade to 2,524 in the Central Provinces and 847 in the Punjab.

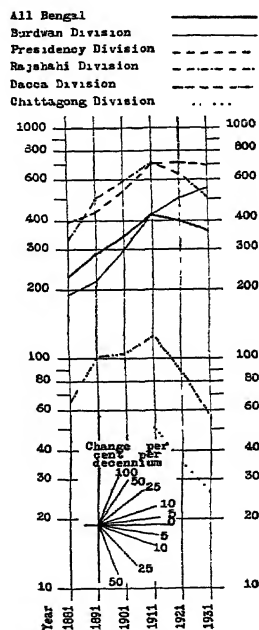
116. **Balance of migration.**—Bengal receives from each of the provinces named with the exception of Assam and Burma an increase of immigrants over the number of emigrants sent out from Bengal to the same areas; but in the case of the major areas between which inter-migration takes place the net access of members to Bengal has in every case declined during the last decade except in the case of the Punjab and possibly Madras for which, however, figures of 1931 are not available, whilst in the case of the United Provinces this decrease in the net accessions to the population of Bengal has been continuous since 1911. As a result of inter-migration Bengal received an accession of population from Bihar and Orissa of 1,086,987 in 1911, 1,110,657 in 1921 and only 981,326 in 1931. From the United Provinces she received a net accession of 379,877 in 1911, 324,461 in 1921 and 317,449 in 1931. From the Central Provinces she received a net total of 15,179 in 1911, 51,536 in 1921 and 38,898 in 1931. The increasing immigration from the Punjab resulted in a net accession of strength to Bengal of 20,466 in 1931 against 12,654 in 1921, although the figure of 1921 was less than that for 1911 when it reached 14,557. Between Bengal and Assam and Burma the balance of emigration from Bengal has been progressively increasing. It amounted in Assam to 126,565 in 1911, to 306,776 in 1921 and 511,783 in 1931 and in Burma to 133,156 in 1911, 143,726 in 1921 and 154,307 in 1931.

117. Proportions foreign born by divisions, 1881-1931.—Diagram No. III-4 based on subsidiary table IV shows for each census since 1881 changes by administrative divisions in the proportion of the population born outside Bengal as it is now constituted together with the rates at which those proportions have varied. The proportion of the total population foreign born in the whole of Bengal in 1881 was 240 per 10,000, which rose at successive enumerations to 281, 337 and 426. The last figure was reached in 1911 and a decline in the proportion then set in. The number per 10,000 was 405 in 1921 and has been further reduced to 363 at the present census. Substantially identical changes were shown in every administrative division of the province during the same period with the exception of Burdwan. Thus in the Presidency Division the proportions per 10,000 rose from 388 in 1881 to 429 in 1891, 533 in 1901, 698 in 1911 and 709 in 1921, but now stand at 688. The figures for Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions offer an even closer resemblance. In Rajshahi the proportions rose between 1881 and 1911 from 326 to 494, 587 and 710 at successive enumerations, but were reduced in 1921 to 629 and in 1931 to 497. In Dacca Division they rose between 1881 and 1911 from 64 to 101, 105 and 124 per 10,000 at successive enumerations, but declined in 1921 to 87 and in 1931 to 55. In Chittagong Division between 1881 and 1911 the proportions rose from 44 to 56 in 1891 but were reduced to 46 in 1901 and again rose to 50 in 1911. They were again reduced from 50 to 35 in 1921 and from 35 to 26 in 1931. In the Burdwan Division by contrast the proportions have shown continuous increase at successive enumerations from 188 to 216, 296, 423, 498 and on the present occasion to 547 per 10,000. The increased proportion in Burdwan and the slower decrease in the proportion in Presidency Divisions are due to the concentration in these two areas of industrial towns in which a great proportion of the inhabitants are immigrants.

DIAGRAM No. III-4.

Changes at each census, 1881-1931, of the number of persons born outside Bengal per 10,000 of the total population in administrative divisions.

(NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rates of change by slope. upward slopes show increase, downward slopes show decrease.)



118. Proportions foreign born by districts, 1881-1931.—Similar details from subsidiary table IV have been plotted for districts in diagram No. III-5. The increase in the percentage of immigrants in Hooghly, Burdwan and (with an incidental decline between 1891 and 1901) in Midnapore also has, in the Burdwan Division, more than counterbalanced the decline between 1911 and 1921 in the proportions in Birbhum and Bankura, and between 1921 and 1931 in Birbhum and Howrah. In the Presidency Division the district figures provoke no comment except in the case of Jessore, which alone shows an increase in the proportion of foreign born persons during the last decade attributable to the gradual depopulation of the district and the opening thus offered to aboriginals from Bihar and Orissa. During the last two decades no marked deviation has been shown in the percentage of immigrants in each district compared with the average for the division as a whole and the same holds good for the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, although there is a marked increase in Chittagong Hill Tracts between 1921 (34) and 1931 (45).

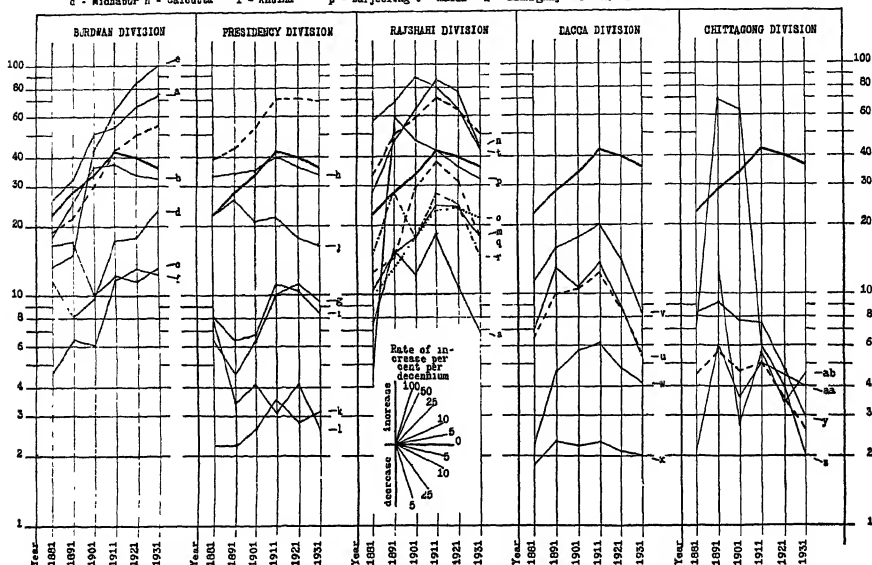
DIAGRAM No. III-5.

Changes at each census, 1881-1931, of the number of persons born outside Bengal per 10,000 of the total population in each district.

(NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rates of change by slope. The scale represents units for Noakhali, hundreds for Howrah, 24 Parganas, Calcutta, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and tens for other districts. There is a misprint in the reference below: Hooghly is represented by line e and Howrah by line f.)

a - Burdwan e - Hooghly i - Malda m - Rajshahi q - Rangpur u - Dacca y - Tippera
b - Birbhum f - Howrah j - Murshidabad n - Dinapore r - Bogra v - Byemsingh z - Noakhali
c - Bankura g - 24-Parganas k - Jessore o - Jalpaiguri s - Rangpur w - Faridpur aa - Chittagong
d - Midnapur h - Calcutta l - Khosla p - Darjeeling t - Balasore x - Bakerganj ab - Ch. Hill Tracts

District averages
(British Territory)
— provincial
--- divisional



119. **Foreign born in rural and urban areas.**—The numbers per 10,000 born outside Bengal vary in rural areas from 2 in Noakhali to as many as 2,148 in Jalpaiguri and even 3,150 in Darjeeling. The median point is about 162: in other words there are as many districts with less than 162 as there are with more than 162 born outside Bengal per 10,000 of the total population. In these calculations Calcutta, which is itself entirely urban, has been excluded and Cooch Behar and Tripura State have been included. A comparison between the immigrant element in each division and in the cities of Bengal and selected towns in each division is made possible by statement

STATEMENT No. III-3.

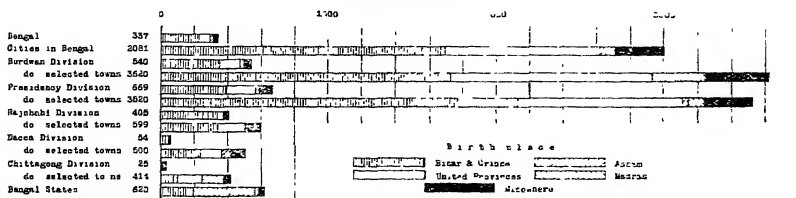
Number and ratio per 10,000 of the population by divisions (total area and selected towns) born in other parts of India than Bengal.

(NOTE.—The towns selected are those shown in subsidiary table V.

		Born in India outside Bengal in—															
		Bihar and Orissa (with state)				United Provinces and Oudh (with states)				Assam (with states)				Madras (with states)			
		Central Provinces (with states)				Rajputana.				All other parts of India							
		Total population				No. per 10,000				No. per 10,000				No. per 10,000			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL	..	51,087,338	1,138,650	223	318,399	63	68,416	12	42,620	8	45,844	9	32,806	6	54,435	11	
Towns in Bengal	..	1,760,123	964,121	1,603	144,250	925	6,207	40	8,024	51	9,668	28	16,327	104	26,040	167	
Burdwan Division	..	8,547,140	303,575	351	104,007	120	780	1	51,832	23	21,498	25	4,578	6	10,213	12	
Selected towns	..	306,303	101,309	1,729	70,563	1,203	206	5	18,503	310	13,070	223	2,912	50	5,530	64	
Presidency Div	..	10,108,320	421,304	417	176,493	177	5,075	6	15,023	15	7,550	8	10,826	17	39,084	29	
Selected towns	..	1,627,947	346,701	2,130	158,677	975	5,214	32	14,619	90	6,125	38	15,493	95	26,052	100	
Rajshahi Division	..	10,065,008	356,901	387	35,538	31	4,312	4	2,567	2	18,102	12	9,128	9	10,059	10	
Selected towns	..	70,443	2,474	306	1,567	179	90	12	..	..	4	1	102	14	470	64	
Dacca Division	..	12,964,104	35,380	26	24,487	18	11,001	8	70	1	1,245	1	760	1	1,205	1	
Selected towns	..	257,338	8,243	288	2,753	141	1,683	53	30	1	239	8	80	8	415	14	
Chittagong Div.	..	6,826,414	5,090	7	3,637	5	5,297	8	238	..	300	..	296	..	1,038	8	
Selected towns	..	109,673	904	82	1,004	152	1,410	129	42	4	59	5	55	5	841	31	
Bengal States	..	973,338	13,020	143	4,237	44	30,023	371	2,168	23	1,718	18	895	9	1,236	13	

DIAGRAM No. III-6.

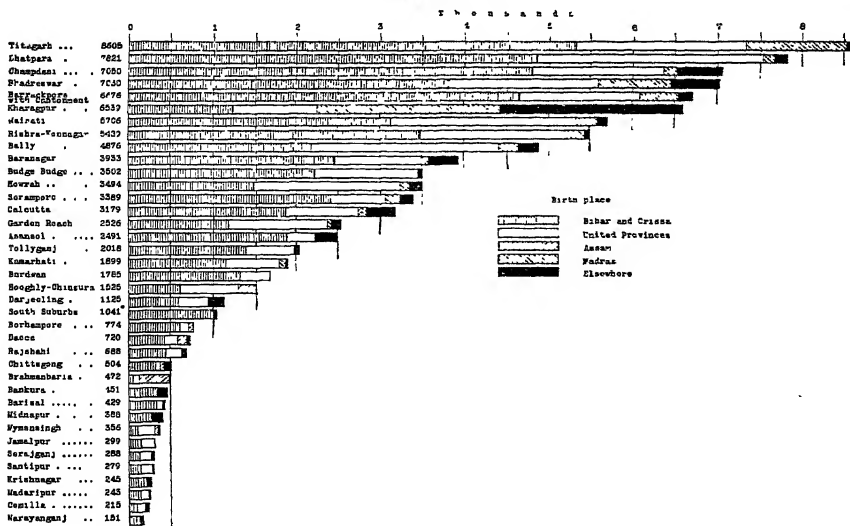
Numbers born in India elsewhere than in Bengal per 10,000 of the total population in selected areas, census of 1931.



No. III-3 from which diagram No. III-6 has been prepared. This table with the diagram illustrates not the total proportion of immigrants but only the proportion borne to the total population by immigrants from other parts of India. Against 337 per 10,000 in the whole of Bengal proportions are shown of 23 in Chittagong, 54 in Dacca, 405 in Rajshahi, 540 in Burdwan and 669 in Presidency Division, whilst the aggregate proportion in the Bengal States (620) is higher than in any division except the Presidency. In each case, however, the proportion of foreign born in the towns is very much greater than in the area taken as a whole. Thus in Chittagong 414, in Dacca 500, in Rajshahi 599, in the Presidency Division 3,520 and in Burdwan Division no less than 3,620 persons living in towns selected as sorting units are immigrants from other parts of India than Bengal, whilst in the three cities the aggregate proportion of immigrant population is 2,081 per 10,000. This diagram and the table which it illustrates also show that Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces contribute in every division in the aggregate a greater proportion of the immigrant population of the towns than any other part of India.

DIAGRAM No. III-7.

Numbers per 10,000 of the total population in selected towns who were born elsewhere in India than in Bengal, census of 1931.



120. **Foreign born in selected towns.**—Detailed particulars of the towns from which averages have been obtained for diagram No. III-6 are given in subsidiary table V and illustrated in diagram No. III-7. In the table

the towns are arranged under two heads, industrial and non-industrial and within those heads come first cities and then towns in the order of natural divisions, but in the diagram they have been arranged in a descending order according to the proportion of their population which is immigrant. In Tittagarh in every 10,000 of the population no less than 8,605 are immigrants and as many as 5,319 are from Bihar and Orissa and 2,002 from the United Provinces. Bhatpara, a neighbouring municipality, has a population of which 7,821 in every 10,000 come from other parts of India than Bengal, and of these 4,861 come from Bihar and Orissa and 2,670 from the United Provinces. Champdani and Bhadreswar have proportions of 7,050 and 7,030 per 10,000, respectively, but whereas Champdani draws 4,810 of these from Bihar and Orissa and 1,560 from the United Provinces, the corresponding proportions in Bhadreswar are 3,811 and 1,780 and it obtains 858 per 10,000 of its population from Madras against 158 in Champdani. Four other of the selected towns have more than 50 per cent. immigrants in their population, viz., Barrackpore with its cantonment, Kharagpur, Naihati and Rishra-Konnagar, whilst in six other industrial towns more than one-third of the population is drawn from other parts of India, viz., in Bally, Baranagore, Budge Budge, Howrah and Serampore. The proportion in Calcutta just falls short of one-third, being 31·79 per cent.; and in Eastern Bengal, excluding Dacca where the proportion is 720, Chittagong where it is 504, Brahmanbaria where it is 472, and Mymensingh where it is 356, the proportion in towns selected does not rise above 299 per 10,000 (the figure for Jamalpur) and falls to as little as 244 in Madaripur, 215 in Comilla and 151 in Narayanganj. The largest proportion contributed to the population by Assam is in Brahmanbaria (350), the next being Dacca with 99 and Comilla with 84 per 10,000. Immigrants from Madras form, as might be expected, a larger proportion of the population in Kharagpur (2,165 per 10,000) and Tittagarh (1,204 per 10,000) than in others of the selected towns, their proportions nowhere else reaching 10 per cent. and approaching it only in Bhadreswar for which the figures have already been quoted. In the selected towns the largest numbers of immigrants from Bombay are found in Kharagpur (525) and Baranagar (259), where they form 97 and 71 per 10,000 of the population. The Central Provinces contributes in every 10,000, 1,584 to Kharagpur, 534 to Bhadreswar, 472 to Champdani, 200 to Baranagar, 167 to Hooghly-Chinsura, 135 to Budge Budge and 115 to Naihati. The greatest number of inhabitants from Burma are found amongst the towns selected in Calcutta where they number 1,461 and form 12 per 10,000 of the population, but their proportions are larger in Budge Budge where the 37 Burmese form 15 per 10,000 of the population. The Punjab contributes a proportion of 323 per 10,000 to Kharagpur and 128 to Darjeeling where immigrants from Delhi number as many as 138 per 10,000. Some proportion is contributed to almost all the towns illustrated in this diagram by the Rajputana Agency, immigrants from which in Calcutta number as many as 14,881 and form 1·24 per cent. of the population; but except in Howrah, where they number 1,335 and form 5·9 in every thousand of the population, their numbers in none of the other towns approach as many as 400, although they are 80, 70, 55, 53, 45, 44 and 39 per 10,000 of the population, respectively, of Bally, Midnapore, Bankura, Asansol, Kharagpur, Rishra-Konnagar and Bhatpara.

121. Seasonal movements of population.—The restricted sorting makes it impossible to furnish comments on the migration from district to district or even from division to division. Seasonal movements of the population occur from time to time but these are mainly of the casual, temporary or periodic type. It is, for instance, a custom in many parts in the province for women to visit their own families at intervals, and in the districts of Northern and Eastern Bengal there is a vernacular expression specifically connoting a visit of this kind (নিয়ে যাওয়া). Such temporary migration which takes place at festival times was practically negligible at the time of the census, since there were no great religious festivals and the only fairs which were in progress during the enumeration were principally of a local importance and were in nearly every case reported to have

been attended by fewer visitors than usual owing to economic conditions. For the cultivation or harvesting of crops some migration takes place from Bankura to Burdwan and Hooghly, from Midnapore to the neighbouring districts in the east, from Jessore and Faridpur to Khulna, from Faridpur and Dacca to Bakarganj (which, however, also sends labourers for the same purpose to Khulna), from Murshidabad and Nadia to Dinajpur, from Pabna, Dacca and Nadia to Rangpur and from Pabna to the regions near Calcutta. During the cold season labourers also come from most of the districts named to any place within reasonable reach at which earth-work is being done. Generally, however, only members of the more primitive tribes will consent to undertake the hard labour of earth-work, which is considered to be more undignified than cultivating or harvesting. When the census was taken there were works in progress in connection with such undertakings as the construction of the Damodar Canal in Burdwan and the Calcutta (Hord Line between Calcutta and Bally, and these works were employing a number of labourers mainly of primitive peoples hailing from eastern Bihar and western Bengal. But the main inter-district migrations were already over except in Hooghly, since the crops had been cut and there was no cultivation going on when the census was taken, and in addition to those engaged on the construction works mentioned in the last sentence the only considerable number of immigrants of a temporary nature were those recruited for dock labour in and near Calcutta from western Bengal. After the rains a number of immigrants from Chittagong and further east go to Khulna to catch and dry or salt fish which is considered a great delicacy in Burma and further east, and there was a certain number of these temporary residents engaged in their trade in the Sundarbans of Khulna and the 24 Parganas when the census was taken.

122. Suburban daily traffic.—Between such centres as Calcutta and Howrah and the surrounding municipalities there is a considerable amount

STATEMENT No. III-4.

Number of season tickets current between Calcutta and outlying country on the 26th February 1931.

Class of ticket	Both stations grand total	Station of Calcutta					
		Sealdah.			Howrah		
		Total	From.	To.	Total.	From.	To
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ALL CLASSES	26,170	13,425	2,575	10,850	12,745	3,389	9,355
First	114	98	40	58	16	6	10
Second	740	437	120	316	303	59	247
Inter	5,194	2,559	710	1,849	2,635	655	1,980
Third	17,832	9,016	1,503	7,423	8,516	2,266	6,250
Vendors'	2,056	1,315	111	1,204	741	198	543
Workmen's	234				234	208	26

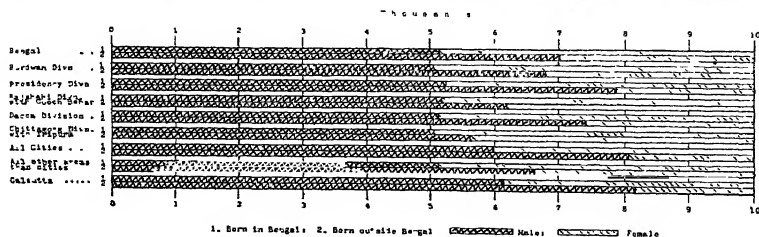
of daily traffic. The extent to which workers in these cities actually reside with their families outside the city area cannot be exactly determined. Some indication of it is, however, given by the figures shown in the accompanying statement No. III-4, summarised from the more extended particulars in the Calcutta volume which have been compiled from data furnished by courtesy of the railway companies. The figures show the total number of season tickets current on the day on which the census was taken and therefore practically represent the total number of persons regularly travelling by train daily in the pursuit of their business between Calcutta and the outlying regions. There is no means of ascertaining what proportion of these ticket-holders lives in Calcutta or Howrah and travels to its work to outlying stations, but it is safe to assume that the proportion is small compared with the numbers living outside and travelling in daily to their work. Figures are indeed given for tickets from and to each station, but it does not necessarily follow that a season ticket issued at Sealdah for daily travel to such stations as Dum-Dum or Barrackpore was taken by a person actually residing in Calcutta and working in these places: and in any case more than four times as many tickets were taken from outlying stations to Sealdah than from Sealdah to outlying stations and the corresponding proportion is nearly 3 to 1 in the case of Howrah. The figures show that more than 26,000 persons travel daily from surrounding areas to work in Calcutta and Howrah, and this tendency to push out for residence to areas beyond the cities appears to be on the increase. The figures published in previous reports for 1910 and 1920 are not strictly comparable on their face value with those here given,

since they represent the total number of season tickets issued throughout the whole year. In an overwhelming majority of cases the season tickets issued are for month periods; indeed, although some railways issue quarterly tickets to their own employees no such ticket was specified in the details supplied by the companies; and if the figures for 26th February 1931 are multiplied by 12 they will be more nearly comparable with those shown for 1910 and 1920, which were, respectively, 103,267 and 291,483. With these figures an estimated issue of about 314,000 season tickets annually for the year of the current census would represent an increase of nearly 8 per cent. over 1921 and a figure more than three times that of 1911. Even these figures, however, do not give a complete indication of the extent to which this daily immigration takes place. The immediate suburban areas of Calcutta and Howrah are supplied with tram and bus services and no figures have been obtained of the traffic over those lines. Moreover, during the cold and rainy seasons a number of persons, who at other times live outside Calcutta, find it inconvenient to travel in daily, and take up lodgings within the city. The census was therefore taken at a time when the number of season tickets in use was probably not at its maximum during the year. This tendency of Calcutta to draw its actual workers in increasing numbers from outside the municipal area and the immediate suburbs is a factor to be taken into account when comparing the relative importance of Calcutta and Bombay judged by their numbers and their effective working population. In February 1931 the number of season tickets current in Bombay was 45,706. These represented the persons travelling daily to Bombay for work from outlying places distant up to 30 or 32 miles from the city proper, but the existence of a system of electric railways in Bombay makes it difficult to make comparisons, since the tickets issued on these are presumably included and the persons using them more properly correspond to those travelling to Calcutta by bus and tram for whom there is no record.

123. Other daily traffic.—In addition to the daily traffic from and to Calcutta itself there is a not inconsiderable traffic between the intermediate stations on the lines ending at Sealdah and Howrah. Thus on the date of the census more than 5,800 season tickets were current for journeys between intermediate stations of this nature. The industrial centres on both sides of the river Hooghly, including the railway workshops at Lillooah and the jute and cotton mills on both sides of the river, as well as the railway goods-yard at Shalimar, and the existence of civil and criminal courts at Barrackpore, Barasat, Basirhat, Diamond Harbour, Chinsura and Serampore attract a certain amount of daily traffic and between 40 and 50 daily tickets were current to Asansol from neighbouring stations.

DIAGRAM No. III-8.

Distribution by sexes of 10,000 of the population born in and outside Bengal, 1931, by divisions, etc.



124. Sex ratios of immigrants and native born.—The immigrant from other provinces does not generally marry and settle in Bengal, and diagram No. III-8 plotted from statement No. III-5 illustrates the different sex ratios in the indigenous and foreign born population in various parts of the province. On the average in every thousand of the foreign born population in Bengal

there are only 300 females compared with 487 in every thousand of the population born in Bengal. In Chittagong Division and Tripura State the

STATEMENT No. III-5.

Area.	Sex constitution of the population born			
	in Bengal		outside Bengal	
	Males per 10,000	Females per 10,000	Males per 10,000	Females per 10,000
1	2	3	4	5
Bengal	5,130	4,870	7,002	2,098
Burdwan Division	5,054	4,946	5,805	4,195
Presidency Division	5,236	4,764	7,857	2,143
Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	5,137	4,863	6,187	3,813
Dacca Division	5,125	4,875	7,110	2,890
Chittagong Division with Tripura	5,051	4,949	5,419	4,581
All cities	5,997	4,003	8,056	1,944
All other areas excluding cities	5,110	4,890	6,615	3,385
Calcutta	6,135	3,865	8,168	1,832

proportions are most nearly equal, being 438 per 1,000 in the foreign born and 495 per thousand in the native born population. In the Rajshahi and Burdwan Divisions again the discrepancy is less than the average. In Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar the proportions are 381 in the foreign born and 484 in the indigenous population. In the Burdwan Division it is 320 in the foreign born and 495 in the indigenous population. In Dacca Division there are very little more than one half as many women in each thousand of the population born outside Bengal as in the population born within the province, and in the Presidency Division the deficiency is even more marked, since there are only 214 per 1,000, both sexes, compared with 476 in the native born population. Total figures are not available for the proportions in rural areas, but there can be no doubt that such foreign born inhabitants as are domiciled in rural areas bring with them to conditions more closely resembling their own village life at home a larger proportion of their women folk than their compatriots who live in towns. The men who live in Calcutta and Howrah find little inducement to bring their wives and families with them and the females in every thousand of the native born population in cities are less than in the whole of Bengal, and the proportionate figures are even smaller for the population born outside Bengal. Thus whereas in all areas excluding cities the number of women is 339 per 1,000 of the total foreign born population against 489 per 1,000 of the total native born population, in the aggregate of cities (Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca) the corresponding proportions are 194 and 400, whilst in Calcutta alone the figures are 183 and 387, respectively. As a general rule associations in his native village remain for the whole period of the immigrant's stay in Bengal; and it is probably in very few cases only that he uproots himself and attempts to settle in this province. These considerations apply particularly to industrial workers. Many, if not most of these, retain their connection with their native places and return there as frequently as they can. The aboriginal, on the other hand, migrates to secure himself land and intends to remain where he settles. He gravitates to areas where, perhaps as a concomitant of depopulation, land is going out of cultivation and there he establishes himself. Bogra in this way received colonists from Bihar during the middle of the last century. The decay of Jessore and parts of Nadia is similarly attracting settlers from Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas. In these three districts the figures of immigrants are by no means the same as those of others than Bengalis, since a considerable proportion of the population in these districts, whose ancestors were introduced during the last century, is now returned as native born although of course retaining its aboriginal race. Thus taking only four of the groups originitive in east Bihar, viz., Bhumij, Munda, Oraon and Santal, the figures in Bogra, Jessore and Nadia are 12,272, 4,863 and 8,295, whereas the total immigration from Bihar and Orissa is, respectively, only 9,920, 3,627 and 6,623. In such areas as Burdwan, Rajshahi and the Chittagong Divisions, conditions exist which definitely encourage even the immigrant to some of the industrial areas to bring his family with him. In railway centres like Kharagpur, Lillooah, Howrah and Chittagong, quarters are provided for the families of employees, whilst immigrant labour to the tea gardens in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri is also provided with quarters, and their women folk are welcomed as an addition to the labour force.

125. Trans-frontier migration.—No figures are available of the emigrants from Bengal to frontier regions such as Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, but it can be confidently stated that any migration of this kind is extremely small

in extent and almost all periodic or temporary. From Nepal 98,620 persons of both sexes were recorded at the census of whom no less than 88,207 or more than 89 per cent. were settled in the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts. These figures do not represent the total extent of immigration from Nepal, since a number of immigrants have settled in the province during the last few decades and their children naturally are recorded as native born Bengalis; but some estimate of the Nepali stock in Bengal may be formed of the numbers speaking all languages current in Nepal. From imperial table XV it appears that there are 259,801 persons in Bengal speaking Khaskura and other languages of Nepal and this figure may be taken as a more accurate estimate of the numbers of Nepalis domiciled in Bengal at the time of the census. The figure agrees substantially with that for the numbers of selected Nepali groups illustrated in Chapter XII. Notable omissions from the groups chosen are the Chhetris and Brahmans, but even so the total is 255,503. Some considerable number of these are periodic immigrants only. It is estimated that as many as 30,000 persons come from Nepal to Darjeeling during the cold weather. They work as coolies in tea gardens and on the roads, as wood cutters, as sawyers, as harvesters in the Terai, etc. Some of them penetrate to Jalpaiguri and as far as Assam, but a very small proportion only settle permanently each year and the majority return to their native country from the middle of February to the end of April on the approach of the hot and the rainy weather. Immigrants recorded from Tibet and Sikkim number no more than 1,538 and 6,320, respectively, and of the Tibetans no less than 1,435 or 93 per cent. were recorded in Darjeeling, whilst a similarly high proportion of the Sikkimese immigrants, namely 5,321 or 84 per cent., were also found in this district. Kalimpong, in Darjeeling district, is the centre of the trade between Bengal on the one hand and Sikkim and Tibet on the other and the movement of peoples between these regions and Bengal falls into two distinct classes. There is the comparatively small immigration into Darjeeling district itself of rickshaw coolies, road labourers and personal servants who come principally for the Darjeeling "season" in February, March or April and return about November. The majority of immigrants from Sikkim and Tibet, however, come to Bengal at a later period. Some few bring apples grown in Sikkim and peddle them in Darjeeling between September and December or January. The remaining immigration from those parts is almost exclusively during the cold weather. Peddlers in some numbers, also from Sikkim, penetrate not only into Darjeeling district but also to Jalpaiguri with oranges which they sell and immediately return to their own country. Traders bringing wool and other merchandise from Tibet come into Darjeeling from October or November and remain until the approach of the hot and rainy weather drives them back in March or April to their homes. The holy places of the Tibetan Buddhists are situated in India itself and numbers of pious Tibetans pass through Darjeeling and Bengal on their way to Benares, Gaya and Sarnath. These pilgrimages generally take place during the cold weather and it is in the cold weather also that beggars and religious mendicants from Tibet and Sikkim come into Darjeeling, some of them joining in pilgrimages to Gaya and other places in India. The number of immigrants from Tibet and Sikkim who make a permanent domicile in Darjeeling or Jalpaiguri is not large, though a certain number settle permanently in tea gardens as coolies. From Bhutan a very small number of petty traders visit Darjeeling from October to December, but some considerable numbers peddle oranges, apples, blankets, yak-tails and other merchandise in Jalpaiguri, and during the cold weather from October onwards are employed by the Forest Department in cutting and sawing timber and in clearing jungle. They also find employment in breaking stones in the river beds which are sent as road metal to other places. Some of these immigrants settle as forest guards or in the forest hamlets as cultivators and labourers, and some few also are attracted by the opportunity of settling on *khas mahal* lands in Jalpaiguri, but the majority return to their homes on the approach of the hot weather and the rains. A certain number of itinerant gold and silver-smiths from Bhutan travel from garden to garden selling ornaments or making them to order but they are never out of touch with their native land.

126. **Immigration from Europe.**—Of the 13,557 persons born in Europe Calcutta absorbed 66 per cent. and an additional 17 per cent. is found in the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly districts. Seven per cent. were recorded in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and a further 6·4 per cent. in Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong and Dacca. Only 10 per cent. of them were born outside British dominions. Subsidiary table VI shows in detail the birth-place of those persons born in British possessions in Europe.

127. **Indians on the high seas.**—One of the innovations of the present census was an attempt to obtain figures of Indians on the high seas. The method adopted was to secure the issue to captains of sea-going vessels of forms to be filled in on the census date. The enquiry was conducted through the seven major ports of India, but no returns were received from Madras and Chittagong. The schedules were issued to masters of ships taking on Indian crews, and the returns include, in the case of Calcutta at least, details of Anglo-Indians but not of Europeans incorrectly included in some of the returns. The figures obtained are more fully shown in volume I dealing with the whole of India. But a summary, statement No. III-6 below, shows the

STATEMENT No. III-6.

Indians enumerated on the high seas on 26th February 1931.

1	All ports			Aden			Karachi			Bombay			Calcutta			Rangoon.		
	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Total enumerated	12,540	12,418	122	1,234	1,209	25	141	141		612	548	64	9,781	9,749	32	772	771	1
BIRTH-PLACE.																		
Born in India	12,497	12,377	120	1,228	1,205	23	141	141		612	548	64	9,747	9,715	32	769	769	1
Assam	2,827	2,827		2	2		5	5					2,830	2,830		8	8	
Bengal	6,806	6,791	15	245	244	1	68	68		5	5		5,973	5,959	14	515	515	
Bihar and Orissa	268	268		2	2								231	231		25	25	
MAIN RELIGIONS.																		
Hindus	801	874	27	134	124	10	2	2		25	23	2	402	387	15	38	38	
Muslims	11,241	11,203	38	1,021	1,007	14	122	122		363	353	10	9,060	9,045	15	675	675	

total number thus enumerated with their birth-place and religion. Of the total enumerated on the high seas Bengal contributed 6,806 or 54 per cent. Amongst those whose returns were sent to Calcutta the percentage of persons born in Bengal was 61 and it was even higher amongst the schedules received in Rangoon where it amounted to 67 per cent. Ninety per cent. of the persons thus enumerated from Bengal were Muslims and although the district of birth was not separately compiled it is safe to assume that they came principally from Chittagong and other parts of east Bengal. Assam contributed 23 per cent. of the total numbers returned at all ports, 29 per cent. of those returned at Calcutta and 12 per cent. of those returned at Rangoon. There were nearly 8 persons from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam for every individual from elsewhere amongst those enumerated. Occupations were returned only

STATEMENT No. III-7.

Indian males, earners, on the high seas, returning as principal occupation group 102—Transport by water.

	Number.	Per cent
ALL PORTS	10,838	87
Aden	824	68
Karachi	702	72
Bombay	479	37·5
Calcutta	8,070	89
Rangoon	705	100

by males. Amongst the total enumerated 87 per cent. were seamen, etc., on board and figures are given in the accompanying statement No. III-7. The proportion was least in the returns received at Aden (68 per cent.) and Karachi (72 per cent.). It was 87·5 per cent. at Bombay and 89 per cent. at Calcutta, whilst only 5 of those included in the returns at Rangoon were not shown in the same occupational group. These occupational figures explain the small proportion of females returned: in the total returns only 1 female was included for every 100 males, the largest proportion being in the returns at Bombay, whilst at Calcutta there was only one female returned for every 300 males or more. It is of interest to note that many of the

laskars retain a close connection with the land in their own country : amongst the males one in nearly every four at Calcutta and more than one in every seven at Rangoon returned some agricultural occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood, and in almost all these cases the occupation was that of tenant cultivators, as is shown in the marginal statement. The occupational figures also account for the not insignificant number of Bengalis

returned in schedules issued to masters of vessels taking on crews at Aden and Karachi. The seaman is liable to find his contract at an end at some other port than the nearest to his native place, and he naturally signs on with some other crew from the port at which he has been discharged.

128. Emigration to plantations overseas.—Before the last census was taken the system of indentured labour under which Indian coolies were recruited for the plantations overseas had ceased and by the Indian Emigration Act (VII of 1922) provision was made that emigrants might proceed only from notified ports of India (of which Calcutta is one) in the case of skilled labourers upon permission granted by the local government and in the case of unskilled labourers on terms and conditions and to countries specified by the Government of India.

STATEMENT No. III-8.

Locality of origin of persons actually embarked from Calcutta for countries overseas during 1921-30.

(NOTE.—Figures in italics are for skilled labourers and are included in the totals above them.)

Locality of origin	Total 1921-30	1921	1922	1923	1924	1929.
ALL COUNTRIES	1,599	39	25	904	537	4
	<i>130</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>4</i>
Bengal	121	39	25	22	31	4
	<i>50</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>4</i>
Burdwan	1			1		
Midnapore	1			1		
Hoojilly	1			1		
24-Parganas	62	23	17	3	17	
	<i>37</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>15</i>	
Calcutta	20	16	8	4		
	<i>2</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>		
Nadia	1				1	
Jessore	1			1		
Rajshahi	2			2		
Dacca	6				5	
Myitmehingh	3			1	3	
Faridpur	1			1		
Naakhili	7			7		
Bihar and Orissa	99			67	32	
	<i>2</i>			<i>2</i>		
United Provinces	870			574	296	
	<i>21</i>			<i>3</i>	<i>16</i>	
Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces	188			105	83	
	<i>1</i>			<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	
Central Province	32			20	12	
Madras	16			10	6	
Bombay	7			7		
	<i>6</i>			<i>6</i>		
Indian States and Other places	144			83	61	
	<i>12</i>			<i>12</i>		
Indians born in the colony	30			16	14	
Assam	2				2	

principally tailors for Siam, were despatched to foreign countries from Calcutta. The returned emigrants during the same period amounted to more than 35,000 of whom a larger proportion was provided by Fiji and Trinidad than by any other country. The emigrants returning from Fiji found that conditions there were no longer favourable. There was a surplus of labour leading to lower wages whilst the cost of living was a great deal higher than before the war. In South Africa the political atmosphere was not congenial to Indian settlers and voluntary repatriation was accepted at the expense of the Union Government in 1923 and subsequent years. Emigrants leaving India from Calcutta were naturally drawn principally from Bengal which supplied amongst 1,676 recruited during that period (not all of whom actually embarked) as many as 1,163 almost entirely drawn from Calcutta (775) and the 24-Parganas (379). Delhi from which 230 and the United Provinces from which 204 recruits were obtained are the only other provinces providing an appreciable number of recruits for emigration. No details are available of the ultimate destination of returned emigrants. The figures for origin given in subsidiary table VII show actually the area of recruitment, and it is not correct to assume that all persons recruited in

Calcutta and the 24-Parganas were natives of Bengal. The great majority were only temporarily domiciled there. This will appear from the figures in statement No. III-8, which shows the locality of origin of persons actually embarked, and excludes those recruited who did not leave India. Details of the real locality of origin and not the areas of recruitment are here given though they are not available from subsidiary table VII. Only one emigrant in twelve was a native of Bengal but nearly two in every three skilled emigrants were Bengalis.

129. Migration to Chandernagore.—A census of French possessions in India was taken on the same night as the census of British India. By the courtesy of the Governor of the French Settlements in India, summary figures of the results obtained in the census of Chandernagore have been supplied. The figures given in statement No. III-9 adjoined show by age-groups the numbers enumerated in Chandernagore who were born in British India and of British nationality, respectively. The figures unfortunately do not indicate these details by sexes, nor do they show the numbers born in Bengal and it is consequently impossible to furnish the

STATEMENT No. III-9.

Numbers of both sexes enumerated in Chandernagore, 1931, who were born in British India and of British nationality.

Age-groups	Born in British India	Of British nationality.
All ages	12,611	11,731
0—10	1,588	1,807
11—20	2,523	2,317
21—40	6,041	5,499
41—60	2,089	1,768
61 & over	420	354

information with certainty which has previously been shown in Imperial Tables I and II. The figures for nationality suggest that some proportion of the persons born in British India must have become naturalized French subjects, since otherwise the number of British nationals should be at least the same as the number of those born in British India. Even if all persons born in British India be taken as being British subjects born in Bengal, there has been an evident decrease in the numbers resident in Chandernagore during the last 10 years. The totals of both sexes given in the last report are : for 1921, 14,450 ; for 1911, 9,628 ; for 1901, 10,999 ; for 1891, 4,913, and for 1881, 853. Figures for French subjects and persons born in French possessions who were enumerated in Bengal were furnished to the authorities of Chandernagore in considerable detail by sex, birth-place, origin, nationality, marital condition, occupation, etc. The total number, however, was small and amounted only to 252 Indians of both sexes (male 81, female 171), and 9 Europeans of both sexes (male 2, female 7). The Europeans were all born in France and only one Indian who claimed French nationality was returned as being born in British India.

130. Native born and foreign population in Sikkim.—In Sikkim out of a total population of 109,808, 94,391 were born in the state. Bihar and Orissa and Tibet contributed between 300 and 360 persons each to its population. But the greatest amount of immigration, as is natural, came from Nepal which sent 12,571 persons to Sikkim. The number of persons in Sikkim who may be reasonably taken to be of Nepali extraction, however, is considerably greater than would be deduced from the figures of immigration, for no less than 84,101 persons or 76·5 per cent. of the total population returned themselves as speaking as mother tongue some language of Nepal, and amongst these 38,866 or more than two-fifths spoke Khaskura or Naipali.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Abstract of native-born and immigrant population in thousands.

Natural division and district of enumeration.	Born in Bengal (in thousands) in—									Born in India outside Bengal (in thousands) in—						Born outside India (in thousands)		
	British Territory and states			British Territory.			Bengal States			Contiguous provinces and states.			Non-contiguous provinces and states					
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BENGAL	49,234	25,260	23,974	48,423	24,842	23,581	811	418	393	1,212	848	364	514	369	145	127	80	47
West Bengal	8,174	4,131	4,043	8,172	4,130	4,042	2	1	1	305	205	100	162	112	50	6	5	1
BURDWAN DIVISION	8,174	4,131	4,043	8,172	4,130	4,042	2	1	1	305	205	100	162	112	50	6	5	1
Burdwan	1,460	740	720	1,460	740	720	.	.	.	95	60	35	10	13	6	1	88	1
Birbhum	917	456	459	917	458	459	.	.	.	28	15	2	2	1	1	23	20	08
Bankura	1,067	552	545	1,097	532	545	.	.	.	14	5	9	1	1	1	14	13	01
Midnapore	2,730	1,362	1,368	2,735	1,362	1,363	.	.	.	80	16	15	34	20	14	1	105	80
Hooahly	1,004	508	496	1,002	507	495	2	1	1	73	58	15	36	25	11	82	69	13
Howrah	961	491	470	961	491	470	.	.	.	65	54	11	70	52	18	2	48	1
Central Bengal	9,413	4,929	4,484	9,408	4,926	4,482	5	3	2	429	348	81	246	183	63	20	1	5
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	9,413	4,929	4,484	9,408	4,926	4,482	5	3	2	429	348	81	246	183	63	20	1	5
24-Parganas	2,460	1,273	1,187	2,460	1,273	1,187	.	.	.	164	128	33	87	61	26	2	54	1
Calcutta	800	491	309	796	488	308	4	3	1	281	199	33	149	114	35	16	90	4
Nadia	1,517	779	738	1,516	779	737	1	1	1	7	5	2	5	4	1	20	16	01
Murshadabad	1,346	671	677	1,348	671	677	.	.	.	20	11	9	8	2	1	15	10	02
Jessore	1,668	867	799	1,666	867	799	.	.	.	4	3	1	1	1	1	12	12	01
Khulna	1,622	848	774	1,622	848	774	.	.	.	8	8	1	1	1	1	14	13	01
North Bengal	10,714	5,525	5,189	10,178	5,254	4,924	536	271	265	381	233	148	66	46	20	97	5	0
RAJSHAH DIVISION	10,714	5,525	5,189	10,178	5,254	4,924	536	271	265	381	233	148	66	46	20	97	5	0
Rajshahi	1,404	724	680	1,404	724	680	.	.	.	37	22	14	8	8	2	1	36	33
Dinapur	1,279	674	606	1,279	674	606	.	.	.	99	44	25	6	5	1	79	71	07
Jaipuram	772	409	363	768	400	358	16	9	7	158	90	88	21	14	7	32	21	11
Darjeeling	219	115	107	219	112	107	.	.	.	31	19	12	5	5	3	61	34	08
Rangpur	2,540	1,321	1,219	2,544	1,319	1,225	6	2	6	84	29	8	11	8	3	92	50	12
Boaga	1,070	647	523	1,070	547	523	.	.	.	10	6	4	6	4	2	10	14	02
Pabna	1,436	732	704	1,436	732	704	.	.	.	5	4	1	5	4	1	15	12	03
Maidas	1,008	564	505	1,009	504	505	.	.	.	41	21	20	8	2	1	20	18	02
COOCH BEHAR STATE	576	302	274	61	42	19	515	260	255	11	9	2	3	2	1	56	47	09
East Bengal	20,933	10,675	10,258	20,665	10,532	10,133	268	143	125	97	62	35	40	28	12	2	8	0
DACCA DIVISION	13,768	7,066	6,722	13,768	7,066	6,722	268	143	125	97	62	35	40	28	12	2	8	0
Dacca	3,414	1,730	1,684	3,414	1,730	1,684	.	.	.	18	10	8	4	3	1	76	60	10
Mymensingh	3,068	1,537	1,531	3,068	1,537	1,531	.	.	.	23	16	7	10	14	6	43	34	08
Fardpur	2,533	1,169	1,164	2,533	1,169	1,164	.	.	.	7	5	2	8	2	1	21	17	04
Bakarganj	2,693	1,500	1,438	2,693	1,500	1,438	.	.	.	4	4	1	1	1	1	21	17	04
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	6,899	3,431	3,378	6,899	3,431	3,378	268	143	125	97	62	35	40	28	12	2	8	0
Tippera	3,101	1,580	1,511	3,101	1,580	1,511	.	.	.	7	4	3	2	1	1	10	07	01
Noskhali	1,708	869	847	1,708	869	847	.	.	.	3	2	1	1	1	1	04	03	01
Chittagong	1,790	888	892	1,790	888	892	.	.	.	3	2	1	1	1	1	49	35	14
Chittagong Hill Tracts	212	114	98	212	114	98	.	.	.	1	1	1	1	1	1	04	03	01
TRIPURA STATE	336	178	156	68	35	33	268	143	125	97	62	35	40	28	12	2	8	0
SIKKIM	2	1	1	2	1	1	268	143	125	97	62	35	40	28	12	2	8	0

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Abstract of native-born population resident in and emigrant from Bengal in thousands.

Locality of Birth	Number of persons enumerated (in thousands)—																		Natural population.			
	in Bengal— British districts and states.			in Bengal— British districts			in Bengal states.			in contiguous pro- vinces and states in India.			in non-contiguous provinces and states in India			outside India						
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.				
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
BENGAL	40,234	25,260	23,974	40,322	24,780	23,542	912	480	432	893	547	346	61	35	2	74	1	82	91,501	25,544	24,847	
Bengal—British Territory	48,423	24,842	23,581	48,323	24,784	23,529	130	78	52	990	545	344	61	35	2	74	1	82	91,501	48,377	25,424	23,963
Bengal States	811	418	393	29	16	13	782	402	380	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	814	420	394	

*Excluding Madras and Coorg and Madras States (except Cochin and Travancore).

†Born in Bengal without specification of district or State viz., 95 in Ceylon, 1 in Cyprus, 2 in Somaliland, 51 in Hongkong, 2,576 in Mauritius, 13 in Borneo and 4 in the Seychelles Islands.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Migration between Bengal and other provinces, states or countries, 1921 and 1931, with variation and figures of net immigration or emigration.

Locality.	Immigrants to Bengal British districts and states.			Emigrants from Bengal British districts and states.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigrants to over emigrants from Bengal British districts and states.			Immigrants to Bengal British districts and states.		
	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
INDIA ..	1,724,370	1,817,778	- 91,408	1,953,799	886,195	+ 1,067,604	+ 172,871	+ 1,131,589	1,084,802	1,770,588	- 785,855	
British Territory ..	1,685,285	1,743,648	- 58,363	1,937,198	670,119	+ 1,267,079	+ 172,887	+ 1,072,519	1,068,782	1,673,678	- 605,098	
Ajmer-Merwara ..	515	1,030	- 1,414	431	970	- 539	85	900	507	1,552	- 1,045	
Andaman and Nicobar Islands ..	17	32	- 15	907	890	+ 17	58	10	58	10	48	
Assam ..	68,013	68,387	- 374	575,013	375,398	+ 199,615	71	313,001	306,369	26,638	26,119	519
Baluchistan (districts and administered territories) ..	113	98	+ 15	579	458	+ 121	463	353	111	63	+ 48	
Bengal ..	1,127,102	1,220,426	- 93,324	1,405,415	107,282	+ 1,298,133	977,887	+ 1,113,194	1,114,260	1,204,751	- 89,491	
Bihar and Orissa ..	7,006	7,616	- 610	7,586	7,586	0	2,388	440	7,018	7,431	- 413	
Bombay ..	8,791	2,391	+ 1,430	158,068	146,037	+ 12,031	154,807	+ 143,726	3,777	2,353	+ 1,424	
Central Provinces and Berar ..	44,708	51,785	- 7,077	6,061	5,738	+ 323	2,670	39,989	+ 48,000	44,068	40,246	+ 3,822
Coorg ..	2,139	1,839	+ 300	1,618	2,778	- 1,160	3,890	4,008	- 899	2,138	1,852	+ 286
Delhi ..	48,487	31,270	+ 17,217	1..	3,281	1..	1..	27,689	40,209	24,942	+ 15,267	
Madras (including Laccadive Islands) ..	1,062	1,026	+ 36	704	777	- 73	1,253	+ 249	1,015	1,015	0	
N. W. P. (districts and administered territories) ..	23,734	14,304	+ 9,430	4,320	2,949	+ 1,371	19,414	+ 11,355	25,611	14,250	+ 11,361	
Punjab ..	848,131	342,801	+ 505,330	30,281	18,479	+ 11,802	317,610	+ 334,323	848,906	328,184	+ 520,722	
Indian States ..	58,828	72,816	- 13,988	116,001	16,088	+ 99,913	+ 142,825	+ 58,550	54,463	85,891	- 31,428	
Assam States ..	1,404	535	+ 869	186	373	- 187	1,218	+ 163	656	815	- 159	
Baluchistan States ..	24	24	0	94	94	0	70	70	24	24	0	
Baroda State ..	350	190	+ 160	398	267	+ 131	136	49	288	199	+ 89	
Bengal States ..	11,748	7,153	+ 4,595	8,109	6,960	+ 1,149	3,389	- 2,337	28,699	23,016	+ 5,683	
Bihar and Orissa States ..	161	3,718	- 3,557	268	515	- 247	377	+ 3,303	187	8,282	- 8,095	
Bombay States ..	1,722	911	+ 811	844	578	+ 266	578	8	629	59	+ 570	
Central India Agency ..	142	3,057	- 2,915	1,213	211	+ 1,002	1,071	+ 2,840	328	2,918	- 2,590	
Central Provinces States ..	1,851	1,788	+ 63	300	355	- 55	1,321	+ 1,468	1,851	1,788	+ 63	
Gwalior State ..	849	380	+ 469	213	208	+ 5	538	+ 847	847	380	+ 467	
Hydrabad State ..	209	190	+ 19	111	105	+ 6	98	+ 64	200	190	+ 10	
Kashmir State ..	83	754	- 671	1,256	67	+ 1,189	1,172	+ 687	83	754	- 671	
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore) ..	23	22	+ 1	83	7	+ 76	10	+ 213	22	22	0	
Mysore State ..	322	451	- 129	617	424	+ 193	208	+ 27	322	447	- 125	
N. W. P. (Agency and Tribal areas) ..	3	2	+ 1	140	140	0	69	- 140	2	2	0	
Punjab States Agency ..	1,350	1,525	- 175	298	225	+ 73	1,055	+ 1,209	1,350	1,525	- 175	
Rajputana Agency ..	8,806	47,845	- 39,039	907	774	+ 133	31,539	+ 47,091	38,011	46,534	- 8,523	
Sikim State ..	6,820	4,057	+ 2,763	1,707	1,568	+ 139	4,613	+ 2,491	6,820	4,057	+ 2,763	
United Provinces States ..	265	294	- 29	420	155	+ 265	181	+ 189	256	253	+ 3	
French and Portuguese settlements ..	1,292	1,181	+ 111	..	..	..	1,292	+ 1,181	1,291	1,180	+ 111	
Unspecified ..	267	36	+ 231	..	..	..	267	+ 30	257	30	+ 227	
OUTSIDE INDIA ..	127,338	111,868	+ 15,470	2,738	162	+ 2,576	124,600	+ 111,703	126,448	110,885	+ 15,563	

Locality	Emigrants from Bengal British districts.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigrants to over emigrants from Bengal British districts.			Immigrants to Dargal States.			Emigrants from Bengal States.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigrants to over emigrants from Bengal States.		
	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).	1931.	1921.	Increase (+) or decrease (-).
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
INDIA ..	11,080,778	167,454	+ 13,13,325	+ 16,04,024	+ 1,003,204	18,043	155,271	+ 34,752	131,298	28,896	+ 74,801	+ 118,547	+ 128,378		
British Territory ..	1,934,598	668,282	+ 1,266,316	+ 1,074,276	+ 1,005,616	185,180	152,088	+ 33,172	131,281	25,833	+ 74,508	+ 154,778	+ 128,025		
Ajmer-Merwara ..	430	970	- 540	77	855	9	75	- 66	1	1	+ 1	8	75		
Andaman and Nicobar Islands ..	658	816	- 158	915	851	+ 64	164	+ 514	9	474	8	465	7		
Assam ..	572,570	373,504	+ 199,066	545,933	345,285	235,874	40,048	+ 4,074	2,445	1,702	+ 741	32,031	38,840		
Baluchistan (districts and administered territories) ..	578	450	+ 128	407	388	19	2	- 17	..	..	..	..	..
Bengal ..	149,846	107,175	+ 42,671	964,844	1,093,578	128,677	53,139	+ 40,839	28,699	25,010	+ 3,689	100,974	98,122		
Bihar and Orissa ..	5,230	1,533	+ 3,697	2,268	598	88	90	- 2	19	37	+ 82	12,293	10,816		
Bombay ..	158,068	146,037	+ 12,031	154,278	148,700	14	9	+ 5	15	15	0	8	88		
Burma ..	5,458	5,021	+ 437	5,587	46,255	1,609	2,507	+ 898	176	42	+ 134	1,434	2,405		
Central Provinces and Berar ..	6,188	2,778	+ 3,410	4,010	560	1	7	- 6	1	1	0	1	1		
Coorg ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delhi ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Madras (including Laccadive Islands) ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
N. W. P. (districts and administered territories) ..	704	777	- 73	1,211	238	47	11	- 38	..	..	..	..	..
Punjab ..	4,320	2,949	+ 1,371	1,971	1,329	642	64	- 69	..	..	..	..	..
U. P. of Agra and Oudh ..	30,619	15,451	+ 15,168	318,857	310,743	4,223	4,617	+ 382	2	26	- 24	4,223	+ 4,889		
Indian States ..	114,673	84,182	+ 30,491	161,816	3,901	3,762	2,341	+ 1,421	15	12	+ 3	13,767	2,328		
Assam States ..	180	869	- 689	500	79	1	718	+ 521	3	8	- 5	718	194		
Baluchistan States ..	293	257	+ 36	130	130	0	88	7	..	..	..	..	..
Baroda State ..	129,077	85,138	+ 43,939	100,978	58,126	87	72	- 15	..	..	..	..	..
Bengal States ..	8,108	6,983	+ 1,125	2,563	3,190	1,078	684	+ 417	1	5	- 4	1,077	+ 650		
Bihar and Orissa States ..	789	516	+ 273	614	5,012	127	64	- 191	..	..	..	..	..
Bombay States ..	844	945	- 101	87	72	789	68	- 722	..	..	..	..	..
Central India Agency ..	1,213	311	+ 902	1,140	2,705	109	141	- 82	..	..	..	..	..
Central Provinces States ..	580	380	+ 200	1,271	1,450	181	1	- 180	..	..	..	..	..
Gwalior State ..	211	293	- 82	634	95	2	3	- 1	..	..	..	..	..
Hydrabad State ..	111	106	+ 5	98	61	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kashmir State ..	1295	67	+ 1,228	1,172	697	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore) ..	22	22	0	84	218	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mysore State ..	322	451	- 129	617	424	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
N. W. P. (Agency and Tribal areas) ..	617	434	+ 183	285	240	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Punjab States Agency ..	91	140	- 49	99	130	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajputana Agency ..	8,806	47,845	- 39,039	907	774	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sikim State ..	1,003	774	+ 229	31,008	46,076	895	1,015	- 120	..	..	..	..	..
United Provinces States ..	1,707	1,568	+ 139	4,613	2,491	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
United Provinces States ..	429	165	+ 264	1,718	1,038	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
French and Portuguese settlements ..	..	..	..	1,291	1,180	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unspecified ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OUTSIDE INDIA ..	2,738	162	+ 2,576	122,511	110,723	1,088	890	+ 198	..	..	..	..	1,088	+ 890	

*25 persons were enumerated in Ceylon, 2 in Cyprus, 2 in Somaliland, 51 in Hongkong, 2,575 in Mauritius, 16 in Borneo and 4 in the Seychelles Islands; all were returned as born in Bengal district or state unspecified.

†Exclusive of Madras, Poona and Madras States.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number and ratio per 10,000 of the population at each census, 1881 to 1931, whose birthplace was returned as being within and outside Bengal.

Division, district or state.	Population born within Bengal												
	1901.		1921		1931		1901.		1921		1931.		
	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
BENGAL	49,233,630	9,637	45,662,322	9,595	44,334,664	9,574	41,438,587	9,663	38,688,326	9,719	35,935,508	9,760	
British Territory	48,321,649	9,642	44,839,009	9,602	43,570,608	9,580	40,736,264	9,666	37,999,850	9,721	35,412,597	9,778	
BURDWAN DIVISION	8,173,282	9,453	7,669,550	9,502	8,109,393	9,577	7,998,488	9,704	7,822,488	9,784	7,254,931	9,812	
Burdwan	1,459,813	9,265	1,314,228	9,841	1,455,465	9,464	1,455,242	9,496	1,347,510	9,681	1,355,986	9,748	
Baruah	916,987	9,777	819,810	9,667	900,724	9,629	869,720	9,639	777,761	9,748	780,344	9,821	
Bankura	1,097,076	9,568	1,008,180	9,552	1,124,738	9,878	1,105,210	9,900	1,051,445	9,640	1,024,638	9,835	
Haldimand	2,774,908	9,779	2,619,644	9,642	3,772,639	9,628	3,761,982	9,604	2,110,282	9,919	2,486,487	9,894	
Hooghly	1,064,783	9,209	989,082	9,162	1,021,320	9,568	1,006,206	9,621	1,060,618	9,821	1,003,848	9,867	
Howrah	961,353	9,749	898,217	9,705	924,108	9,663	799,035	9,395	674,860	9,567	605,101	9,539	
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	8,412,888	9,732	7,760,338	9,291	8,785,437	9,808	8,513,836	9,667	8,188,918	9,571	7,886,334	9,618	
24-Parganas	2,140,383	9,666	2,324,104	9,881	2,189,012	9,597	1,947,118	9,389	1,901,711	9,548	1,749,880	9,357	
Calcutta	709,408	9,650	379,564	9,287	538,874	9,619	648,685	9,480	1,171,377	9,624	1,200,566	9,707	
Medinipur	1,316,600	9,717	1,472,141	9,496	1,500,948	9,630	1,658,240	9,643	1,638,016	9,644	2,001,470	9,918	
Murshidabad	1,348,414	9,728	1,240,262	9,424	1,425,519	9,764	1,305,338	9,791	1,218,700	9,743	1,190,504	9,778	
Jessore	1,063,881	9,669	1,117,827	9,712	1,152,169	9,688	1,408,493	9,974	1,884,705	9,978	1,573,818	9,978	
Khulna	1,641,114	9,874	1,446,003	9,629	1,462,620	9,597	1,547,447	9,808	1,173,950	9,666	1,071,346	9,680	
RAJSHAH DIVISION	16,137,774	9,803	16,894,922	9,371	18,418,588	9,800	18,828,950	9,413	18,397,617	9,406	16,468,283	9,674	
Rajshahi	1,403,687	9,823	1,454,108	9,761	1,445,105	9,790	1,430,608	9,854	1,293,766	9,851	1,324,686	9,825	
Medinipur	1,679,109	9,665	1,582,753	9,349	1,644,176	9,419	1,487,617	9,486	1,484,076	9,643	1,472,659	9,794	
Jalpaiguri	772,150	9,652	716,588	9,621	695,060	9,760	645,640	9,588	605,262	9,730	528,719	9,616	
Barisal	318,821	9,649	320,811	9,499	354,291	9,410	318,389	9,584	295,411	9,414	300,089	9,600	
Barisal	2,648,506	9,722	2,480,418	9,671	2,265,586	9,624	2,005,028	9,711	2,026,714	9,666	2,071,998	9,876	
Barisal	1,070,484	9,737	1,039,119	9,728	1,068,859	9,758	1,068,573	9,765	1,068,573	9,765	1,068,573	9,765	
Barisal	1,445,700	9,692	1,374,583	9,684	1,402,996	9,621	1,403,183	9,676	1,341,214	9,645	1,301,990	9,656	
Barisal	1,009,209	9,777	922,630	9,469	924,534	9,907	807,648	9,330	750,513	9,320	870,205	9,434	
DACCA DIVISION	13,786,232	9,918	12,734,893	9,913	11,888,759	9,970	10,681,203	9,895	9,744,579	9,890	8,846,367	9,938	
Dacca	3,414,402	9,947	3,098,067	9,911	2,920,015	9,861	2,621,030	9,893	2,389,138	9,870	2,101,838	9,941	
Mymensingh	9,088,068	9,918	8,478,101	9,868	7,947,314	9,964	7,640,963	9,895	7,347,300	9,948	6,917,998	9,916	
Fardpur	2,453,927	9,939	2,249,102	9,923	2,106,598	9,929	1,926,611	9,943	1,780,136	9,941	1,628,127	9,978	
Bakarganj	2,040,295	9,980	2,045,204	9,979	2,423,373	9,977	2,286,004	9,978	2,149,070	9,977	1,807,421	9,982	
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	9,668,933	9,974	8,979,366	9,963	8,367,431	9,950	7,415,790	9,954	6,166,551	9,944	5,457,022	9,968	
Chittagong	3,100,761	9,977	2,730,210	9,923	2,412,827	9,926	2,041,021	9,924	1,704,365	9,900	1,506,922	9,918	
Chittagong	1,208,284	9,988	1,088,131	9,964	1,011,114	9,964	914,017	9,964	814,017	9,964	707,998	9,968	
Chittagong Hill Tracts	1,789,511	9,960	1,600,134	9,956	1,800,807	9,950	1,848,497	9,951	1,295,247	9,963	1,139,940	9,979	
Chittagong Hill Tracts	211,063	9,975	172,637	9,968	132,973	9,974	124,426	9,973	100,617	9,975	87,000	9,975	
Bengal States	911,991	9,770	823,913	9,185	704,250	9,291	702,323	9,437	686,478	9,611	522,911	8,977	
Cooch Behar	575,985	9,748	509,097	9,615	508,264	9,684	548,161	9,656	504,011	9,743	522,911	8,977	
Tripura State	336,013	9,739	324,116	9,247	195,992	9,384	164,169	9,894	124,460	9,606	87,000	9,975	
SIKKIM	1,707	155	1,568	192	3,052	347	1,925	329	..	..	..	..

Division, district or state.	Population born outside Bengal												
	1901.		1921		1931		1901.		1921		1931.		
	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.	Per 10,000.	No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
BENGAL	1,853,708	363	1,929,640	405	1,970,778	426	1,445,724	337	1,120,242	281	883,595	240	
British Territory	1,792,353	358	1,856,027	398	1,912,469	420	1,407,748	334	1,092,408	279	803,882	222	
BURDWAN DIVISION	473,267	548	401,092	498	357,921	423	243,691	296	166,333	216	139,223	188	
Burdwan	115,880	735	64,998	659	82,496	536	77,233	564	44,870	319	35,658	259	
Baruah	30,667	333	28,200	333	34,750	371	32,680	361	20,079	282	14,184	179	
Bankura	14,642	132	11,761	113	15,822	113	11,282	100	19,288	270	17,166	166	
Haldimand	61,525	300	47,027	176	48,672	172	27,183	97	21,284	81	29,315	116	
Hooghly	110,470	991	80,190	845	88,877	638	43,986	419	18,092	149	18,420	165	
Howrah	147,314	1,551	129,186	1,296	109,308	1,168	61,479	605	46,845	643	20,260	401	
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	686,341	668	671,057	709	688,684	698	478,192	633	366,566	429	316,878	348	
24-Parganas	233,536	934	294,101	1,119	244,192	1,003	131,321	611	85,592	412	120,220	418	
Calcutta	397,628	1,320	328,287	1,016	350,639	1,021	290,111	1,350	230,183	1,377	146,668	1,368	
Medinipur	15,732	64	15,732	64	17,908	111	11,226	87	10,498	84	16,377	81	
Murshidabad	22,263	102	22,256	176	26,785	117	27,846	120	38,148	137	27,868	137	
Jessore	5,180	31	4,892	28	6,095	35	4,672	26	4,122	22	5,431	32	
Khulna	4,364	26	6,078	41	4,245	21	5,096	41	4,032	34	6,602	30	
RAJSHAH DIVISION	530,292	497	600,742	639	716,714	710	560,338	587	436,468	494	274,970	326	
Rajshahi	25,331	177	35,567	239	35,482	240	36,790	241	71,159	457	41,737	276	
Medinipur	76,220	435	112,508	690	148,687	551	99,563	519	115,979	657	141,797	657	
Jalpaiguri	211,207	1,148	219,911	1,249	207,800	1,240	138,734	1,769	86,100	1,264	57,843	800	
Barisal	100,700	1,160	100,807	1,160	111,263	1,160	116,726	1,160	130,778	1,160	145,483	1,160	
Barisal	46,273	178	77,436	309	69,744	269	69,744	269	69,744	269	69,744	269	
Barisal	13,965	127	25,387	123	26,717	123	14,901	176	25,558	176	10,909	149	
Barisal	9,884	82	9,884	82	10,781	107	10,781	107	10,781	107	10,781	107	
Barisal	44,567	483	63,058	640	70,625	783	76,052	861	55,406	580	40,948	556	
DACCA DIVISION	18,572	58	112,418	87	146,890	124	112,768	106	95,448	101	65,882	64	
Dacca	15,775	53	27,880	89	40,357	126	28,492	107	31,408	130	14,512	69	
Mymensingh	43,107	89	68,820	141	89,946	189	98,100	174	54,677	158	34,028	112	
Fardpur	9,628	46	10,760	46	11,018	46	11,185	47	8,184	36	5,677	22	
Bakarganj	3,842	20	6,462	21	5,593	23	5,068	22	4,869	23	4,465	18	
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	17,481	26	21,218	46	27,060	50	21,941	46	26,				
Chittagong	8,071	29	12,883	47	17,801	74	10,970	76					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Number and ratio per 10,000 of the population of selected towns, 1931, whose birthplace was returned as being some other part of India than Bengal.

CITY or town and district with total population.		All other parts of India	Locality of birth.														
			*Bihar and Orissa	*Assam	*Burmah	*Madras	*United Provinces	*Central Provinces	*Bombay	*Punjab	Dalhi	North-West Frontier Province.	Central India Agency.	Hyderabad	Coastal Agency.	Rajputana Agency.	Kachhar.	Blowny.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
INDUSTRIAL TOWNS.																	
CALCUTTA	1,196,734	Number per 10,000	389,428	224,751	4,819	1,461	5,304	103,276	3,026	4,553	13,703	1,558	611	186	380	608	11,421
			4,179	1,378	41	12	44	863	23	23	106	13	5				124
HOWRAH—Howrah ..	224,873	Number per 10,000	78,584	33,363	102	47	2,681	38,944	794	226	797	53	20	5	22	145	1,385
			8,974	1,483	5	3	118	1,732	33	10	36	3				7	39
DACCA—Dacca	136,518	Number per 10,000	8,974	6,008	1,376	53	28	2,037	168	78	125	13	13		41	21	4
			720	424	99	4	2	739	12	6	9					3	2
Asansol—Burdwan	28,838	Number per 10,000	7,185	5,753	3		1	851	15	62	186	5		2		152	
			2,491	1,991	1			330	3	21	69					32	
Kharagpur—Midnapore	34,284	Number per 10,000	35,498	6,745	11	18	11,752	5,512	8,602	325	1,758	6		117	134	12	244
			6,539	1,243	2	3	2,163	1,015	1,584	97	323	1		22	23	2	45
Scrumpore—Hooghly	38,799	Number per 10,000	13,148	9,300	16	12	600	2,532	318	26	21	21	21	2	13	126	
			3,308	2,413	4	3	170	857	83	6	3						
Rishra-Konnagar—Hooghly	28,799	Number per 10,000	14,710	9,257	4	4	607	4,827	50	4	14	3					
			5,480	3,454	1	2	226	1,737	22	3	3	1				118	
Champdani—Hooghly	25,312	Number per 10,000	17,844	13,175	2			399	3,050	1,192	5	7	4			91	1
			7,050	4,810	1		138	1,560	472	2	3	2				37	
Bhadreswar—Hooghly	22,918	Number per 10,000	16,112	8,744				1,908	4,081	1,223	2	13	1	31	2		57
			7,040	3,817				1,463	1,740	534	1	6		14	1		32
Bally—Howrah ..	28,807	Number per 10,000	14,532	6,471	17	15	385	6,655	293	131	177	10	10	5	3	109	29
			4,378	2,171	6	5	129	2,243	89	14	39	3	3	2		77	4
Garden Reach	55,300	Number per 10,000	13,908	6,321	19	1	170	6,656	383	10	61	29	90			2	00
			2,835	1,179	3		31	1,504	60	2	11	5	18				11
Tollygunge	23,668	Number per 10,000	4,780	3,276	8	7		1,591	134		27		7				40
			2,013	1,283	3	3		511	37		11						17
South Suburban	38,483	Number per 10,000	4,005	3,882	5	4	2	70	39	1							12
			1,041	1,009	1	1	1	18	3								3
Budge-Budge—24-Parganas.	23,569	Number per 10,000	8,556	4,681	212	37		2,908	319	3	110					73	23
			3,502	1,935	90	16		1,533	145	1	50					32	20
Baranagar—24-Parganas	36,834	Number per 10,000	14,405	8,923	5			514	334	239	255						
			4,843	3,253	1			1,040	209	71	71						
Kamarkhat—24-Parganas.	30,017	Number per 10,000	6,700	3,430			283	1,928	38				12				
			1,899	1,146			94	642	13				4				
Tittagah—24-Parganas	48,284	Number per 10,000	42,407	20,215			5,934	9,865	893								
			9,056	5,319			1,604	9,009	90								
Baranagar—24-Parganas.	38,692	Number per 10,000	25,468	18,827			1,008	5,551	836								
			6,876	4,743	15	9	354	1,431	85	23	364						
Nahhat—24-Parganas	30,698	Number per 10,000	17,517	9,090	39	2	682	6,758	353	49	55	7	49		1	21	75
			6,708	3,129	13	1	183	2,201	118	18	18	2	16			8	19
Bhatpara—24-Parganas	53,924	Number per 10,000	65,838	40,787	6	4	1,199	22,409	777	2	80						328
			7,821	4,821	1		243	2,670	93		11						39
Straiganj—Pabna ..	32,233	Number per 10,000	928	430	17	4		415		5	10						9
			188	133	6	1		129		2	3						9
Naryanganj—Dacca	34,189	Number per 10,000	517	257	42	6	3	144	58	1	2						
			151	75	12	2		42	17		1						
Jamalpur—Mymensingh	23,077	Number per 10,000	689	911	2			373		3							
			190	165	1			102		1							
Mymensingh—Mymensingh	36,480	Number per 10,000	1,004	281	96	2	2	628	12		37						
			366	92	33	1	1	206	4		12						
Madanpur—Faridpur	26,884	Number per 10,000	686	332	13	3	4	296			2						
			244	124	6	1	1	110			1						
Barisal—Barisal ..	34,180	Number per 10,000	1,467	1,079	54	18	2	275	1	3	14	6	11				
			459	346	16	5		80		3	3						
Chittagong—Chittagong	51,873	Number per 10,000	2,616	582	225	16	30	1,965	90	67	183		7	28			
			504	108	43	3	8	263	10	11	30		1	8			
NON-INDUSTRIAL TOWNS.																	
Burdwan—Burdwan ..	36,433	Number per 10,000	7,039	5,188	19	1	4	1,545	14	16	112	8		5	3	5	111
			1,745	1,216	5			392		4	28				1	1	28
Bankura—Bankura	31,259	Number per 10,000	1,469	1,022	11		11	119	11	33	29						
			452	327	4			38		4	10						
Midnapore—Midnapore	31,508	Number per 10,000	1,233	841	29			21	54	11	37	9					
			388	267	9			7	17		4	12					
Hooghly-Chhura—Hooghly	32,512	Number per 10,000	4,988	2,491	32	33	30	1,961	644	9	89	46	9	3	18	3	56
			1,855	766	16	10	10	430	267	3	18	14	3	1	4	1	17
Krishnagar—Nadua	22,997	Number per 10,000	664	493	12	5		17									
			340	302	8			9									
Santipur—Nadua ..	24,990	Number per 10,000	697	329	18	3	12	333									
			279	132	7	1	5	133									
Borthanpore—Murshidabad	27,237	Number per 10,000	2,108	1,650	29	1		208	16	3	48						
			774	609	11			113	8	1	18						
Rajshahi—Rajshahi ..	20,838	Number per 10,000	1,846	1,132	44	2		606	4	2	26	1	2				
			633	440	19	1		189	1	1	10						
Darjeeling—Darjeeling	14,512	Number per 10,000	1,332	882	29	4		342			186	200					
			1,125	594	20	3		239			123	138					
Brahmanbaria—Tippura	26,580	Number per 10,000	1,284	142	990	5		173									
			479	85	359	2		65									
Oomilla—Tippura ..	31,320	Number per 10,000	875	360	281			126	9								
			218	83	84			49	3		4						

*Including states as well as British districts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Detailed birthplace of persons born in British possessions in Europe.

Locality of enumeration	England and Wales			Scotland			Ireland			United Kingdom unspecified			Gibraltar			Malta		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Bengal, British Districts and States	2,946	5,910	3,038	2,556	1,997	659	663	412	251	36	8	30	3	3		17	9	8
Burhwan	322	150	102	168	69	99	31	21	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Burhwan	24	13	11	4	4	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baiku	18	14	15	2	2	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapore	125	57	38	29	17	3	7	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	62	34	14	208	153	55	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	372	175	97	253	192	61	22	14	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah City	162	203	67	116	109	37	10	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	629	404	253	713	658	155	40	21	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nidder in 24-Parganas	87	44	23	27	15	12	40	24	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calcutta	6,588	4,406	2,182	886	663	223	469	287	182	5	4	1	1	1	..	18	9	7
Nadia	27	15	12	6	3	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	16	10	6	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jessore	5	4	1	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khulna	27	17	10	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi	17	9	8	5	3	2	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Dinajpur	12	5	7	2	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jaipalpur	188	138	50	130	105	25	16	28	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	330	208	122	107	54	53	36	18	14	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rangpur	47	29	18	5	3	2	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bogra	8	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fabna	16	8	8	5	4	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malda	5	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca	69	41	28	15	10	5	5	5	17	17	2	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca City	69	35	23	6	5	1	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mymensingh	24	14	10	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fardpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bakerni	22	13	9	4	4	9	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tippera	15	9	6	3	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Noakhali	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	96	54	42	31	24	7	*11	*8	*8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Hill Tracts	4	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goosh Bahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tripara State	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sikkim	2	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Returned "Northern Ireland".

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Emigration of Indians between Calcutta and countries overseas
(emigrants from and returned emigrants to Calcutta), 1921-1930.**

(NOTE.—Figures for skilled emigrants are shown in italics under those in which they are included.)

Part I.—Number of emigrants who returned to Calcutta from countries overseas.

Country from which returning.	Year.										
	Total 1921-30	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALL COUNTRIES	35,302	10,450	2,534	4,258	1,880	3,032	3,428	3,530	2,544	1,805	1,722
Egypt	102	35	44	16	21	..	..	..	..	..	..
Natal	12,214	4,839	964	1,969	1,021	1,185	978	974	650	611	..
Mauritius	3,735	811	468	441	265	862	388	468	652	381	150
Trinidad	844	229	..	..	..	288	50	..	210	60	..
Trinidad	8,847	2,418	1,059	961	870	885	959	879	..	214	..
Jamaica	2,768	569	..	671	459	..	..	668	..	..	418
Surinam	1,101	877	..	..	38	..	..	..	..	..	39
British Guiana	4,475	1,046	..	192	368	470	748	552	620	..	484
Siam (Bangkok)	192	33	48	15	31	..	..	..	..	..	..
Siam (Bangkok)	*102	*33	*48	*15	*31	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Ports	..	14	..	..	15	1	..	..	..	..	..

*Skilled labourers (tailors).

Part II.—Number of emigrants who embarked from Calcutta for countries overseas.

Country to which emigrating.	Year.										
	Total 1921-30	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALL COUNTRIES	1,595	33	25	104	537	..	..	..	..	4	..
Siam (Bangkok)	130	39	25	29	38	..	..	..	..	4	..
Siam (Bangkok)	79	39	25	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Siam (Bangkok)	*79	*39	*25	..	*15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mauritius	1,426	..	..	904	522	..	..	..	..	2	..
Mauritius	49	..	..	*29	178	..	..	..	..	8	..
Slovak	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Slovak	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Tailors.

**Theatrical Artists.

†Brick-layers.

††Welders.

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Emigration of Indians between Calcutta and countries overseas
(emigrants from and returned emigrants to Calcutta), 1921-1930—concl'd.**

(NOTE.—Figures for killed emigrants are shown in italics under those in which they are included.)

Part III.—Localities in which persons were collected for emigration from Calcutta to countries overseas.

(NOTE.—The difference between the totals in this part and in part II is the number of emigrants collected who were not embarked owing to death, illness or other causes.)

Locality of recruitment.	Year											
	Total, 1921-30.	1921	1922	1923	1924.	1925	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
ALL PLACES	1,676	41	29	928	822	..	..	..	..	4	..
	138	41	29	30	55	..	..	..	..	4	..
BENGAL	1,183	41	29	711	378	..	..	..	..	4	..
	93	41	29	2	17	..	..	..	..	4	..
Calcutta	775	5	..	711	58	..	..	..	..	2	..
	14	3	7	3	2	..	..	..	..	2	..
Howrah	8	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	378	39	22	..	316	..	..	..	..	2	..
	79	39	22	..	16	..	..	..	..	2	..
BIHAR AND ORISSA	27	..	..	2	25	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darbhanga	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gaya	24	..	..	1	23	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Patna	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CENTRAL PROVINCES	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jubbulpore	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
DELHI	230	..	..	147	83	..	..	..	..	..	..
	5	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BOMBAY AND MADRAS	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
UNITED PROVINCES	204	..	..	105	115	..	..	..	..	..	..
	6	..	..	5	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Azamgarh	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Balla	4	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bithur	19	..	..	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kanpur	41	..	..	37	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Benares	44	..	..	37	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ghazipur	10	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gonda	32	..	..	..	32	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gorakhpur	16	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jampur	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muzaffarpur	14	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Patna	10	..	..	1	19	..	..	..	..	..	..
Almabad	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CENTRAL INDIA	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
OTHER PLACES	38	..	..	4	19	..	..	..	..	..	..
	22	..	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..

CHAPTER IV

Age

131. The statistics presented.—The statistics for age dealt with in this chapter are taken from imperial table VII showing the distribution of the population by age, sex and civil-condition. Age also enters as a factor of differentiation in the figures for marital condition for selected castes shown in imperial table VIII and for the statistics of literacy. The following subsidiary tables are compiled from the census returns or from the vital statistics recorded in the province and show—

- I—the age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in Bengal and in natural divisions of Bengal, 1911, 1921 and 1931 ;
- II—the age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each of the main religions, Bengal with states ;
- III—the age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes and other groups ;
- IV—the proportion of children under 14 and of persons over 43 to those aged 14-43 in certain castes ; also of married females aged 14-43 per 100 females ;
- V—the proportion of children under 10 and of persons over 60 to those aged 15-40 ; also of married females aged 15-40 per 100 females ; 1911, 1921 and 1931 ;
- VI—the variation in population at certain age-periods, by natural divisions for each decade from 1881-1931 ;
- VII—the estimated population in thousands, Bengal, and administrative divisions, on the 1st January in each year 1921 to 1930 by sexes ;
- VIII—the annual reported births and birth rates by sexes in each administrative division, 1921-1930 ;
- IX—the annual reported deaths and death rates by sexes in each administrative division, 1921-1930 ;
- X—the annual reported death rate by sex and age-groups, 1921-1930 ;
- XI—the annual reported deaths and death rates from selected causes by sex, 1921-1930 ; and
- XII—the annual number of deaths reported from certain causes per 1,000 deaths from all causes by sexes, 1921-1930.

132. The source of the figures and the accuracy of the age returns.—The information as to age was collected in column 7 of the census schedule. Instructions to enumerators for filling up this column were as follows :—

“Column 7 (Age).—Enter the age as it was or will be on the birthday nearest to the date of final enumeration, i.e., to the nearest approximate number of years. For infants less than six months old enter the word ‘infant’.”

It is a matter of particular difficulty in Bengal to obtain accurate figures of ages. The vaguest ideas are often entertained as regards age and the replies received to questions are often such as to bear no reference whatever to the facts. There are in all countries a certain number of cases in which wilful mis-statements of age are made, but unless such wilful mis-statements are confined to age groups of a comparatively narrow extent, it is entirely impossible to make any allowance for them in dealing with the returns. Bachelors and spinsters, for instance, of advancing years will be tempted to understate their age. Some of the errors will be hardly so deliberate. A girl in Bengal aged 12-13 will probably have her age exaggerated if she is married especially if she has a child and understated if she is still unmarried : on the other hand boys at the pubertal age will in any case probably be returned as older than

they are. The very old of both sexes will probably exaggerate their ages. In all countries also there is a tendency in returning ages which are known with tolerable accuracy to choose certain digits in preference for others and examination of the census returns at single year age groups showed in 1921 in Bengal that the population has a distinct preference for giving an age which is a multiple of ten and that thereafter 5, 2, 8, 4, 6, 3, 7, 1 and 9 follow as digits in the ages returned in the above order of popularity. The range within which an error may be made either from ignorance or involuntarily is, however, very much greater in Bengal and in India generally than in European countries and it is clearly impossible to make corrections in the ages returned with such confidence as in other countries. The Government of India Actuary after the census of 1921, upon an examination of the results obtained in the Punjab in 1891 (when age was recorded as at the next birthday) and 1901 (when it was recorded as at the last birthday) came to the conclusion that the actual returns given in India were virtually not affected by differences in the instructions and that "the ages which the enumerators either guess or accept as correct are recorded without any consideration as to whether they are ages next birthday or last birthday and they may therefore be assumed to be the ages at the nearest birthday". The prescription that the age on the present occasion should be recorded to the nearest birthday instead of as previously to the last birthday was an innovation intended to recognise and make use of the actual practice which would be followed despite instructions to the contrary. The additional instructions issued during the enumeration emphasised the departure from previous practice and were as follows :—

"Age is to be entered at the preliminary enumeration as it will be on the 26th February. It is the age in years at the birthday nearest to 26th February. Thus the age in years at the next birthday will be entered for those born before the 26th August and the age at the last birthday for those born on or after the 26th August. In the case of a child less than six months old the word 'infant' is to be entered to avoid mistakes which might be made in abstraction if the age were entered in months. A mistake to be avoided in the use of the word 'infant' to indicate a child still at the breast without enquiry as to the month in which it was born. Where the age given is evidently absurd the enumerator should endeavour to ascertain and should enter what appears to him to be the real age."

133. Aids to obtaining accurate estimates of age.—In spite of the vagueness in the average cultivator's idea of his age, however, there are considerations from which it can be hoped that in many cases, at least if the age was not accurately remembered, the enumerator has a means of forming a more or less reasonably accurate estimate of it. In many parts of the country recurrent natural calamities, the date of which is accurately known, can be used to determine the age of persons enumerated. A certain small proportion of the population have horoscopes cast in which the accuracy of the date of birth is naturally of importance. Amongst the educated the age can sometimes be estimated from such documents as the matriculation certificate. This is dated and states that the person to whom it was given was of such or such an age at that date, but the age accepted by the University authorities is apt within limits to be determined not by the facts but by conditions as to the age of eligibility for a particular course of study. In many rural parts the enumerator was well acquainted with all persons in his block and it is not impossible by discussion with the villagers to obtain a roughly consistent series of ages for most of the inhabitants of the village. It is not contended that these considerations result in age figures of such accuracy as is obtained in western countries. But they are put forward as lessening to some extent the inaccuracy which it is reasonable to expect in age returns in Bengal.

134. Explanation of age-groups shown.—The figures presented in the tables and generally used throughout the report are shown in quinquennial groups. These groups were reached after a process of adjustment adopted on the recommendation of the Government of India Actuary. The ages returned were sorted in single years at 0, 1, 2 and 3 and thereafter in alternate ternary and septenary groups, 4-6, 7-13, etc. The central digit was thus the second most popular figure, 5, in the ternary groups and the most popular figure, 0, in the septenary groups. On a consideration of the

relative popularity of all ten digits the Actuary was of the opinion that these groups might be accepted in themselves as representing with tolerable accuracy what they profess to represent, and that for his purposes a sort by single-year age groups in a large sample of the population was not necessary. No table showing single-year age groups has accordingly been prepared. For the conversion of the ternary and septenary into quinary age groups representing the population at the last birthday instead of at the nearest birthday the adjustment adopted was to combine one half of each ternary with one half of each septenary group. The result of this is that the figures actually presented have already received a general correction first for the actual return of ages to nearest birthday which is taken to have occurred in 1921 but was not then allowed for, and secondly for such mis-statements of age as are due to the preference for particular digits. The method adopted secures automatically the approximate distribution within the correct quinary groups of those persons returning, for instance, their age as 10 owing to a preference for a multiple of 10, though they were in a number of cases younger and in a number of cases older than 10 years. Under the method previously adopted all these persons would have been allocated to the group 10 to 15. On the present occasion only a proportion of them are so allocated and the remainder are grouped amongst those aged 5 to 10. A similar result is obtained in the case of those returning their ages as 15. On previous occasions these would have all been returned in the age group 15 to 20. On the present occasion a proportion has been taken to the group 10 to 15. The present group 10 to 15 consequently excludes a number now shown in the next lower group who would have been included under the method adopted in previous years and includes a number who on previous occasions would have been shown in the next higher group 15 to 20. The net result to be expected is that each quinary group up to but excluding the final residuary group contains a rather larger proportion of the population than would have been included in it in 1921. A similar adjustment was made in the case of the single-year age groups 0 to 1, 1 to 2, 2 to 3, 3 to 4 and 4 to 5. The age returns of 0 found in the schedules include all persons who are less than six months, those of 1 all persons over aged six months but less than eighteen months, etc., and the groups shown in the table have been reached by allocating to the group 0 to 1 all these returned as 0 and one half of those returned as 1, to the groups 1 to 2 and 2 to 3, half of those returned under the lower and half of those returned under the higher of the ages limiting the group, to the group 4 to 5, one third of the numbers originally sorted into group 4 to 6 were allotted and the group, 3 to 4 combines one sixth of group 4 to 6 and one half of group 3.

135. Justification of the method of conversion and statement of original groups.—The justification of the adjustment of age figures and the assumptions underlying the method used are implicit in the last paragraph but are briefly summarised. In 1921 and previous years it is held that, except for a minority of educated persons, the ages were actually given to the nearest birthday but treated as if they were given to the last birthday. The average age of all persons aged for instance 10 is about $10\frac{1}{2}$ years if the age is at last birthday and about 10 if it is at the nearest birthday. Assuming the returns of 1921 and previous years to be accurate and to have no error due to preference for certain digits, their treatment as ages at last birthday resulted in over-estimating by about half a year the age of every person. The group 10-15 for instance included persons actually aged $9\frac{1}{2}$ - $14\frac{1}{2}$, and the average age of the group was actually 12 instead of $12\frac{1}{2}$ as it should have been. In addition to this the preference for certain digits leads to the inclusion of still more persons in a higher group. For example those giving their age as 10 will all fall into the group 10-15. A number, however, will be less than 10 years old. Those aged $9\frac{1}{2}$ years are already accounted for but there will be also some aged perhaps $8\frac{1}{2}$ or 9 years who will also get into group 10-15 and further reduce the actual average age of those included in it. In 1921 therefore this preference for certain digits contributed an additional inflation of each group in which the popular digits 0 and 5 occur at one end of the group by including in it a number of persons returning ages with those digits who should

really be in the next lower group. The alternate ternary and septenary groups are considered to result in figures actually including all or all but a negligible proportion of those whose real age falls within them: in other words although the group is constructed of persons whose ages in some cases were given out of preference for certain digits the range of real ages within which those digits are likely to be preferred also falls within the group. It is then assumed that within each group those less than an age with the digit 5 or 0 as the case may be are equal to those of or over an age with that digit. The assumption clearly does not accurately represent the facts since in group 7-13 for instance there will be more aged less than 10 than there are aged 10 and over. It is justified, however, by the fact that it results in a demonstrably more accurate approximation to the actual figures. A first approximation to a more accurate graduation is made on a later paragraph. The unconverted groups are used in subsidiary table VII to chapter IX. The full range of sorters' groups is not given in this table however and they have been reconstructed and are shown for each of the main religions in statement No. IV-1 shown in the

STATEMENT No. IV-1.

Numbers of each sex in the principal religions at age groups to nearest birthday, 1931.

Age groups (nearest birthday)	All religions		Muslim.		Hindu		Tribal religions		Buddhist		Christian	
	Male	Female.	Male	Female.	Male	Female.	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	26,587,960	24,529,478	14,366,757	13,443,343	11,639,285	10,572,784	269,510	259,959	169,402	161,161	97,333	85,815
0	582,166	574,437	326,414	321,221	244,102	241,510	5,911	6,192	3,301	3,325	2,175	1,976
1	529,653	552,464	313,223	326,634	204,097	212,870	5,797	6,217	4,300	1,307	1,915	2,224
2	709,467	820,174	482,883	487,658	298,763	315,410	8,467	9,141	5,110	5,409	2,729	2,384
3	828,365	892,108	490,973	526,296	318,650	345,201	9,708	11,340	6,000	6,167	2,610	2,850
4-6	2,431,305	2,358,144	1,423,425	1,397,316	954,717	908,004	28,110	28,560	16,707	16,084	7,669	7,410
7-13	4,835,299	4,096,192	2,902,647	2,871,300	1,985,925	1,637,006	48,531	44,021	31,111	27,553	15,753	13,844
14-16	1,519,779	1,584,160	840,561	914,260	657,071	636,194	14,599	15,807	10,447	10,773	6,067	6,504
17-21	3,130,983	3,600,634	1,938,129	2,906,748	1,441,721	1,625,004	20,775	34,625	19,721	21,817	11,779	12,086
22-24	1,801,277	1,769,580	957,721	901,028	808,868	770,514	10,649	17,291	9,853	10,707	6,523	6,812
25-26	2,893,749	2,549,698	1,537,201	1,419,706	1,392,879	1,175,084	30,391	27,943	18,431	16,951	12,515	9,300
27-30	1,431,279	1,088,234	756,059	573,010	647,193	496,282	14,081	10,955	7,555	6,437	5,005	4,168
31-34	2,014,157	1,561,984	992,401	779,692	978,221	740,081	22,209	16,053	11,013	9,911	8,309	5,820
35-40	879,457	642,852	447,155	317,408	414,709	312,450	8,607	6,100	4,730	3,107	3,453	2,160
41-43	1,199,387	1,005,498	592,109	488,870	580,517	496,158	13,045	10,000	8,070	7,045	1,915	3,282
44-50	1,199,876	338,490	290,535	160,702	205,715	177,473	4,067	3,157	2,705	2,539	1,607	1,416
51-53	814,451	582,840	309,401	274,404	290,009	296,903	9,725	5,568	4,875	4,301	2,261	1,588
54-56	171,291	148,198	82,893	61,912	84,889	82,830	1,551	1,435	1,197	1,005	6-1	812
57-73	215,877	201,530	109,100	89,468	102,063	107,770	2,153	2,150	1,755	1,625	717	456
74 and over	190,843	165,265	95,688	72,400	88,272	88,486	2,018	2,044	1,243	1,320	671	887

text. The calculation of this table was rendered possible by the fact that the age group 4 to 5 represents one-third of the original group 4 to 6 which can consequently be accurately computed from it, whilst each of the remaining groups can similarly be calculated in succession starting with this group as an origin. It is possible that unit differences may occur in the groups shown in statement No. IV-1 compared with what they would have been had they been directly compiled from the returns. This is owing to the fact that, in forming the quinary groups odd numbers left over on dividing the original groups were allotted to the younger quinary group. Such differences may become cumulative at higher ages but are of no importance in dealing with groups as large as those shown in the statement.

136. **Accuracy of the figures in the tables.**—As a result it may be claimed that the age groups given in the tables of the present census represent what is probably a more accurate distribution of the population than those in previous reports. Intentional or involuntary inaccuracies such as the exaggeration of the ages of newly married girls and young men, an understatement of the ages of elderly spinsters or bachelors and, perhaps, in Hindu families an understatement of the age of unmarried girls cannot be corrected with confidence but are likely to remain constant from one census to another. It is, of course, possible that in some cases parents who had married their children either in contravention of the provisions of the Child Marriage Restraint Act or before that Act came into force may have.

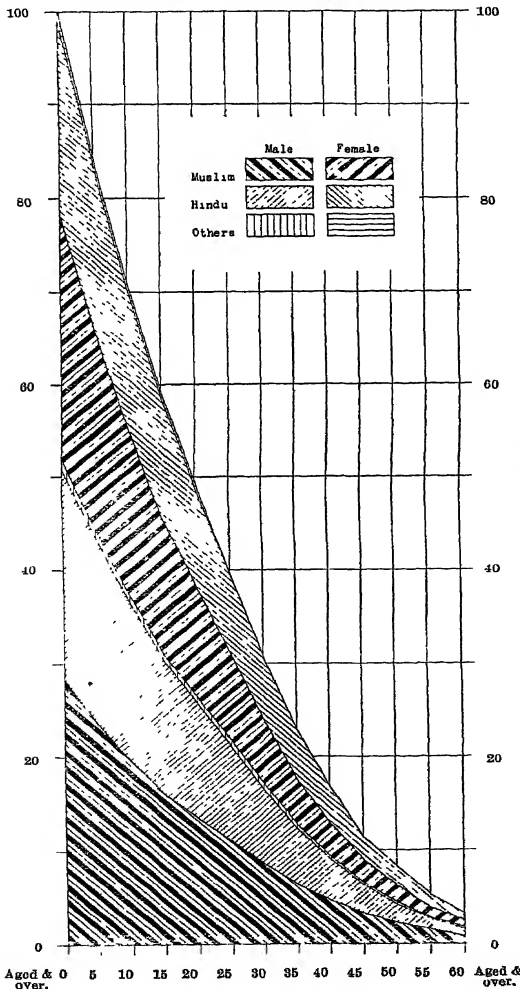
STATEMENT No. IV-2.

Numbers in 10,000 of the total population who are of and over the age shown by sex and principal religions, 1931.

Aged and over.	All religions			Mus-lms.			Hindus.		
	Both sexes	Male	Female.	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
0	10,000	5,198	4,802	5,443	2,812	2,631	4,747	2,278	2,469
5	8,440	4,430	4,010	4,622	2,363	2,259	3,768	1,976	1,792
10	7,103	3,719	3,384	3,750	1,940	1,810	3,208	1,693	1,515
15	5,925	3,097	2,828	3,072	1,591	1,481	2,710	1,440	1,270
20	4,992	2,641	2,351	2,645	1,462	1,183	2,314	1,233	1,081
25	3,954	2,168	1,786	2,000	1,098	902	1,870	1,016	854
30	3,063	1,689	1,373	1,523	853	670	1,404	800	604
35	2,273	1,256	1,017	1,122	628	494	1,101	600	501
40	1,676	919	757	819	457	362	820	441	379
45	1,177	686	491	571	316	255	580	305	275
50	812	482	330	391	215	176	404	208	196
55	522	274	248	250	137	113	261	137	120
60	331	173	158	158	87	71	168	82	84

DIAGRAM No. IV-1.

Numbers in 100 of the total population who are of and over the age shown by sex and principal religions, 1931.



exaggerated their ages ; but it is unlikely that this factor has operated to render the returns, as originally made on the present occasion, markedly less accurate than previously. In dealing with the figures elicited at the census of 1921 the Actuary found it necessary to transfer to the next younger group a percentage which in many cases was considerable. In other words, the figures given in each group in 1921 included what was often a considerable proportion of persons whose age was really less than the lowest age of the group. On the present occasion the figures in each age group contain a very much smaller proportion of persons who should be in the next lower group. The results of the change are naturally shown most noticeably in the increased proportions at all ages up to 5 and the decreased proportions at ages 60 and over.

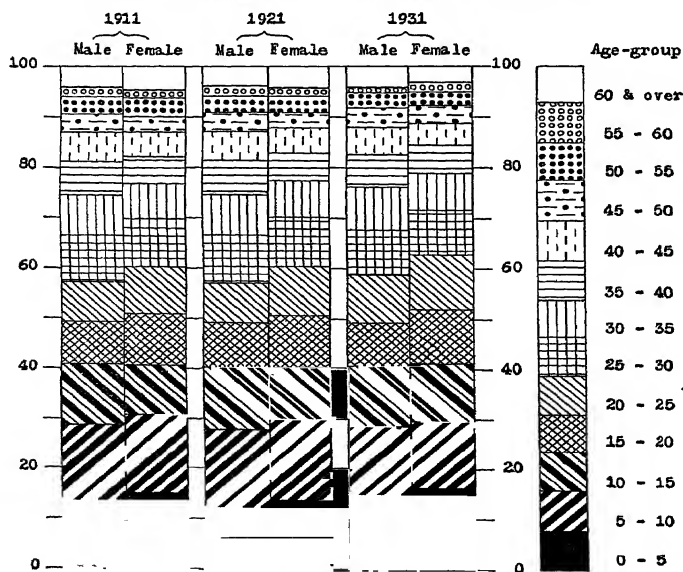
137. Proportions of and over successive ages.—

Diagram No. IV-1 represents the numbers in each 100 of the population of and over the age shown at quinquennial groups up to 60 and illustrates statement No. IV-2 in which the distribution is given in detail. Amongst the total population females are distinguished from males and within each sex a separate indication is given of Muslims and Hindus. The diagram consequently gives a graphic indication of the percentage

of the population at or and over any given age and of the relative composition by sex and main religion of the percentage thus indicated. The comparative smoothness of the curve conceals certain anomalies to which a reference will be made later in discussing the distribution in individual age groups. Fifty per cent. of the total population are less than 20 years old and by the time the age 35 is reached those above this age form less than one quarter of the total population. In England and Wales at the census of 1921 more than half the population was over 25 years of age and it was not until the age of 50 was reached that the percentage in higher age-groups (19 per cent.) fell as low as in Bengal is reached before the age of 40. In England and Wales in spite of an initial preponderance of males at birth the higher incidence of male mortality reduces their numbers so far that there is an excess of females by the time the age-group 15-20 is reached by the population born in any given year, with the result that there is at all stages amongst the population of and over any given age a preponderance of women over men. In Bengal there is an excess of males over females at all ages, and the excess continues amongst those left if the population below any age whatever is omitted from consideration. Muslims at all ages form the majority of the population, but as attention is successively restricted to that portion only of the population which is above any given age their preponderance over Hindus is reduced. Amongst those of and over middle age, *i.e.*, aged 40 and over, there is always, as successive quinquennial groups are excluded, an actual preponderance in numbers of Hindus. This change in the proportions, however, is entirely due to the female portion of the population. At every stage amongst males of and over any given age there are more Muslims than Hindus : but at and over any age above 35 Hindu females are more numerous than Muslims of the same sex.

DIAGRAM No. IV-2.

Distribution by age-groups of 100 of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

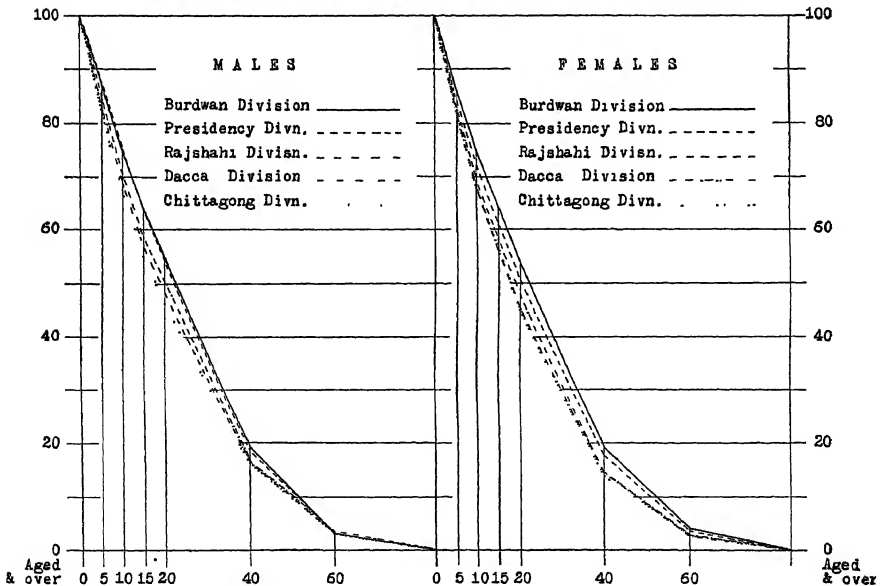


138. **Age distribution by sexes, 1911, 1921 and 1931.**—The distribution of the population in age-groups by sexes at the last three census enumerations is shown in subsidiary table I and illustrated for the whole of Bengal in diagram No. IV-2. Below the age of 45 females under any age chosen except 15 form a larger proportion of the total females than males of the same age

amongst the total males. At each census and particularly in 1921 and 1911 the age-group 10-15 contains an unusually small proportion of the female population : this is the group in which mis-statements of age are in this sex most prevalent, and the discrepancy is less marked in the present year's figures. Compared with previous years the age distribution of males shows a larger proportion between the ages of 0 and 5, 20 and 25, 30 and 35, 45 and 50 and 55 and 60, but in other age-groups the proportion is smaller except between 10 to 15 and 15 to 20 where it is smaller than in 1921 but larger than in 1911. Amongst females also there are proportionately more aged 0 to 5. The variations after the age 45 are concurrent with those for males and show a larger proportion at the age-groups 45 to 50 and 55 to 60. In the other age-groups also as with males a decrease in the proportions is shown in the age-group 5 to 10, 25 to 30 and 40 to 45 but there are increases in the proportions aged 10 to 15, 15 to 20, 20 to 25 and again in the age-group 35 to 40. The effect of the modified method of extracting quinquennial age-groups is obscured to some extent by the irregular distribution in 1921 owing to the selective action of the influenza epidemic against those of middle age. The diagram clearly shows the increase in the first and the decrease in the last age-group resulting from the conversion of age-groups.

DIAGRAM No. IV-3.

Numbers of and over the age shown in each 100 of each sex in administrative divisions, 1931.



STATEMENT No. IV-3.

Numbers of and over the age shown in each 10,000 of the same sex in administrative divisions, 1931.

Aged and over.	Burdwan		Presidency.		Rajshahi		Dacca.		Chittagong.	
	Male	Female.	Male	Female.	Male.	Female	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
0	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
5	8,715	8,606	8,724	8,485	8,489	8,302	8,398	8,245	8,280	8,225
10	7,480	7,460	7,500	7,238	7,068	6,911	6,954	6,856	6,768	6,828
15	6,875	6,434	6,382	6,114	5,862	5,770	5,683	5,627	5,481	5,626
20	5,476	5,817	5,482	5,087	5,028	4,704	4,822	4,545	4,620	4,545
40	1,922	1,610	1,805	1,765	1,697	1,454	1,713	1,438	1,660	1,375
60	326	407	336	378	310	282	258	315	329	270

139. **Proportions of and over successive ages by divisions.**—Statement No. IV-3 illustrated by diagram No. IV-3 shows the proportionate distribution

at and over the age shown of the population in each division. Amongst both males and females between 45 and 55 per cent. of the population is less than 20. In the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions in both sexes there is a larger proportion of the population at and over any age taken than in the remaining three divisions. In general, the proportion at and over any stated age in either sex is greater in Rajshahi than in Dacca, and in Dacca than in the Chittagong Division, but amongst males at and over aged from 40 onwards and amongst females also at and over the age of 60, this order is modified. Amongst males in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions the larger proportions at adult ages are partly the effect of immigration, for immigrants are known to be most numerous in the ages between 20 and 40. The difference in the distribution of the male population in these two divisions is very slight. The increased proportions in the Presidency Division at adult ages amongst females are probably due partly to immigration, but also to the fact that the tendency is natural amongst those residing temporarily for purposes of occupation in industrial areas to leave their children at home in their native villages where this is possible.

140. Proportions of and over successive ages by religions.—A similar comparison is shown in statement No. IV-4 and illustrated in diagram No. IV-4 for each of the main religions. Between the sexes the same general distribution is found as in the total population and as is shown in each separate division. The numbers at and over any given age in an equal number of both sexes are fewer amongst the females than amongst the males, except amongst the Buddhists, with whom at the age of 15 and over there is a slightly larger proportion of females than males, amongst the

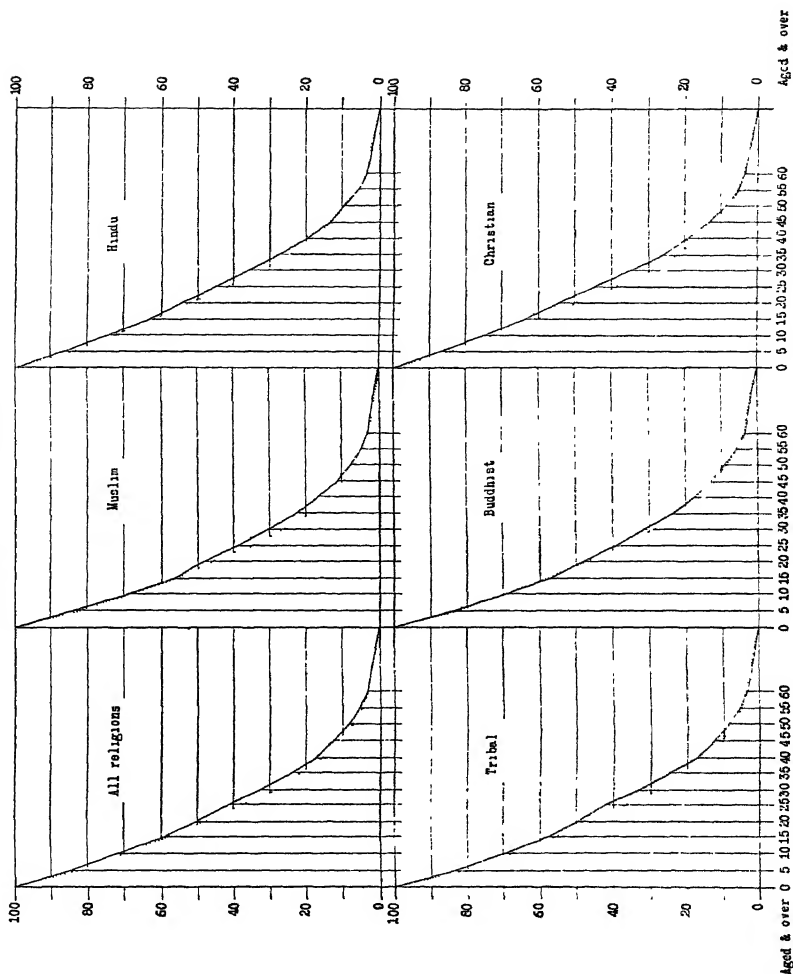
STATEMENT No. IV-4.

Numbers of and over the age shown in each 10,000 of the same sex in each main religion, 1931.

Aged and over.	All religions		Muslim		Hindu		Tribal		Buddhist.		Christian	
	Male	Female.	Male	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0	..	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
5	..	8,522	8,364	8,402	8,244	8,674	8,510	8,368	8,182	8,371	8,305	8,642
10	..	7,154	7,049	6,931	6,542	7,432	7,312	6,946	6,767	6,957	6,061	7,444
15	..	5,958	5,892	5,667	5,620	6,318	6,236	5,775	5,602	5,729	5,762	6,323
20	..	5,082	4,836	4,808	4,534	5,421	5,214	5,007	4,638	4,839	4,760	5,406
25	..	4,153	3,742	3,904	3,429	4,458	4,128	4,202	3,641	3,966	3,772	4,466
30	..	3,250	2,862	3,080	2,579	3,512	3,208	3,329	2,771	3,131	2,914	3,488
35	..	2,417	2,121	2,238	1,975	2,638	2,419	2,504	2,023	2,364	2,188	2,585
40	..	1,769	1,581	1,629	1,372	1,938	1,831	1,832	1,492	1,798	1,681	1,898
45	..	1,224	1,132	1,120	964	1,340	1,320	1,259	1,054	1,315	1,243	1,204
50	..	833	788	767	664	912	947	855	744	937	894	864
55	..	528	518	459	427	574	628	537	491	617	597	620
60	..	333	328	310	269	461	404	337	362	392	385	331

Hindus at and over any age after 50 and amongst the Christians at age 60 and over. Up to the age of 15 the proportions in each sex of and over any age chosen are most nearly equal amongst Buddhists and Muslims and most widely discrepant amongst the Christians. Amongst males more than half the population is less than 20 amongst the Muslims and Buddhists and the highest proportion at or over this age is found amongst the Hindus, Christians, and those of tribal religions, amongst all of whom well over one-half the male community is 20 years or over. A similar proportion holds for females in each religion, but in their case the population is divided into two equal halves at an earlier age. Only amongst the Hindus are there as many as half the female population aged 20 and over, though very nearly this proportion is reached amongst the Christians. The lowest proportion of adult females is found amongst the Muslims where scarcely more than 45 in every 100 are aged 20 and over.

DIAGRAM No. IV-4.
Proportional distribution at and over the age shown of the population of each sex in each main religion, 1931.
Note.—Males are shown by the continuous, females by the dotted line.



141. **Mean age.**—These figures can be conveniently studied in connection with the figures for mean age given in subsidiary table I. The figures for mean age must not be confused with the expectation of life which varies from age to age. They merely represent the average age of the population living at the date of the census. The method of calculating the mean age is the same as that adopted in previous reports, and is described as follows :—

“Determine the total number of persons living at the close of each quinquennial age period. The sum of these totals multiplied by 5 and raised by $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the number of persons dealt with, gives the number of years lived. The mean age is determined by dividing this last number by the number of persons living.”

The mean age answers no questions and has been said to be more interesting for the problems it suggests than for the explanations it offers. It is sensitive

to any change in the age distribution of the population. For instance a high mean age may be due to a low rate of fecundity or a high infantile mortality or a low mortality at advanced ages or to a combination of all three. On the other hand, a low mean age may be due to a high rate of fecundity or a low infantile mortality or a high mortality at advanced ages or a combination of all of them. If a population were imagined in which no children were born, each successive annual estimate of the mean age would be higher than the last. On the other hand, in a population in which the birth rate is increasing without a corresponding increase in the death rate, the mean age will tend to be reduced. It is of importance that the mean age should be calculated upon the same method if comparisons are to be made from one period to another. The same method has, in fact, been used on the present occasion as in arriving at the figures given for 1911 and 1921 but the different processes by which the age-groups have been constituted make it entirely impossible to make any comparison between the mean ages computed on the present occasion and those obtained previously. No comment, therefore, can be offered upon the apparent general decrease in the mean age in both sexes in every division. If the mean ages were strictly comparable we should expect to find the decrease due to either such concurrent variations in the birth and death rates as resulted in an increasing percentage of survivals at early ages or to such a variation in the death rates at ages as resulted in the decreased survival of persons at higher ages. Actually, however, it has already been noted that the age-groups compiled on the present occasion result in the inclusion in each age-group of a number of persons who would have been shown in the next higher age-group in 1921 and 1911. The discrepancy in the proportions is perhaps most marked at the highest age-groups 60 and over. Here, in every sex in every division there is on the present occasion a considerably smaller proportion of the total population than on previous occasions, whilst at the other end of the scale there has been also in every division and every sex an equally marked increase in the proportions aged 0 to 5. These two factors in themselves would probably be sufficient to account for the change recorded in the mean age. It is, however, possible to compare the mean age estimated for each division on the present occasion. As might be expected from the discussion of subsidiary table I it is in each sex highest in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and is successively lower for each sex in the Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. The discrepancies between the sexes in the same division are least marked in West Bengal and most pronounced in North Bengal (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar State) and East Bengal (Dacca Division). In West Bengal (Burdwan Division), the mean age of females in only one year is less than the mean age of males. In North Bengal (Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar State), the difference is 1·3 years, which is equalled in the Dacca Division but is ·2 years greater than in Central Bengal.

142. A further graduation of age-groups.—The method of obtaining the quinary groups shown in imperial table VII assumes that exactly the same number of persons in an original group is below as above the mean point. For instance, it assumes that in the age-group 7 to 13 there are as many persons aged $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 as there are aged 10 to 13, or more precisely that the number of those who have completed $6\frac{1}{2}$ but not yet 10 years is the same as those who have completed 10 years but not yet $13\frac{1}{2}$. Actually there are more persons aged $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 than aged 10 to 13 and in his report on the census figures of 1921 the Government Actuary suggested a method by which the figures may be corrected for what is called the continuous decrement for mortality at successive ages. Correction factors have been worked out on this method by Babu Nabagauranga Basak, B. C. S., who collaborated with the Census Superintendent of 1911 in writing the corresponding chapter in that report. They are based upon the Bengal mortality rates for 1921 in the Government Actuary's report. The correction factors have been worked out for four populations—Muslim males, Muslim females, Hindu males and Hindu females. The resulting formulæ are shown in the statement No. IV-5 where the adjustment for each age-group has been worked out and is

STATEMENT No. IV-5.

Distribution of each sex, Muslim and Hindu, in quinquennial age groups corrected for the error due to continuous decrement for mortality.

NOTE.—The figures published in imperial table VII have been already corrected for minor mis-statements of age. The corrections here applied are based on the mortality rates for 1921 in tables 20 and 21 of the Report of the Government of India's Actuary on the census figures of 1921.

Figures published in table VII				Correction formula.		Corrected figures.		
Serial.	Age-group.	Population.		Males	Females	Males.	Females.	Age-group.
		3	4						5	6	7	8
1	2							9
MUSLIM.								
A	All ages	14,366,757	13,443,343			14,366,757	13,443,343	All ages
a	0-5	2,295,205	2,360,467	a + 0.0088 b	a + 0.0114 b	2,318,799	2,311,940	0-5
b	5-10	2,112,981	1,854,408	0.9912 b + 0.0132 c	0.9886 b + 0.0201 c	2,118,547	1,859,948	5-10
c	10-15	1,816,549	1,642,880	0.9967 c	0.9799 c	1,792,359	1,609,558	10-15
d	15-20	1,234,448	1,400,504	d + 0.0183 e	d + 0.0224 e	1,258,190	1,496,153	15-20
e	20-25	1,298,025	1,485,888	0.9817 e	0.976 e	1,274,271	1,449,730	20-25
f	25-30	1,247,461	1,141,897	f + 0.0266 g	f + 0.0305 g	1,277,901	1,170,762	25-30
g	30-35	1,140,630	948,388	0.9734 g	0.9669 g	1,116,130	917,523	30-35
h	35-40	874,260	676,301	h + 0.0286 i	h + 0.0405 i	902,045	698,515	35-40
i	40-45	719,808	548,500	0.9814 i	0.9595 i	692,023	526,286	40-45
j	45-50	679,632	403,139	j + 0.0509 k	j + 0.0507 k	599,033	410,354	45-50
k	50-55	398,382	310,831	0.9491 k	0.9403 k	378,531	305,616	50-55
l	55-60	257,508	212,598	l + 0.066 m	l + 0.0648 m	270,496	223,493	55-60
m	60-65	196,177	168,158	0.934 m	0.9352 m	183,320	157,561	60-65
n	65-70	96,001	78,600	n + 0.071 o	n + 0.0698 o	106,881	88,570	65-70
o	70 and over	153,243	117,194	0.929 o	0.9302 e	142,363	109,014	70 and over
HINDU.								
A	All ages	11,639,285	10,572,784			11,639,285	10,572,784	All ages
a	0-5	1,642,979	1,569,041	a + 0.0067 b	a + 0.0094 b	1,552,603	1,551,006	0-5
b	5-10	1,445,291	1,272,868	0.9933 b + 0.0097 c	0.9906 b + 0.0154 c	1,448,217	1,273,850	5-10
c	10-15	1,296,498	1,137,020	0.9903 c	0.9842 c	1,283,022	1,119,055	10-15
d	15-20	1,044,398	1,080,719	d + 0.0161 e	d + 0.0181 e	1,062,443	1,102,067	15-20
e	20-25	1,150,292	1,147,709	0.9899 e	0.9814 e	1,102,556	1,120,411	20-25
f	25-30	1,100,871	972,799	f + 0.027 g	f + 0.0232 g	1,122,412	983,820	25-30
g	30-35	1,020,036	834,183	0.973 g	0.9748 g	992,497	823,162	30-35
h	35-40	812,707	621,483	h + 0.0414 i	h + 0.0458 i	841,541	640,495	35-40
i	40-45	696,465	531,007	0.936 i	0.9642 i	667,631	512,055	40-45
j	45-50	497,613	404,304	j + 0.0553 k	j + 0.0472 k	519,352	420,262	45-50
k	50-55	393,119	336,815	0.9447 k	0.9528 k	371,377	320,917	50-55
l	55-60	248,312	237,187	l + 0.0705 m	l + 0.0642 m	261,559	248,757	55-60
m	60-65	187,899	138,876	0.9303 m	0.9368 m	174,052	158,276	60-65
n	65-70	93,478	95,810	n + 0.0762 o	n + 0.0687 o	103,932	105,091	65-70
o	70 and over	139,304	142,371	0.9248 o	0.9313 o	128,828	132,590	70 and over

also shown. The method by which the formulæ were calculated is thus described by Babu Nabagauranga Basak :—

"Formulæ for Correction Factors to deduce more accurate population figures from the figures given in the imperial table VII after preliminary adjustment.

Let P_{10-15} denote the population of the age group—"10-15," i. e., the number of persons who have completed the age of 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 years as shown in imperial table VII after preliminary adjustments for minor mis-statements of age by the method prescribed ;

P'_{10-15} denote the population of the same age-group—"10-15" after further adjustments to correct the error due to continuous decrement for mortality ;

M_{10} denote the rate of mortality at the age 10, which may be taken from the tables on pages 20-21 of Mr. Meikle's "Report of 1926 on the age distribution, etc., deduced from the Indian Census of 1921, etc.," more recent mortality rates not being available now, and

M_{10-15} denote the mean of the rates of mortality at the ages 10 and 15 being equal to $\frac{1}{2}(M_{10} + M_{15})$.

Then P'_{0-5} , P'_{5-10} , etc., would be as follows :—

$$P'_{0-5} = P_{0-5} + \frac{1}{3} \times M_5 \times P_{5-10} \quad \dots \quad (1)$$

$$P'_{5-10} = P_{5-10} + M_{10-15} \times P_{10-15} - \frac{1}{3} \times M_5 \times P_{5-10} \quad \dots \quad (2)$$

$$P'_{10-15} = P_{10-15} - M_{10-15} \times P_{10-15} \quad \dots \quad (3)$$

$$P'_{15-20} = P_{15-20} + M_{20-25} \times P_{20-25} \quad \dots \quad (4)$$

$$P'_{20-25} = P_{20-25} - M_{20-25} \times P_{20-25} \quad \dots \quad (5)$$

$$P'_{55-60} = P_{55-60} + M_{60-65} \times P_{60-65} \quad \dots \quad (6)$$

$$P'_{60-65} = P_{60-65} - M_{60-65} \times P_{60-65} \quad \dots \quad (7)$$

$$P'_{65-70} = P_{65-70} + M_{65} \times P_{70} \text{ and over} \quad \dots \quad (8)$$

$$P'_{70} \text{ and over} = P_{70} \text{ and over} - M_{65} \times P_{70} \text{ and over} \quad \dots \quad (9)$$

NOTE 1.—If P (Population) be expressed in hundreds, M should be mortality rate per cent.

NOTE 2.—The Mortality Tables on pages 20-21 of Mr. Meikle's Report of 1926 on the Age Distribution do not give the rates of mortality at more than 65 years of age. Hence M_{65} has been used in formula (8) and (9) above.

NOTE 3.—The above formulæ may be applied to any population of which the rates of mortality at the ages 5, 10, 15, 60 and 65 are available.

143. **Proportionate distribution of graduated figures.**—In statement No. IV-6 the figures thus calculated have been reduced to a proportion of 100,000 of each sex and the numbers at and over ages 0 to 5, 10, etc., have been cumulated and reduced to a proportion of 100,000 of each sex. This table,

STATEMENT No. IV-6.

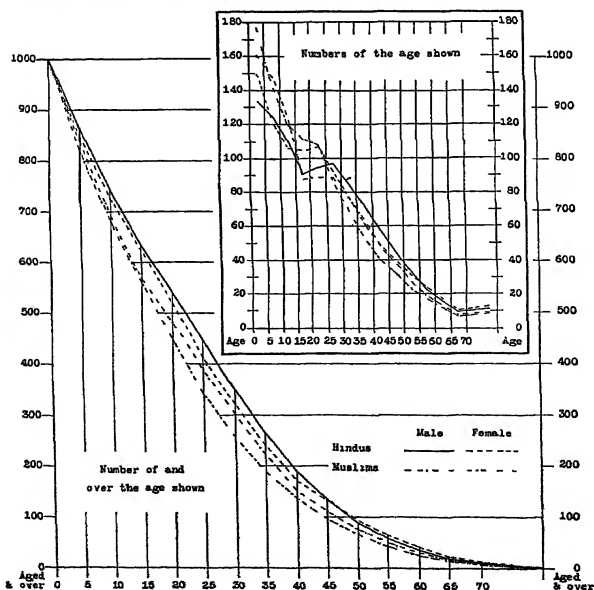
Distribution of 100,000 of each sex, Muslims and Hindus, in quinquennial age groups corrected for minor mis-statements of age and also for the error due to continuous decrement for mortality, with numbers of and over the age shown, 1931.

Age group	Number per 100,000 of each sex					Number of and over the age shown				
	Muslim		Hindu		Aged and over.	Muslim		Hindu		
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female	
(1—5	16,103	17,721	13,341	14,038	0	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	
5—10	14,744	14,103	12,448	12,097	5	85,256	82,273	86,559	85,042	
10—15	12,575	11,972	11,030	10,683	10	69,153	68,170	73,211	72,945	
15—20	8,766	11,127	9,128	10,423	15	50,675	56,204	69,181	62,362	
20—25	8,871	10,788	9,470	10,654	20	47,920	45,777	54,053	51,959	
25—30	8,283	8,709	8,665	9,307	25	39,040	34,820	41,583	41,285	
30—35	7,707	8,203	8,528	7,737	30	30,154	25,580	34,888	31,978	
35—40	6,279	6,196	7,230	6,038	35	22,387	18,755	26,362	24,101	
40—45	4,817	3,914	5,735	4,843	40	16,108	13,550	19,132	16,133	
45—50	3,709	3,119	4,465	3,974	45	11,291	9,645	13,897	13,290	
50—55	2,636	2,258	3,190	3,033	50	7,532	6,526	8,935	9,316	
55—60	1,884	1,663	2,246	2,362	55	4,896	4,298	6,283	6,746	
60—65	1,277	1,170	1,500	1,686	60	3,012	2,805	3,499	3,981	
65—70	744	624	863	992	65	1,735	1,435	1,990	2,245	
70 and over	991	811	1,106	1,263	70	991	811	1,106	1,253	

therefore, shows both the numbers in each sex, in each age-group in 100,000 and the numbers of and over the age shown in each 100,000. The figures thus extracted are illustrated by diagram No. IV-5. The adjustment results in comparatively little change in the proportions and the curves shown

DIAGRAM No. IV-5.

Distribution of 1,000 of the same sex and religion, Muslims and Hindus, by age-groups corrected for minor mis-statements of age and also for the error due to continuous decrement for mortality.



in diagram No. IV-5 do not vary in a notable degree from those given in the diagrams prepared from proportions calculated on the figures in table VII without graduation. They do not, for instance, smooth out the convexity in

the curve showing the numbers of and over the age shown at ages 20 to 30 in both religions but least markedly amongst Muslim females. Similarly the characteristic depression in the curve showing the numbers at age-groups and occurring at or about the age-group 15 to 20 is not eliminated. This characteristic of the returns is however probably in part genuine and due to immigration. The graduated figures have not been employed for any of the calculations shown in this chapter, but, unless figures more delicately graded are necessary, they are clearly preferable to the figures shown in or calculated from imperial table VII. They should be used for instance for comparisons with countries where the age returns do not have the characteristics of those in India. Figures for comparison are given in statement No. IV-7 for England and Wales in 1921, Japan in 1925 and the United States of America in 1930. The proportions at ages less than 40 are greater in Bengal but in each age-group thereafter there is an increasing preponderance particularly in England and Wales. Japan shows a nearer approximation to the Bengal figures but the Japanese population also contains a larger proportion of adults.

STATEMENT No. IV-7.

Distribution by age of 1,000 of each sex in England and Wales, Japan and the United States of America.

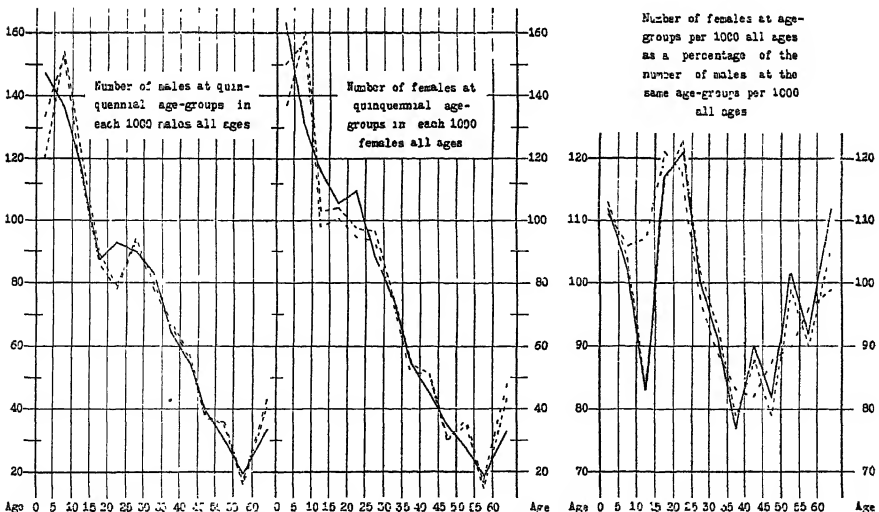
Age group	England and Wales, 1921		Japan, 1925		United States of America, 1930	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-5	92	84	139	138	93	93
5-10	98	88	116	115	101	102
10-15	102	92	114	112	98	98
15-20	96	90	100	97	92	90
20-25	90	80	84	84	87	82
25-30	74	62	71	72	76	72
30-35	141	131	123	117	74	75
35-40	132	132	105	105	142	118
40-45	97	95	75	73	109	102
45-50	87	87	69	59	124	121
50 & over						

DIAGRAM No. IV-6.

Distribution by quinquennial age-groups of 1,000 of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

NOTE.—In the graph on the right-hand side the lines showing 1921 and 1911 have been interchanged.

Reference 1931 ——— 1921 - - - - - 1911 - - - - -



144. **Proportionate distribution by ages 1911, 1921 and 1931.**—A comparison of the proportionate distribution of each sex by age-groups at the last three census enumerations is invalidated by the difference in the method of obtaining the quinquennial group shown. This is at once clear from diagram No. IV-6 drawn from figures given in subsidiary table I. The heaping up at ages which are multiples of 10 after the age-group 30-35, which is observable in the curves for both 1911 and 1921, is observed with the age-group 40 to 45 amongst males in the present census, but is

everywhere very considerably less marked in both sexes than previously. The difference is particularly marked amongst females in which the greatest heaping up occurred in the returns of 1911 and 1921. At ages younger than 15 the curve for 1931 is also more regular than on the previous occasions, and avoids the peak shown in both the previous years after the age-group 5 to 10. The fact that a larger number was recorded in each sex at ages 5 to 10 than ages 0 to 5 was an anomaly which the new grouping of age-returns has eliminated. On the other hand, the very marked peak occurring amongst

STATEMENT No. IV-8.

Number of females of age shown per 1,000 females all ages as a percentage of the number of males of same age per 1,000 males all ages.

Age period	1911	1921	1931
1	2	3	4
0-5	112	113	111
5-10	102	104	96
10-15	83	88	97
15-20	117	116	121
20-25	121	123	118
25-30	100	102	97
30-35	91	93	89
35-40	77	79	83
40-45	60	65	62
45-50	42	49	48
50-55	102	99	90
55-60	92	90	96
60 & over	112	107	99

males in the age-group 25 to 30 and amongst females in the age-group 15 to 20 and again at 25 to 30 in the returns for both in 1921 and 1911 has not disappeared but as amongst males has been shifted to the next earlier quinquennial group and amongst females concentrated in the group 20 to 25. This peak in neither sex corresponds to any peculiarity revealed in a previous age-group at either of the previous enumerations and the present curve also fails to reveal in a later group any trace of the peak occurring in the group for 1921 or 1911. The proportions are clearly due to the joint effect of misrepresentations of age and the influx of immigrants. The tendencies have been remarked on previous occasions and are apparently constant in the population of Bengal. The curve on the right-hand side of diagram No. IV-6 illustrates statement No. IV-8 and shows the number of females at age-groups per 1,000 all ages as a percentage of the number of males at the same age-groups per 1,000 all ages. It should, therefore, provide a measure of the differential incidence of mortality amongst the sexes at age-groups and suggests a comparison with the figures given for the annual sex and age specific death rates in subsidiary table X and in rather greater detail in statement No. IV-17 or with the proportionate figures given in statement No. IV-18. At 5 to 10 the recorded female death rate is less than the male and it might be expected that the proportion of females to males would be increased instead of decreased in the next age-group 10 to 15. An increase would be expected also into the age-group 15 to 20 since the female death rate is again less than the male at ages 10 to 15, but the actual increase is out of proportion to what might be expected, and after a subjection at 15 to 20 to a death rate very much heavier than that amongst males, females actually emerge into group 20 to 25 with an increased preponderance over males.

Some part of the discrepancy may be due to the difference in the constitution of age-groups in the census returns of 1931 and the returns of vital statistics in which the composition of age-groups resembles that previously used in census tables. Considerations are also adduced later which suggest that the deaths (and consequently the death rates) are under-estimated more seriously for females than for males. The attempt to use the census figures in arriving at an estimate of the age specific death rates would involve a graduation of age-groups in 1921 to make them agree with those of 1931 and the labour would probably not be worth while.

145. Age distribution in other provinces.—A comparison of the age distribution of Bihar and Orissa,

Madras and Bombay is facilitated by statement No. IV-9. The population in each of these provinces contains on the whole a larger proportion of

STATEMENT No. IV-9.

Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in Bengal and other provinces, 1931.

Age group	Bengal.		Bihar and Orissa		Madras.		Bombay.	
	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
0-5	148	163	149	154	145	144	142	159
5-10	32	35	26	29	28	28	28	31
10-15	34	28	27	28	28	28	27	31
15-20	34	30	34	30	34	30	29	33
20-25	31	34	33	34	30	30	29	32
25-30	31	32	33	32	29	28	30	32
30-35	137	131	141	139	131	126	132	131
35-40	120	113	123	109	120	112	113	119
40-45	88	100	83	86	87	92	88	91
45-50	93	110	85	92	80	100	92	99
50-55	90	88	86	89	81	90	89	88
55-60	83	74	80	81	77	78	84	77
60-65	65	54	64	64	67	62	68	61
65-70	54	45	55	54	57	52	56	61
70 & over	39	34	43	41	43	40	42	39
	30	27	34	33	35	33	32	31
	20	19	22	25	26	22	22	23
	15	15	17	20	21	21	17	19
	7	7	7	9	10	10	8	8
	11	11	11	14	14	15	10	11

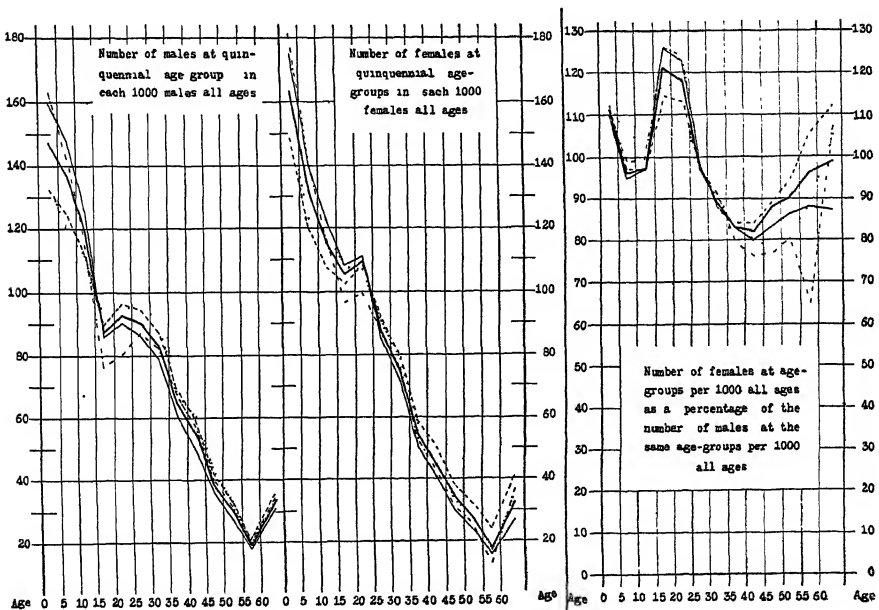
mature adults. Up to the average age of $37\frac{1}{2}$ amongst males and $27\frac{1}{2}$ amongst females there is a larger proportion in each age-group of each sex in Bengal. Beyond that age the proportions in Bengal are at all stages smaller. It may be that the population reaches maturity earlier in Bengal, and the wider prevalence of early marriage is no doubt associated with this peculiarity of the age distribution.

146. Proportionate age distribution by religion and caste.—For each main religion subsidiary table II shows and diagram No. IV-7 illustrates the proportionate distribution of each sex by age-groups. The adjustment of

DIAGRAM No. IV-7.

Distribution by quinquennial age-groups of 1,000 of each sex in each main religion, 1931.

Reference to religions: All religions ——— : Muslim ——— : Hindu ——— : Tribal ——— : Christian . . .



age-groups has not eliminated the piling up of returns in those age-groups at and after 20 to 25 in which a multiple of 10 occurs as the lower limit: a well defined bulge is shown in the curve for females and even more markedly in the curve for males at the age-groups 20 to 25, 30 to 35, 40 to 45 and 50 to 55. These bulges are found in the curves for all the religions shown. In all, also, the avoidance of the age-group 15 to 20 is marked in both sexes, but perhaps most notably amongst males and its occurrence amongst Christians supports the deduction that it is not entirely due to an influx of immigrants at later ages. There is also a clear heaping up at the age-group 20 to 25 in both sexes except amongst the Tribal and Christian males with whom it comes one quinquennium later. Up to the age-group 15 to 20 viewed from above the curve for males is convex and that for females is concave in all religions except the Christian where a concavity at 5 to 10 precedes a bulge at 10 to 15. For Hindus and Muslims in the curve for whose females the concavity is most marked the explanation probably is that the inevitable anxiety and difficulty of getting their daughters married leads the parents to look upon them as being younger than they are and thus to keep out of

mind the uncomfortable reflection that they will soon have to be provided for. Amongst males the condition is more than what would be expected. Statement No. IV-10 illustrated in the graph at the right-hand side of the diagram shows a comparison of the female and male ratios. The features of this curve are the same for all religions as for the whole of Bengal on which there is some comment in a preceding paragraph, and the only points of interest are the extraordinary vagaries of the curve for those of tribal religions after the age-group 50 to 55 and the excess in the proportion of females over males amongst Hindus at age-groups 55 to 60 and 60 and over and amongst those of tribal religions and Christians at the last age-group. A distribution by sorters' age-groups of the caste and other groups shown in imperial table VIII is given in subsidiary table III. The interesting features of this table are the large proportions in each sex aged 0 to 6 amongst Chakmas and Tiparas and 7 to 13 amongst Tiparas, aged 24 to 43 amongst Brahmos and aged 44 and over amongst Baishnabs.

STATEMENT No. IV-10.

Number of females at age shown per 10,000 females, all ages, as a percentage of the number of males at the same age per 10,000 males, all ages.

Age period	All Religions	Muslim.	Hindu	Tribal.	Buddhist	Christian.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-3	111	110	112	111	104	113
5-10	98	96	97	99	90	103
10-15	97	97	97	99	97	106
15-20	121	120	114	126	112	118
20-25	118	122	113	124	114	114
25-30	97	98	97	100	103	94
30-35	89	88	90	91	97	87
35-40	83	83	84	79	90	86
40-45	92	80	84	78	91	80
45-50	88	83	80	77	92	78
50-55	90	80	94	80	93	82
55-60	88	88	105	105	94	88
60 & over	99	87	112	107	98	106

147. **Returns of vital statistics and calculation of rates.**—In the paragraphs following use is made of the returns of registered births and deaths maintained by the Department of Public Health. In the Census Report of 1921 it was pointed out at some length that the method of compiling annual birth and death rates from these figures upon the population at the previous census introduced an increasingly larger exaggeration of the rates towards the end of each decade. On the present occasion, in order to minimise this inaccuracy, a fresh method of computation has been employed. Evidently the most satisfactory method of estimating for each year the annual rate of births and deaths is to obtain an accurate estimate of the population at the beginning of the year and express the number of births and deaths occurring within the year as a proportion of that population. Where the statistics of birth and death as well as the statistics of immigration are exhaustively and accurately recorded it is possible from the returns themselves to arrive at a very accurate estimate of the population at any part of the intercensal period. Such a calculation is possible for instance in England and Wales and at the census of 1921 an examination of the age figures returned at ages 0-10 on comparison with the figures deduced from the Registrar-General's returns of births and deaths convinced the census authorities that the figures maintained by the Registrar-General were to be preferred to those actually returned for these ages at the census. In Bengal such a method of calculation is out of the question. No accurate figures of emigration and immigration are maintained, the census figures and the figures of births and deaths registered are not maintained in single-year groups and the accuracy of the returns of vital occurrences is not very high. For the calculation of rates of births and deaths given in subsidiary tables VIII, IX and XI an estimate of the population at the beginning of each intercensal year has been made for each sex in each district upon the assumption that the population changed at an uniform annual rate between one census and the next and totals obtained for each division and for the whole of Bengal by summing the district populations. On these estimates the recorded figures have been expressed as proportions. The method is one which is evidently approximate only and it conceals the effect on the annual birth or death rate of the actual variation in their incidence throughout the decade. It is, however, the most satisfactory method in the circumstances, and is that adopted, for instance, in the Statistical Department of the League of Nations in estimating similar ratios for countries where an accurate return of the population in intercensal years is not available. The figures given, therefore,

in these tables are at least comparable with those published for other countries where accurate estimates of the population at intercensal years are not on record. Birth and death rates computed upon the population at the census of 1921 have in each case also been shown for comparison with the figures calculated in the previous records. The estimated populations on the first of January at each intercensal year in each sex for each administrative division, excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts, are given in subsidiary table VII, and from these an average population has been worked out and entered in the table by taking an arithmetical mean of the estimated population in each year. The population for each division in each year has also been entered from the returns of vital statistics by adding to the population at the beginning of each year the births registered within it and subtracting from the sum the deaths registered during the same period.

148. An estimate from census figures of the births and deaths, 1921-30.—

In chapter I it has been indicated that the returns of vital occurrences fail to account for more than one half of the total increase in the population between 1921 and 1931. A method was indicated in the memorandum on the age tables and rates and mortality at the Indian census of 1901 by which the census figures might be used as a test of the birth and death registration figures. If the effect of migration be disregarded the total population recorded in 1931 as being aged 10 and over represents the survivors of the total population enumerated in 1921. The difference between them consequently represents the deaths during the intercensal period at average age 5 and over, and a comparison with the registered figures of deaths at the same ages suggests how far the registered figures are inaccurate. If the total recorded deaths are increased by the same factor which would raise the registered deaths aged 5 and over to the figure obtained in this way from the census returns an estimate of the actual number of births during the decade will be obtained and from this figure the number of deaths can be calculated and ratios computed. The method is sufficiently clear from the working out of the calculation below.

Comparison of estimated and registered average annual birth and death rates, 1921-1930.

NOTE—(1) The population is throughout British Territory excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.
(2) The rates are per 1,000 of the mean population between the census of 1921 and 1931.

	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
(i) Population, 1921	46,522,293	24,057,936	22,464,357
(ii) Population, 1931	49,901,080	23,927,428	23,973,652
(iii) Population aged 10 and over, 1931 (survivors in 1931 of population in 1921)	35,456,583	18,551,760	16,904,823
(iv) Deaths at average age 5 and over between the census of 1921 and 1931— (i) — (iii)	11,065,710	5,506,176	5,559,534
(v) Registered deaths aged 5 and over, 1921-1930	7,745,029	4,039,008	3,686,021
(vi) Registered deaths all ages, 1921-1930	11,791,885	6,183,483	5,608,402
(vii) Estimated deaths all ages, 1921-1930— $\frac{(vi) \times (iv)}{(v)}$	16,847,109	8,388,095	8,460,014
(viii) Estimated average annual death rate— $\frac{1,000 (vii)}{5[(i) + (ii)]}$	34.94	33.56	36.43
(ix) Registered average annual death rate— $\frac{1,000 (vi)}{5[(i) + (ii)]}$	24.46	24.74	24.15
(x) Estimated average annual birth rate— $\frac{1,000 [(ii) - (i) + (vii)]}{5[(i) + (ii)]}$	41.95	41.04	42.93
(xi) Registered births, 1921-1931	13,255,369	6,895,486	6,359,883
(xii) Registered average annual birth rate— $\frac{1,000 (xi)}{5[(i) + (ii)]}$	27.49	27.59	27.39

In each case figures have been compiled for males and females as well as for both sexes and the average annual ratios are expressed per mille of the average population during the decade. For the purpose of this calculation the average population has been taken not from subsidiary table VII but as the mean between the population of 1921 and that in 1931. These figures

suggest that for every thousand in the total population of the same sex in any year during the decade the returns of vital statistics failed to account during 1921 to 1931 for (a) the birth of 14·46 of both sexes, 13·45 males and 15·54 females and (b) the death of 10·48 of both sexes, 8·82 males and 12·28 females. The under-estimation is in each case greater for females than for males but the resultant increment ratio, i.e., the average number per mille of the same sex who are added to the population as a result of the excess of births over deaths is understated more seriously for males than for females.

149. Another estimate of the accuracy of the vital statistics.—Another method of estimating this same increment ratio is that described in paragraph 35 of the census report of 1921. The method is more readily understood if certain symbols are used. In any area let aP represent the average population in any year between 1921 and 1930; let N_{21} and N_{31} represent the natural population in 1921 and 1931; let I_{21} and I_{31} represent the persons born outside the area but enumerated within it in 1921 and 1931; let E_{21} and E_{31} represent the persons born in the area but enumerated elsewhere in 1921 and 1931; let B represent the births during 1921 to 1931; and let D_{nr} , D_{ne} and D_r represent the deaths during 1921 to 1930 of (a) persons born in the area and resident there at their death, (b) persons born in the area and resident outside it at their death and (c) persons born outside the area and resident in it at their death. The difference between the natural population in 1931 and 1921 represents the births (1921 to 1930) in the area minus the deaths (1921 to 1930) of persons born in the area whether they died inside or outside it. Similarly the difference between the returns of births and deaths during the decade should represent the births (1921 to 1930) in the area minus the deaths (1921 to 1930) of persons born either inside or outside the area but dying within it. Using the symbols above the facts are expressed as under:

$$N_{31} - N_{21} = B - D_{nr} - D_{ne} \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

$$\text{Excess of births over deaths} = B - D_{nr} - D_r \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

If we can obtain an estimate of D_{ne} and D_r , then by adding D_{ne} to (1) and taking D_r from (2) we shall obtain a figure actually showing what the excess of births over deaths purports to represent. From this we can calculate the extent to which the excess of births over deaths is under-estimated in the vital returns. In 1921 this was done for both sexes. It will be here extended to each sex.

150. The data for the estimate.—The registration area in Bengal includes all British Territory except the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and all the figures must be made to refer to this area. An average population can be calculated for British Territory from the estimated population on 1st January of each year given in subsidiary table VII and for the Chittagong Hill Tracts from the figures similarly calculated. The natural population for all British Territory is known but neither in 1921 nor in 1931 is there a record of the number enumerated outside Bengal who were born in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. On the other hand the district is small and it is a reasonable assumption that the majority of persons born in the district are the children of permanent inhabitants and do not emigrate. It is consequently safe to assume that the error introduced will be negligible if the population born in the district be taken as the total "natural population" of the district. By subtracting this from the natural population of British Territory a sufficiently accurate estimate of the natural population of the registration area will be obtained. We also do not know the number dying in Bengal who were born elsewhere and dying elsewhere who were born in Bengal. Moreover, we have no details of the age-distribution of those residents in Bengal born elsewhere or of residents elsewhere born in Bengal. A rough estimate, however, of the age-distribution can be made on general grounds. It was assumed in 1921 that about one-fourth of each group showed the same age-distribution as the general population of Bengal and that the remaining three-fourths were between 20 and 40 years old. No better assumption can be proposed now

and there is probably no better assumption for each sex in each group. It will be modified, however, to exclude from consideration ages 0—5 and 65 and over: the proportion of immigrants at these ages is probably negligible. An estimate of the mortality of each group (i.e., aged 5—65 and aged 20—40) during the decade can be framed by using the mortality rates deduced by the Government of India Actuary from the census figures of 1921. No rates are given for the total population of Bengal but on the assumption that the immigrants contain about 4 Hindus to every Muslim a weighted rate can be got from the mortality rates for each sex in the Actuary's report. The actual number living in each group in each year is not known but a reasonable average can be taken as half the aggregate of the numbers at each census, i.e., $\frac{1}{2} (I_{21} + I_{31})$ and $\frac{1}{2} (E_{21} + E_{31})$.

151. The calculation.—Applying this method the calculation is as follows:—

	Both sexes.	Males	Females
Natural population in British Territory, 1921	45,582 0	23,321 0	22,261 0
Bengal born population of Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1921	172 3	83 3	89 0
N_{21} (the difference)	45,408 7	23,237 7	22,171 0
Natural population in British Territory, 1931	50,191 0	25,344 0	24,847 0
Bengal born population of Chittagong Hill Tracts 1931	213 0	114 3	98 7
N_{31} (the difference)	49,978 0	25,229 7	24,748 3
Persons in British Territory born outside British Territory, 1921	1,881 0	1,303 0	578 0
Persons in Chittagong Hill Tracts born outside British Territory, 1921	1 0	0	1
I_{21} (the difference)	1,881 0	1,302 0	578 0
Persons in British Territory born outside British Territory, 1931	1,821 0	1,277 0	543 0
Persons in Chittagong Hill Tracts born outside British Territory, 1931	1 0	0	1
I_{31} (the difference)	1,820 0	1,277 0	543 0
Persons outside British Territory born in British Territory, 1921	E ₃₁ 768 0	472 0	296 0
Persons outside British Territory born in British Territory, 1931	E ₃₁ 1,083 7	601 8	422 9
Average population, 1921-1930, in British Territory minus C H Tracts	47,977 5	24,861 2	23,116 3
Mortality rate, 5-65, deduced from census of 1921	9-65	2 844	2 529
Mortality rate, 20-40, deduced from census of 1921	9-20-40	2 116	2 278
D_{11}	411 4	250 3	181 1
D_{22}	207 2	128 1	84 1
Average annual increment ratio from census returns per 1,000 of the total population of the same sex	9 10	9 48	8 74
Average annual increment ratio from vital returns per 1,000 of the total population of the same sex	3 05	2 86	3 25
The average annual extent to which the vital returns underestimated the excess of births over deaths in 1921-30	8 05	6 37	5 49

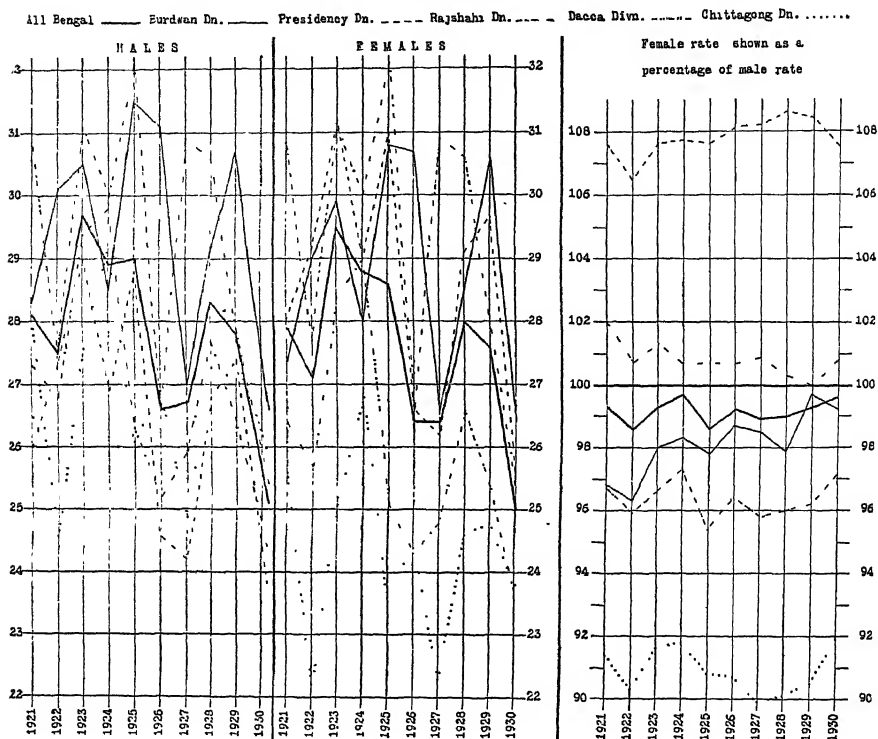
152. The methods of check discussed.—The result of this calculation suggests a very much more serious degree of under-statement than is to be deduced from the previous calculation. Neither calculation can make any preferential claim to superior accuracy, since the first disregards the effect of migration and the second makes an entirely arbitrary estimate of the allowance for deaths amongst the immigrant population into Bengal and the emigrant population out of Bengal. It is, however, probable that the figures obtained by the second method err on the side of excess, since the reduction of immigration probably occurred very much nearer to the end of the decade than has been allowed for. The curtailment of industrial enterprise in the jute mills led, for instance, to the discharge of a very large number of immigrant labourers immediately preceding the census and it is not impossible that a considerable proportion of the decrease in the aggregate figures of immigrants occurred after the period to which the vital statistics refer. If allowance were made for such a consideration, there would clearly be a reduction in the figures for the increase due to excess of births over deaths since a larger reduction would be made on account of immigrants dying in Bengal. It is, however, unlikely that upon any reasonable assumption this allowance would be increased to as much as three or more times than made at present which would be necessary in order to bring the estimated average annual increment ratio into line with that calculated on the first method. The fact that at the end of the decade there were fewer immigrants enumerated in Bengal than at the beginning suggests, however, that the calculations by the first method are at least no greater than they would be, if due allowance could be made for vital occurrences amongst the immigrant population, and the results obtained by the first enquiry may therefore be taken as representing the smallest extent to which it is likely that the increment ratio is underestimated by the vital statistics.

DIAGRAM No. IV-8.

Number of births annually reported per 1,000 living of the same sex in each administrative division, 1921 to 1930.

NOTE.—The rates are computed on the estimated population on 1st January of each year calculated on the assumption of a uniform annual rate of change from one census to the next. (Figures for Chittagong Hill Tracts are not on record.)

Reference to Divisions



153. **Annual recorded birth rates by divisions, 1921-1930.**—Subsidiary table VIII shows the births by sexes annually reported in each division and gives the birth rates calculated on both the methods indicated for each division. The figures in the last part of this table are plotted in diagram No. IV-8. In each 1,000 of the population the difference in the method of

calculation results in a difference of 1 in the average birth rate for males, and 0·8 in the average birth rate for females. As is to be expected, the variation increases towards the end of the decade being as much as 1·7 and 1·4 per mille of the total population in the case of males and females respectively. In both sexes the period 1923, 1924 and 1925 shows the highest average birth rate throughout the whole decade, and the lowest was recorded in 1930. Between the divisions there are considerable variations. In general, the birth rate for males was low in the Presidency and Chittagong Divisions and high in the Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions. For females the birth rate was consistently lowest in the Chittagong Division, and, in general, was highest in the Rajshahi Division.

STATEMENT No. IV-11.

Female birth rate per thousand as a percentage of male birth rate per thousand by administrative divisions annually, 1921 to 1930.

Year.	All Bengal.	Burdwan Division.	Presidency Division.	Rajshahi Division.	Dacca Division.	Chittagong Division.
1921	98·3	98·8	107·6	102·0	90·7	91·4
1922	98·6	98·9	106·5	100·7	95·9	90·0
1923	98·3	98·0	107·6	101·3	96·6	91·1
1924	98·7	98·3	107·7	100·7	97·3	91·1
1925	98·6	97·8	107·6	100·7	95·4	90·0
1926	98·2	98·7	108·1	100·7	96·4	90·7
1927	98·0	98·3	108·3	100·9	95·6	89·9
1928	98·5	97·9	108·6	100·8	96·0	90·1
1929	98·3	98·7	108·4	100·6	97·3	91·3
1930	98·0	99·3	107·5	100·8	97·1	91·3

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The graph plotted at the right-hand side of diagram No. IV-8 illustrates statement No. IV-11, in which the female rate is shown as a percentage of the male rate. Only in the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions was the female rate higher than the male rate. On the average the variation in the proportions is extremely small and runs only between 98.6 and 99.7, but between the different divisions there is a very considerable difference.

STATEMENT No. IV-12.

Number of births annually reported in each sex per 1,000 married females aged 15-40 with female ratio as a percentage of male ratio, 1921-1930.

NOTE.—The rates are calculated on an estimate of the number of females aged 15-40 on the 1st January of each year assuming a uniform rate of change in the numbers of the same ages between one census and the next. Calcutta, Malda, Noakhali and the Chittagong Hill Tracts are omitted from the calculation.

Annual average	Ratio		Female ratio as a percentage of male ratio
	Male	Female	
1921	84.9	78.5	92.4
1922	86.7	80.7	93.1
1923	85.0	75.4	88.6
1924	91.4	84.8	92.8
1925	88.9	82.5	92.8
1926	88.7	81.5	91.9
1927	81.3	75.3	92.7
1928	81.4	74.9	92.0
1929	86.7	79.3	91.9
1930	84.2	77.6	92.3
	75.5	69.8	92.5

a range of between 1.9 per cent. and 2 per cent.

154. Birth rate per 1,000 child-bearing females.—

An estimate of the fertility of the population in some respects more significant can be obtained from a consideration of the annually reported births per 1,000 married females aged 15 to 40. Such an estimate eliminates differences due to variations in the sex and age distribution and shows a comparison of the fecundity of that part of the population which is actually capable of child-bearing. The ratios are shown in the accompanying statement No. IV-12. The method on which they have been calculated is indicated in the heading of the statement. In a later paragraph in dealing with sex and age specific death rates further details are given of the method by which the numbers aged 15-40 in each year have been estimated. The figures shown in the statement are plotted in diagram No. IV-9. The same features as are shown in diagram No. IV-8 for the average of each sex here reappear, but by referring the rates for both sexes to the same standard the excess of the male birth rate is more clearly indicated. The diagram inset, which represents the last column in statement, shows the female ratio as a percentage of the male ratio and indicates clearly the general trend to a reduction in the proportion of female born to male. At the beginning of the decade the proportion was 93.1 but the average was no more than 92.4, and in 1925, 1927 and 1928 it was only 92 or less. A period of one decade is hardly long enough to supply material upon which to base a convincing deduction as to the trend of the birth rate, but the figures for the increase in the excess of males over females in the recorded census figures given in chapter V and illustrated by diagram No. V-3, shows that the tendency is genuine.

DIAGRAM No. IV-9.

Number of births annually reported in each sex per 1,000 married females aged 15-40, 1921 to 1930.

NOTE.—Male births are shown by the continuous, female by the broken line. The inset shows the number of female births per 1,000 male births. The rates are calculated on an estimate of the number of females aged 15-40 on the 1st January of each year assuming a uniform annual rate of change in the numbers between one census and the next. (Figures for Calcutta, Malda, Noakhali and Chittagong Hill Tracts are not considered.)

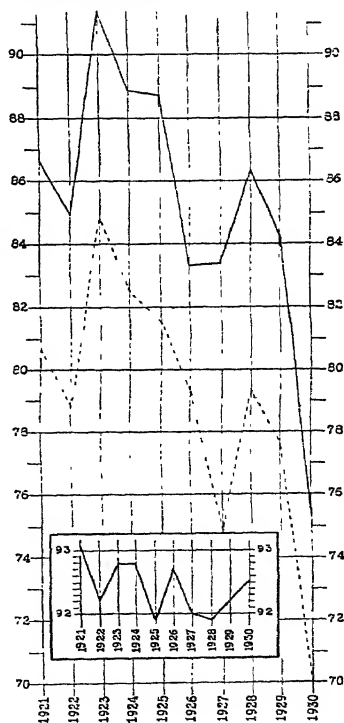
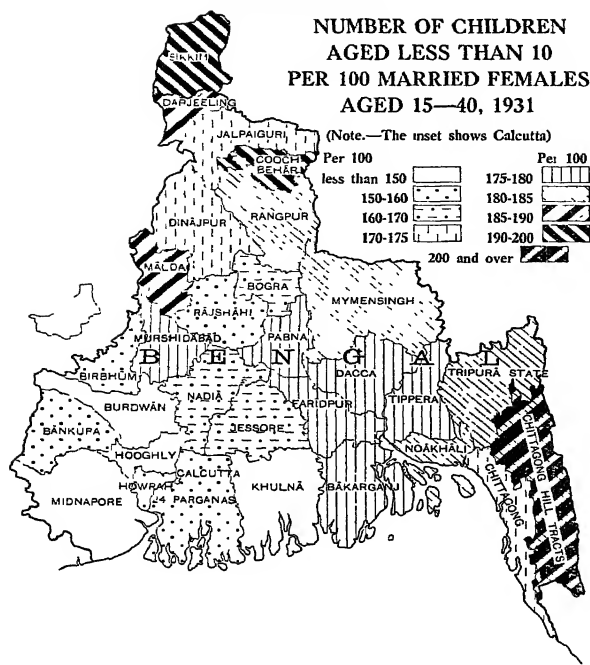


DIAGRAM No. IV-10.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN
AGED LESS THAN 10
PER 100 MARRIED FEMALES
AGED 15—40, 1931



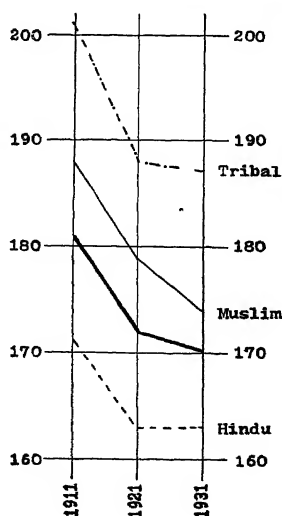
155. **Proportion of children to child-bearing females.**—

The number of children less than 10 years old per 100 married females aged 15 to 40 also gives an index of the comparative fecundity of the population. For the census of 1911, 1921 and 1931 these figures are given in subsidiary table V for each district as well as by religions in each division, and they can be compared with a similar ratio of the number of children aged less than 10 per 100 persons of both sexes aged 15 to 40. The map, reproduced as diagram No. IV-10, illustrates the ratios calculated on the number of married females aged 15 to 40. It is highest in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (207). In Cooch Behar

and Sikkim the ratio is between 190 and 199, and in Darjeeling and Malda it is between 185 and 190. In general, the ratio is highest in Eastern Bengal and the eastern part of Northern Bengal, and as a general statement it may be said to increase in proportion as one moves from west to east. In Burdwan Division on the average it is only 148, being least in Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore. In Central Bengal it is 165 although in the districts of Khulna and Calcutta it is even lower than in any other part of the province. In North Bengal it is comparatively low in Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Bogra and Rajshahi but on the average is 175. In the Dacca Division and the Chittagong Division it is in each case 178, although in Chittagong district it has a proportion only just higher than in Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri. Diagram No. IV-11 illustrates the trend of this ratio since 1911 in the principal religions. Amongst the Hindus it has remained constant at the last two census counts, but between 1911 and 1921 in each religion and between 1921 and 1931 amongst both Muslims and tribals as well as in the average of all religions there has been a decline. On the average the ratio was 181 in 1911 but had declined to 172 in 1921, and is now no more than 170. Figures for castes similar to those here referred to are given in subsidiary table IV where sorters' age-groups are used. Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians as well as Baidyas appear together with

DIAGRAM No. IV-11.

Number of children under 10 years of age per 100 married females aged 15-40 in certain religions, 1911-1931.



Chakmas and Tiparas as having a high proportion of children. Brahmans and Kayasthas come with aborigines like Santals and backward classes like the Namasudras, the Jalia Kaibarttas and Jogis in a group which also has a high proportion. The proportion is lowest amongst the Brahmans of those groups shown. The proportion of children to those aged 15-40 in the whole population is 68 and has not varied since 1921 but is lower than in 1911 (76). In Japan in 1925 it was 67, but in the United States of America in 1930 it was only 58 and it was as low as 45 in England and Wales in 1921.

156. **Longevity.**—Subsidiary table V also gives figures from which the extent of longevity can be gauged between different parts of the province and different religions and can be compared for the years 1911, 1921 and 1931. Comparison is by the proportion of persons of each sex aged 60 and over to those in the same sex aged 15-40. Figures shown in the table give for each of the years illustrated the proportions per 100 of the same sex. In general there has been a considerable decline at each successive census. Had the figures been combined in previous returns on the same principle as that adopted in 1931, it would have been expected that the numbers over 60 would be somewhat reduced but that a still further reduction would be effected amongst those aged 15-40 since a larger number giving their age as 15 should have been allocated to the group 10-15 and taken away from the group 15-40 than either the number of those added to this group who gave their age as 40 or taken from the group 60 and added to the group 55-60 who gave their age as 60. It would consequently be expected that upon

the same method of composing age groups the proportions in 1921 and 1911 shown in this part of subsidiary table V would have been rather larger than they are. This accentuates the decline in the numbers between 1921 and 1931. But a comparison of the actual proportions of the population distributed by age-groups shows that such a decline is not necessarily due to a decrease in longevity. Although there are a considerably larger number in each 10,000 of the same sex under 15 now than they were in 1921, some part of this increase is undoubtedly due to the method of obtaining the age groups and what is more significant is that in both sexes there is an appreciable increase in the proportion of persons in the group 15-40 in spite of the fact that this group in 1931, as has been indicated above, excludes a number of persons actually included in the figures of 1921. In diagram No. IV-12 the figures illustrated are not those directly taken from subsidiary table V but those shown in the accompanying statement No. IV-13. Statement No. IV-14 shows similar

STATEMENT No. IV-13.

Proportion of persons over 60 per
100 aged 15-40, 1931.

Natural and administrative division, district and state	Male	Female
BENGAL	4	4
West Bengal	4	4
BURDWAN DIVISION	4	4
Burdwan	4	4
Birbhum	4	5
Bankura	4	5
Midnapore	4	4
Hoochly	4	4
Howrah	4	1
Central Bengal	4	4
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	4	4
24 Parganas	4	4
Calcutta	3	2
Nadia	4	5
Murshidabad	4	5
Jessore	4	4
Khulna	5	4
North Bengal	4	3
RAJSHAH DIVISION	4	3
Rajshahi	4	3
Dinajpur	4	2
Jalpaiguri	3	3
Darjeeling	4	4
Rangpur	5	8
Bogra	4	10
Palna	4	4
Malda	4	4
COOCH BEHAR STATE	4	3
East Bengal	4	4
DACCA DIVISION	5	4
Dacca	5	4
Mymensingh	4	8
Faridpur	4	4
Bakerganj	4	4
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	4	3
Tippera	4	3
Comilla	4	3
Chittagong	4	4
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5	8
TRIPURA STATE	4	3
SIKKIM	7	7

STATEMENT No. IV-14.

Proportion of persons over 60 per
100 aged 15-40, 1931.

Religion.	Natural division	Male	Female
All	All Bengal	4	4
Al	Burdwan	4	4
	Presidency	4	4
	Rajshahi	4	3
	Dacca	5	4
	Chittagong	4	3
Muslim.	All Bengal	4	3
	Burdwan	4	4
	Presidency	4	3
	Rajshahi	4	3
	Dacca	4	3
	Chittagong	4	3
Hindu.	All Bengal	4	4
	Burdwan	4	4
	Presidency	4	4
	Rajshahi	4	4
	Dacca	5	4
	Chittagong	5	4
Trihal.	All Bengal	4	4
	Burdwan	4	5
	Presidency	4	4
	Rajshahi	4	3
	Dacca	5	3
	Chittagong	4	4

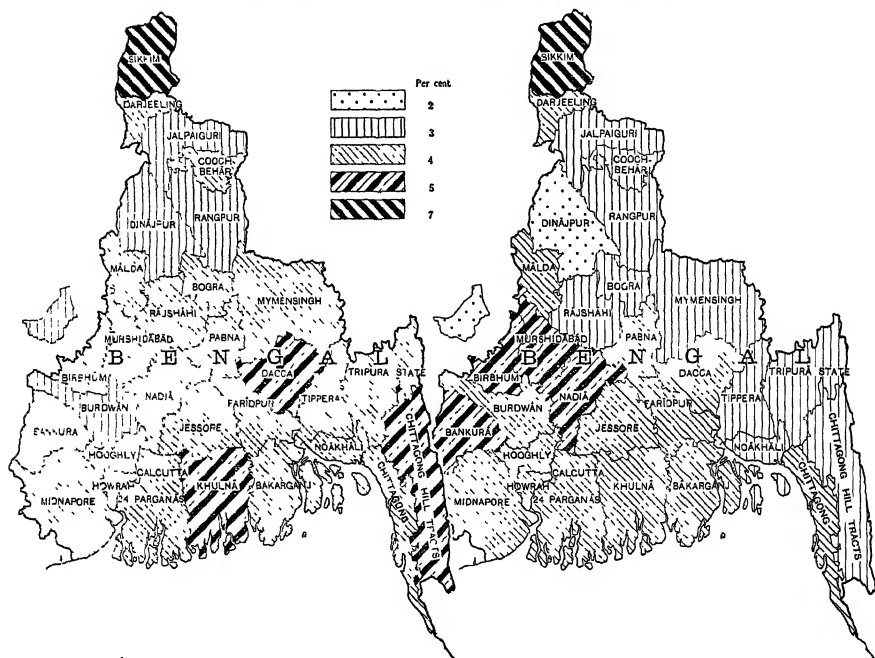
figures by religions. Both statements show the proportion of the total population aged 15-40 which in each sex is aged 60 and over. There are 8 persons of both sexes per 100 of the total population in the whole of Bengal compared with 20 in Japan in 1925, 24 in England and Wales in 1921 and 36 in the United States of America in 1930. The proportions are fairly evenly distributed between the sexes but in general a larger contribution is made by

females in the Burdwan Division and in parts of the Presidency Division than elsewhere. Amongst Muslims in whom the total number in both sexes is less than in the other religions a greater proportion of those aged 60

DIAGRAM No. IV-12.

Number aged 60 and over per 100 of the total population aged 15-49, 1931.

NOTE—Males are shown on the left females on the right. The inset shows Calcutta.



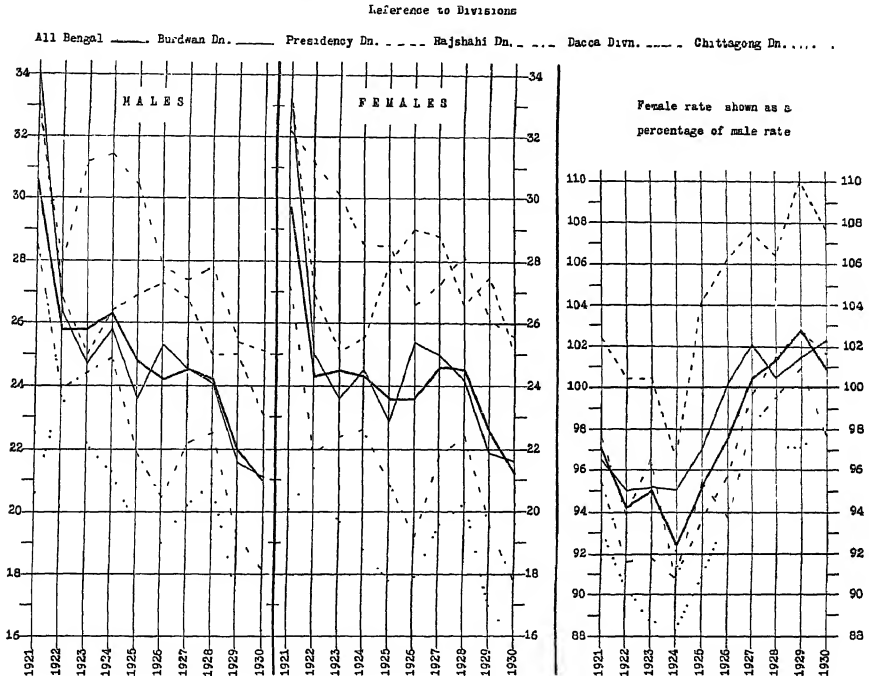
and over is contributed by males. In Sikkim the incidence of longevity is relatively high amongst both sexes but elsewhere the proportions contributed by each sex differ considerably from district to district. The largest proportion to the total at the highest ages is made by males in the districts of Khulna, Dacca and Chittagong and by females in the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Nadia and Murshidabad. In both sexes the proportions are comparatively low in Calcutta, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Rangpur. Hindus in Dacca and Chittagong and those of tribal religions in Burdwan have an aggregate larger proportion in both sexes calculated in this manner. The variations in longevity estimated on this method show very much the same variations in 1931 as in 1921 when it was highest amongst males in the lower delta, in Noakhali, Chittagong and Dacca and amongst females in the north and western districts, particularly in Nadia.

157. **Annual recorded death rates by divisions, 1921-1930.**—The number of deaths annually reported and the death rate per 1,000 in each sex in each division are shown in subsidiary table IX and the ratios shown in the last

DIAGRAM No. IV-13.

Number of deaths annually reported per 1,000 living of the same sex in each administrative division, 1921 to 1930.

NOTE—The rates are computed upon the estimated population on 1st January of each year calculated on the assumption of a uniform annual rate of change from one census to the next. (Figures for Chittagong Hill Tracts are not on record.)



portion of this table are illustrated in diagram No. IV-13. In both sexes the lowest death rate was recorded in the year 1930 and the decade is one in which the returned death rate on the whole shows a decided decline. It was highest in both sexes in 1921 and between this year and 1930 the curves of each sex show two peaks, one in 1923 for females and 1924 for males, and a second in 1927 for both sexes. On the average the death rate reported was lowest in both sexes in Chittagong, where also on the average the lowest annual birth rate was reported and where the rate of increase in the total population has been very much higher than in any other division. It was highest in both sexes in the Rajshahi Division and higher in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions than in Dacca. The Rajshahi Division where the average rate was highest shows the widest divergences from the average trend from year to year in the whole province, but in general the curve follows a line similar to that for the average. In Burdwan and Presidency Divisions the peak in the curve for both sexes occurs in 1926 a year earlier than in the average curve. In the other divisions the corresponding peak is in 1928. In the Chittagong Division the highest rate was in 1921 and not as elsewhere in 1921. The graph plotted on the right-hand side of this diagram and

illustrating statement No. IV-15 indicates the comparative incidence of the death rate between the sexes. From 1922 to 1924 when the rate was relatively high amongst males it was comparatively low amongst females in almost all divisions. The years 1927 and 1928 showed a comparatively high mortality for both sexes, but proportionately more serious in the case of females, and the rate was considerably in excess of the male rate in the next year 1929. The female ratio is least in Chittagong Division and greatest in the Presidency Division.

STATEMENT No. IV-15.

Female death rate as a percentage of male death rate in each administrative division annually, 1921-1930.

	*Bengal.	Burdwan	Presi-	Rajshahi	Dacca	*Chittagong
Annual average	97.6	98.4	104.2	97.2	94.7	93.5
1921	97.1	96.5	102.4	97.6	95.5	93.1
1922	94.2	95.0	100.4	93.9	91.6	90.8
1923	95.0	95.2	100.4	96.5	91.5	88.7
1924	92.4	97.0	96.6	90.8	90.8	88.3
1925	95.2	97.0	104.1	93.7	95.4	90.8
1926	97.5	100.2	106.2	95.7	93.7	84.2
1927	100.4	102.1	107.5	99.6	98.2	97.0
1928	101.3	100.4	106.4	101.4	99.5	97.1
1929	102.8	101.4	119.0	102.8	101.0	97.1
1930	100.9	102.3	107.7	101.6	97.8	98.2

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

158. **Death rates for Muslims and Hindus by sexes, 1921-1930.** The death rates in each sex for Muslims and Hindus have been calculated for each year and shown in statement No. IV-16. For the computation of these ratios the population in each religion in the whole of the registered area has been calculated for the 1st of January in each year on the usual assumption

STATEMENT No. IV-16.

Number of deaths annually reported per thousand living of each sex, Muslims and Hindus, with female rate as a percentage of male rate, 1921-1930.

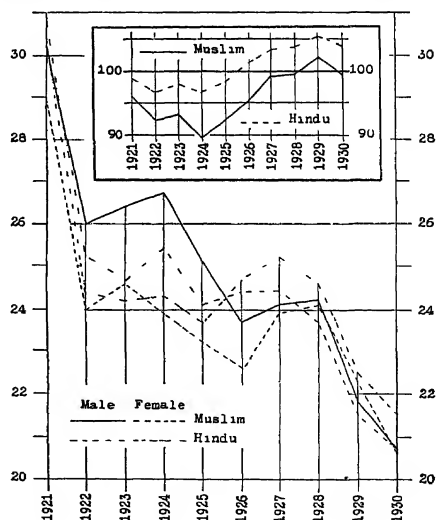
NOTE.—The rates are computed on the estimated population on 1st January of each year calculated on the assumption that the numbers in each sex changed at a uniform rate from one census to the next.

	Death rate		Female rate as a percentage of male rate
	Male	Female	
MUSLIM.			
Annual average	24.9	23.8	95.9
1921	30.2	29.0	96.0
1922	26.0	21.0	80.8
1923	29.0	24.0	82.8
1924	26.7	24.9	93.3
1925	25.1	24.5	97.6
1926	23.7	22.6	95.4
1927	24.1	23.9	99.2
1928	24.2	24.1	99.6
1929	24.9	25.3	101.6
1930	20.7	20.6	99.5
HINDU.			
Annual average	24.5	24.6	100.5
1921	30.3	30.4	98.7
1922	25.5	24.4	95.8
1923	24.7	24.2	98.0
1924	25.4	24.4	96.1
1925	24.1	23.7	98.3
1926	24.4	24.7	101.3
1927	24.1	25.2	104.6
1928	23.7	24.6	103.8
1929	24.5	25.3	103.3
1930	20.7	21.5	103.9

DIAGRAM No. IV-14.

Number of deaths annually reported per 1,000 of each sex, Muslim and Hindu, 1921 to 1930.

NOTE.—The inset shows the female ratio as a percentage of the male ratio.



that the changes between two census years took place at a uniform annual rate, and the general features revealed by diagram No. IV-13 are also shown in diagram No. IV-14 illustrating this statement. In general, the recorded death rate was higher for males and lower for females amongst Muslims than amongst Hindus. In both sexes in each religion it was lower in 1930 than at any other period and showed a general decline interrupted by two increases, one between the years 1923 and 1924 and another between the years 1926 and 1928. The last column of the statement illustrated by the diagram inset in diagram No. IV-14 shows the relative incidence of mortality in each year between females and males of the same religion. Amongst Muslims female mortality compared with male mortality is proportionately less than amongst

the Hindus. In both religions the general trend illustrated in the similar portion of diagram No. IV-14 has been towards an increase in the proportion borne by the female rate to the male rate. Amongst Hindus since 1926 and amongst the Muslims in the year 1929 the female ratio was actually higher than the male.

159. **Calculation of sex and age specific death rates by divisions, 1921-1930.**—Statement No. IV-17 shows for each administrative division the sex and age specific death rates for each year, 1921-1930, with an average

STATEMENT No. IV-17.

Age and sex specific death rates per mille by administrative divisions, 1921-1930.

Area and year.	Males at ages																Females at ages																Ratio over			
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	60 & over	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	60 & over										
Average, 1921-30	65	2	13	6	10	0	13	7	14	4	17	6	22	6	35	2	74	8	56	6	12	1	9	1	16	1	17	8	18	4	20	6	31	4	67	5
*BENGAL.																																				
1921	86	5	17	0	12	7	17	5	19	2	23	3	28	9	43	8	81	3	70	1	14	1	11	9	20	22	5	23	8	26	6	39	7	74	5	
1922	89	0	14	1	10	9	14	9	15	7	19	1	23	7	36	0	69	4	58	0	11	8	10	1	16	8	1	19	2	21	0	31	3	60	6	
1923	70	2	14	8	11	4	15	1	15	2	18	0	22	7	35	0	68	2	61	0	12	7	10	0	15	4	17	17	8	20	0	30	5	58	6	
1924	14	4	11	9	16	3	16	2	19	2	27	3	35	9	73	2	69	4	57	1	10	0	17	1	16	4	18	18	4	20	3	30	6	60	6	
1925	65	9	13	9	10	4	13	9	14	4	17	2	21	6	33	5	72	6	57	6	12	3	9	1	15	6	16	17	2	19	0	28	7	63	8	
1926	64	9	13	0	9	6	12	7	13	4	16	6	21	1	33	4	75	3	56	3	11	7	8	7	15	2	16	17	4	19	4	30	6	58	4	
1927	60	6	13	9	9	5	13	3	14	0	17	2	22	3	34	9	79	5	53	7	12	8	9	0	16	5	16	5	19	0	26	3	59	7		
1928	60	9	13	0	9	1	12	6	13	7	17	3	22	4	35	1	77	6	53	0	12	3	8	7	15	2	16	17	19	2	21	2	31	0	71	3
1929	58	1	11	2	7	2	10	4	11	2	14	8	20	0	32	3	75	4	51	1	10	6	8	9	14	1	16	15	19	0	29	7	71	6		
1930	54	0	10	6	5	8	9	10	6	13	7	18	7	32	1	74	3	47	5	10	3	6	4	12	1	16	15	16	19	3	18	4	30	0	71	4
BURDWAN.																																				
Average, 1921-30	75	2	18	6	9	0	12	7	13	5	17	5	23	1	38	9	89	6	65	9	11	8	9	14	5	15	4	17	1	21	0	33	2	75	3	
1921	97	3	15	6	11	2	14	1	21	4	27	1	34	1	55	2	113	8	84	1	14	0	12	0	10	5	23	0	25	0	30	8	47	7	84	0
1922	82	8	12	2	10	3	14	3	15	2	19	4	24	3	38	4	82	3	69	7	11	3	10	4	15	3	16	3	18	4	27	0	32	5	85	0
1923	78	8	11	0	9	1	12	9	13	5	17	5	22	4	37	4	83	4	68	2	11	2	9	1	13	7	14	7	16	19	1	80	4	65	6	
1924	77	0	11	7	10	0	13	5	14	1	17	4	23	6	36	0	87	5	63	5	11	4	9	1	14	7	15	6	17	1	29	2	83	1	69	7
1925	74	3	10	4	9	0	13	8	17	1	17	5	23	7	37	0	85	5	65	2	10	7	8	1	13	1	15	1	17	0	29	0	80	5	66	6
1926	81	0	11	3	9	1	12	3	13	9	16	3	21	6	37	4	89	6	67	4	10	0	12	0	14	1	16	1	18	0	10	5	82	0	76	7
1927	60	9	12	1	0	0	12	3	12	9	16	4	22	2	38	5	95	6	63	6	12	0	8	1	14	1	17	1	19	0	16	4	84	1	81	0
1928	63	0	11	0	6	7	11	9	12	7	16	7	23	9	38	6	89	8	67	1	12	3	8	5	15	3	17	1	16	9	14	0	84	0	84	0
1929	64	1	9	4	6	8	10	0	11	1	13	9	19	7	34	2	83	6	56	7	10	0	9	12	6	13	1	14	1	15	3	25	8	74	8	
1930	60	0	10	6	5	0	9	8	9	8	13	1	19	8	84	1	86	1	57	1	10	7	6	11	6	12	0	13	1	15	5	29	4	80	4	
PRESIDENCY.																																				
Average, 1921-30	74	3	16	3	11	6	14	6	14	9	17	9	23	8	37	1	84	3	68	3	15	3	10	8	14	4	18	1	24	0	22	0	33	2	76	4
1921	91	0	20	4	14	6	18	4	19	8	24	1	31	3	48	0	97	0	71	3	18	7	22	0	20	3	25	0	29	0	42	0	87	1	87	1
1922	73	7	10	0	12	8	15	6	15	8	18	1	24	3	36	0	79	7	64	3	14	2	11	8	19	2	18	9	19	0	23	9	81	0	69	4
1923	71	1	15	9	11	8	14	7	14	1	16	4	21	3	33	0	73	2	60	2	14	0	10	0	17	0	16	7	10	7	18	5	78	3	62	0
1924	77	7	15	9	12	8	16	0	15	4	17	1	23	9	33	0	60	0	60	2	13	0	10	8	17	5	17	9	17	0	19	4	33	1	64	7
1925	81	0	17	0	11	5	13	9	14	0	17	1	21	1	34	1	84	1	76	0	16	5	17	7	17	4	17	4	17	1	20	0	89	1	74	8
1926	70	7	16	4	11	7	16	4	11	1	18	1	24	8	38	1	81	1	72	1	11	0	18	0	18	0	20	3	20	5	23	3	84	1	84	1
1927	70	1	17	6	11	7	12	3	15	1	17	1	24	8	37	4	90	1	76	2	17	6	11	6	19	1	18	1	18	1	23	8	83	3	83	3
1928	65	7	15	2	11	0	13	6	13	8	18	9	26	2	34	3	75	3	58	3	13	4	10	0	18	1	18	1	18	1	23	8	83	3	83	3
1929	70	1	16	6	9	5	12	8	12	7	16	4	21	9	38	0	85	3	63	0	13	0	15	0	18	1	18	1	18	1	21	0	88	0	88	0
1930	64	0	13	8	8	9	11	12	8	2	17	1	21	3	35	8	78	6	53	5	13	7	6	12	1	15	1	16	1	21	0	88	0	77	0	
RAJSHAH.																																				
Average, 1921-30	71	7	16	0	12	5	17	5	17	7	22	8	27	3	39	7	71	8	62	2	13	7	11	7	19	5	22	0	24	6	26	3	35	9	61	8
1921	85	0	18	5	15	6	21	1	22	2	27	5	30	8	44	0	62	8	78	6	15	2	17	7	23	8	20	0	50	0	30	3	40	6	62	0
1922	70	5	14	6	12	4	17	4	18	3	23	9	27	1	39	7	58	5	59	7	11	9	12	5	18	4	20	0	29	0	34	3	56	0	69	0
1923	89	8	18	1	14	8	16	5	18	3	23	9	27	1	40	5	66	5	61	2	15	2	12	0	20	0	20	0	29	0	36	0	47	0	69	0
1924	72	7	16	7	14	7	21	0	21	9	27	3	31	5	44	0	71	0	64	2	14	2	12	0	20	0	20	0	29	0	36	0	47	0	69	0
1925	70	4	17	5	13	0	18	9	19	1	24	1	28	0	39	2	70	1	69	1	14	5	11	9	19	9	21	0	24	4	25	3	34	7	61	8
1926	68	6	16	0	12	1	16	2	17	2	21	6	28	1	40	8	69	1	64	2	14	5	11	9	19	9	21	0	24	4	25	3	34	7	61	8
1927	68	6	16	0	12	1	16	2	17	2	21	6	28	1	40	8	69	1	64	2	14	5	11	9	19	9	21	0	24	4	25	3	34	7	61	8
1928	68	6	16	0	12	1	16	2	17	2	21	6	28	1	40	8	69	1	64	2	14	5	11	9	19	9	21	0	24	4	25	3	34	7	61	8
1929	68	3	15	0	11	1	15	5	15	4	21	0	27	1	39	0	70	9	69	1	13	4	11	5	20	0	23	4	24	4	26	7	61	1	62	9
1930	64	0	16	0	9	6	14	2	14	0	18	9	25	0	37	9	73	1	54	5	13	3	8	9	17	5	17	0	21	0	27	0	69	3	69	3
DAGEA.																																				

be first to obtain an accurate estimate of the composition of each age-group at the beginning of each year concerned and then to calculate the ratios upon the numbers so determined. This is the method which is employed by the

STATEMENT No. IV-18.

Age specific death rate for females as a percentage of that for males by administrative divisions, 1921-1930.

Area and year	Age group.										
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60 & over		
BENGAL.											
Average, 1921-30	87.7	89.7	91.7	119.1	125.0	105.1	90.9	89.2	90.1		
1921	94.8	84.7	93.7	114.3	117.2	102.1	82.0	80.6	81.6		
1922	94.1	83.7	92.7	111.4	115.3	100.0	88.6	86.9	87.3		
1923	95.0	85.8	97.7	108.6	115.1	99.4	88.1	87.1	88.1		
1924	95.0	84.0	84.0	104.9	113.6	96.8	85.7	83.6	82.3		
1925	97.4	88.5	87.5	112.2	115.3	100.0	97.2	85.7	87.9		
1926	97.7	90.0	91.6	119.7	123.1	104.8	91.9	89.8	90.8		
1927	98.6	92.1	93.5	124.8	132.1	110.5	92.6	91.7	91.6		
1928	97.0	94.0	95.8	111.0	106.5	111.0	92.6	90.9	91.9		
1929	98.0	96.4	95.8	135.6	144.6	114.2	95.0	92.0	95.0		
1930	88.0	87.2	94.1	128.6	136.8	111.7	93.4	93.5	95.1		
BURDWAN.											
Average, 1921-30	87.8	102.6	99.5	115.5	114.7	98.7	90.6	85.3	84.1		
1921	86.5	95.5	103.4	107.7	107.0	94.4	90.3	86.4	80.2		
1922	84.1	96.7	100.9	106.0	107.2	94.2	115.3	84.6	70.7		
1923	86.3	101.8	100.0	106.5	109.8	91.4	85.0	81.2	78.6		
1924	86.2	97.4	91.0	108.6	106.1	94.0	85.5	85.1	70.3		
1925	87.8	102.8	100.0	113.0	108.0	100.0	84.8	81.0	80.1		
1926	87.8	105.3	101.1	118.7	115.5	101.2	93.9	87.1	85.0		
1927	91.7	104.1	97.7	117.1	118.8	103.6	80.1	88.5	87.0		
1928	91.1	107.7	97.0	121.0	116.7	99.1	89.1	88.1	80.6		
1929	92.4	107.4	101.4	126.0	120.7	104.3	87.8	84.2	89.4		
1930	90.0	107.0	101.5	122.1	122.4	102.2	85.4	86.2	93.3		
PRESIDENCY.											
Average, 1921-30	89.2	94.2	93.4	127.3	127.1	108.6	92.3	89.7	90.5		
1921	89.1	87.2	92.8	119.5	119.1	106.2	92.6	88.7	89.2		
1922	84.9	88.7	92.1	123.1	119.6	105.3	90.1	87.5	87.0		
1923	89.3	88.1	89.3	115.0	118.4	101.8	86.8	86.3	84.7		
1924	87.1	87.4	85.0	111.3	114.7	98.3	84.7	80.3	80.0		
1925	93.1	97.1	93.0	125.2	119.2	108.5	89.7	83.5	88.0		
1926	91.0	98.0	94.0	120.1	120.9	100.8	92.5	87.5	89.2		
1927	91.0	100.0	91.1	129.6	134.4	113.3	93.9	91.1	91.0		
1928	88.7	95.4	96.4	135.4	133.3	111.7	100.0	92.0	91.8		
1929	90.0	98.7	98.9	148.0	115.7	117.7	94.6	94.5	89.0		
1930	86.7	103.0	92.1	131.8	137.7	118.4	98.6	96.1	90.1		
RAJSHAH.											
Average, 1921-30	86.9	85.9	93.7	112.3	126.6	108.4	98.6	90.4	88.9		
1921	86.6	82.2	100.6	112.8	116.7	100.1	98.1	92.3	98.7		
1922	84.7	81.1	100.8	106.4	113.2	101.7	95.9	92.2	90.3		
1923	83.3	84.0	87.2	108.1	117.5	105.0	96.1	91.4	90.3		
1924	84.4	80.2	87.4	112.0	117.6	99.6	90.5	87.2	88.0		
1925	86.0	82.9	85.4	103.2	111.7	101.2	90.4	88.6	88.2		
1926	86.0	84.4	89.3	111.0	117.6	105.4	95.0	88.7	88.0		
1927	87.3	80.0	84.0	121.0	128.8	113.0	97.2	90.0	91.0		
1928	86.8	89.3	101.8	121.2	127.4	117.1	98.5	92.6	88.7		
1929	88.0	92.5	95.0	122.2	140.0	117.2	102.9	96.7	71.0		
1930	86.9	95.0	98.7	117.0	135.0	114.0	101.2	94.1	94.8		
DACCA.											
Average, 1921-30	83.4	84.0	88.8	128.3	140.2	107.6	88.8	89.1	88.9		
1921	85.5	81.0	92.8	120.4	131.6	102.0	83.1	90.8	87.3		
1922	85.4	77.0	87.7	120.4	126.6	100.6	85.3	89.0	87.0		
1923	81.1	79.5	85.3	111.8	121.6	100.0	87.9	88.0	81.7		
1924	84.8	78.7	87.7	107.7	126.9	90.4	84.5	85.0	80.8		
1925	80.3	80.7	80.4	109.3	120.8	89.3	86.6	89.0	88.0		
1926	82.4	82.0	86.8	127.2	131.2	107.2	89.7	88.4	85.4		
1927	84.4	86.6	86.8	140.0	149.6	114.9	91.1	92.3	88.0		
1928	84.4	86.6	92.3	144.9	159.1	115.6	91.0	97.5	90.2		
1929	84.1	93.2	94.1	150.2	173.0	152.3	94.0	90.9	92.7		
1930	81.0	91.5	95.7	145.8	158.6	115.0	88.6	92.9	90.3		
CHITTAGONG.											
Average, 1921-30	88.4	92.8	87.8	108.8	120.7	102.4	87.2	90.4	96.0		
1921	89.0	89.3	88.3	105.9	108.3	88.7	84.0	91.0	96.2		
1922	85.4	84.1	82.5	103.8	107.0	90.6	81.7	89.7	94.2		
1923	87.3	87.7	89.7	91.4	95.4	94.4	84.1	87.3	95.0		
1924	85.0	95.3	78.7	74.3	108.6	92.0	81.9	84.4	86.7		
1925	87.1	92.7	87.7	101.4	108.6	92.5	82.8	84.1	94.8		
1926	88.3	92.6	92.2	111.3	121.6	104.1	90.8	87.3	96.8		
1927	91.7	94.3	77.0	100.9	126.7	108.6	90.2	91.3	95.5		
1928	91.7	95.2	87.3	121.3	133.3	106.8	88.8	97.0	101.8		
1929	90.0	95.1	87.8	122.4	134.8	115.8	88.8	98.8	98.8		
1930	89.3	98.6	95.3	125.0	134.2	112.7	95.1	98.6	100.6		

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Registrar-General in England and Wales. It cannot be applied, however, unless statistics are available both of much greater accuracy and in much greater detail than in Bengal since the method

"is based on correction of the census figures at each age period for migrants and deceased at corresponding ages allowing for the interval between the census year and the year for which the estimate is made"—(Newsholme—*Elements of Vital Statistics* 1923, page 47)

Such a method could be applied in Bengal only if figures by sex and age were maintained annually for emigration and immigration and if the census figures and the figures of deaths were tabulated accurately by single-year age periods. Any use of this method or a modification of it is, therefore, clearly impossible in Bengal. An alternative method which has also been used for England and Wales is to estimate the composition of each age-group by taking the age and sex distribution of the previous census and increasing it to the same percentage extent as it is estimated that the population at all ages has increased. It was at first thought that some adaptation of this method might be employed. It was contemplated that the population on 1st January of each year might be estimated on the assumption of a regular rate of change, that it could then be distributed (a) by the sex and age distributions of 1921 and (b) as a check by the sex and age distributions of 1931 and that the differences between these distributions in the population at ages in each intercensal period might then be examined and an adjustment made to distribute them in some proportion from year to year which would bring them increasingly nearer to the distribution of the nearest census year. In the end, however, it was decided that such an adaptation of the method previously used in England and Wales would involve an amount of calculation out of proportion to the accuracy of the figures. In order, however, to avoid the marked discrepancy which was bound to occur at the later ages of

the decade by applying only the age proportions estimated at the census of 1921 it was decided to take each age-group in 1921 and 1931 and for each year to calculate what the age-group would have been had it changed at a regular geometrical rate between 1921 and 1931. Such a calculation gives figures for each age-group which bear little or no relation to the actual distribution in any particular year but are certainly no more inaccurate and probably rather more satisfactory than those obtained by distributing an estimate of the total population made upon the same principle according to the age distribution of the census at either end of the decade. An application of the age distribution of 1921 would clearly result in a considerable discrepancy in the later years of the decade and a similar discrepancy at the earlier years of the decade would result from an application of the age distribution in the census of 1921. On the method indicated the population in each of the age-groups chosen was calculated for each sex in each administrative division on the 1st January in every year from 1921 to 1930 and the population in each age-group for the whole of Bengal was arrived at by the addition of these estimates. The average population in each division was computed for each age-group by merely averaging the rates calculated for each year. In statement No. IV-18 the ratios for the sexes are compared in the manner elsewhere adopted in this chapter, i.e., by showing the female ratio on a percentage of the male ratio.

160. Discussion of sex and age specific death rates.—The death rate is lowest in both sexes in the age-group 10-15. From that age in each successive group shown it is higher than in the preceding. Amongst males the highest mortality at age 0-5 is shown in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions where the average for the decade was 75·2 and 74·3 per mille, respectively. It is in these two divisions also that the highest mortality at age 60 and over is returned. In Burdwan 89·6 and in the Presidency Division 84·3 per mille of the persons living at that age were returned as dying on an average during the decade. As recorded the mortality at ages 0-5 is lowest in the Chittagong Division and next lowest in the Dacca Division and these two divisions in the reverse order show the lowest recorded mortality at ages 60 and over. At the earlier ages amongst males there is comparatively little range in the variation of the age-specific death rate from division to division, but the range becomes wider at ages after 30, and at the age of 60 and over between Burdwan with the highest and Dacca with the lowest recorded death rate there is a difference of 22 per mille, in other words in 1,000 persons aged 60 and over in Burdwan and Dacca Divisions more than 30 are likely to die in any given year in Burdwan for every 10 in Dacca. The age specific death rates as recorded are lower for females than for males at every age except between 15 and 40, a period incidentally corresponding roughly with the child-bearing ages. The disproportion is in general most marked, as is seen in statement No. IV-18, in the age-group 20-30. In the Dacca Division it amounts to as much as 140 per 1,000, indicating that in an equal number of persons of each sex in this division aged between 20 and 30 the chance of any individual female dying within the year is about one half as high again as in the case of males. The death rate amongst females is highest at the very early ages in the Presidency Division and Burdwan Division and lowest (as also amongst males) in the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions. As amongst males also the lowest female death rate at ages of 60 and over is in Dacca Division and the highest in Presidency and Burdwan. The variation between divisions in the age specific death rates of females is also comparatively small up to the age of 30, beyond which the range is considerably increased and reaches as much as 17·5 at the last age-group shown. The range is in general throughout more restricted amongst females than amongst males and its extent at the latest age amongst females is less than the range amongst males of the corresponding age. In the critical ages between 15 and 40 the recorded rate amongst females is very much less in the Chittagong Division than elsewhere. It is in this division also, as shown in statement No. IV-18, that there is in general the least proportional discrepancy between the male and female ratios except between the ages 20 and 40. An exception to this general statement is the Burdwan Division in which at 30 to 40 the recorded

death rate for females is actually less than that for males. Compared with males the death rate operates least heavily against females at the earliest ages of their life and becomes increasingly severe until the age of 30 is reached after which it begins to slacken off, leaving the relative incidence at the age of 60 and over practically the same as it was at 10-15. In other words, amongst a given number of each sex of any age-group shown in the table, compared with males the chances of survival are most favourable for females at the ages 0-5, are diminished in the two succeeding quinquennia but do not become less than amongst the males until the ages 15-40 are reached, beyond which in successive decennial periods they are better and tend successively to improve until the last age-group is reached.

161. **Limitations of the crude death rates.**—As data for comparison between the mortality current in different divisions the crude death rates leave out of account such important considerations as the effect of the different

STATEMENT No. IV-19.
Standardized death rates (per mille) by divisions, 1921-1930.

Year	Burdwan		Presidency		Rajshahi		Dacca		*Chittagong.	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Average, 1921-1930	24 01	24 18	24 23	24 50	25 32	24 54	25 61	24 74	25 73	24 24
1921	23 50	24 83	28 01	24 31	25 26	24 45	25 25	24 54	25 23	23 83
1922	23 59	24 90	23 97	24 37	25 25	24 46	25 30	24 50	25 27	23 03
1923	23 72	24 00	24 04	24 36	25 29	24 47	25 40	24 61	25 17	24 05
1924	23 84	24 04	24 14	24 41	25 29	24 47	25 40	24 67	25 50	24 13
1925	23 04	24 08	24 18	24 43	25 31	24 51	25 56	24 72	25 67	24 10
1926	24 02	24 18	24 25	24 30	25 31	24 60	25 14	24 83	25 70	24 21
1927	24 18	24 41	24 35	24 56	25 33	24 66	25 73	24 81	25 00	24 37
1928	24 33	24 37	24 02	24 02	25 30	24 62	25 52	24 85	25 01	24 40
1929	24 48	24 48	24 50	24 70	25 39	24 62	25 84	24 80	25 30	24 07
1930	24 60	24 30	24 57	24 71	25 42	24 65	25 90	24 02	26 35	24 06

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts

age distribution in the population in each area concerned. It is clear that, if in two areas the age specific death rates are identical, the crude death rate may differ widely, merely because the age distribution of the population is different. As a method of allowing for differences in the age distribution of the population it is customary to compare what are known as standardized and corrected death rates. Standardized death rates for each year during the decade are shown for each sex in each administrative division in statement No. IV-19.

162. **Calculation of standardized death rates.**—The method of arriving at these rates is borrowed from Raymond Pearl's *Medical Biometry and Statistics*. The definition of a standardized death rate there given is as follows :—

"A standardized death rate is an abstract or theoretic figure derived by applying the specific death rates of the general population, or of some standard imaginary population, to the actually existing age and sex distribution of the living population of a particular locality to determine what would be the number of deaths in that locality if the specific death rates of the standard population prevailed there, and then dividing the number of deaths so obtained by the actual total living population of the locality."

The standardized death rate thus shows what would have been the death rate in the population of the area concerned if the age specific death rates applicable to some other population had been applicable. It therefore produces rates which on comparison amongst themselves abstract from the specific forces of mortality in each area and indicate what differences in the death rate would have resulted merely from the differences in the age distribution of the population if identical forces of mortality had been operative throughout. The method adopted in calculating the figures shown was to take the average age specific death rates (the preparation of which has already been described) for the general population over the decade 1921 to 1931 and to apply them in each division to the population of each sex distributed by age-groups on an estimate made by the method already described in explaining the preparation of sex and age specific death rates. The number of deaths which would have resulted, had these identical forces

of mortality been operating in every division in each year, were then calculated and summed and the total, expressed as a proportion per mille of the total estimated population in that year in that locality, appears in the table as the standardised death rate.

163. Discussion of standardized death rates.—The standardized death rates are highest amongst males in the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions followed by the Rajshahi, Presidency and Burdwan Divisions. Amongst females the order is somewhat varied. They are highest in Dacca, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions, less in Chittagong and lowest in Burdwan Division. The range of variation is considerably less than in the recorded death rate shown in subsidiary table IX, Part B, a result which of course would be expected since one of the discriminating factors has been automatically omitted from consideration in the preparation of the standardized death rates, viz., the existence of mortality forces of different virulence in different places. If the only force operating had been a difference in the age constitution of the population in each division, Chittagong which is the healthiest division for both sexes and Dacca, which is the next healthiest division, would be expected to have actually the largest and second largest male death rate and the fourth highest and highest female death rate and the variation in their position is some index of the superior healthiness of these divisions. Dacca and Chittagong Divisions both have a lower actual recorded death rate than the standardized rate and this fact justifies a description of conditions there as healthy, that is to say, that health conditions in these two divisions operate favourably to such an extent that they convert an unfavourable into a favourable actual death rate. On the other hand in Burdwan, Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions the actual death rate in both sexes is higher than the standardized rate which justifies a description of conditions in these three divisions as positively unhealthy because they turn a death rate which would be low on the average incidence of mortality into a high rate.

164. Standardized and "corrected" death rates.—Standardized death rates suffer from the defect that they take no account whatever of the actual mortality recorded for each division. If we take Burdwan and Presidency

STATEMENT No. IV-20.

"Corrected" death rates (per mille) by divisions, 1921-1930.

Year	Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi		Dacca.		*Chittagong.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Average, 1921-1930	26 15	25 28	27 30	27 44	28 47	28 15	22 01	21 45	19 36	18 81
1921	30 24	33 80	34 47	33 03	32 83	32 84	28 01	27 44	21 32	20 58
1922	27 76	31 62	27 84	26 83	27 81	26 74	24 52	22 06	19 25	21 82
1923	26 04	23 99	25 90	25 04	31 01	30 51	33 93	22 51	21 69	19 50
1924	26 94	27 40	27 13	25 49	31 20	28 91	24 35	22 65	20 00	19 01
1925	24 65	23 31	27 71	27 97	30 19	28 76	21 34	19 04	18 52	17 75
1926	26 82	25 73	28 03	23 78	27 55	26 73	19 71	19 17	18 05	17 82
1927	25 34	25 20	27 51	28 61	27 11	27 42	21 48	21 73	19 13	19 42
1928	24 68	24 43	25 51	26 26	27 40	28 14	21 70	22 19	19 41	19 05
1929	22 02	31 93	26 41	27 07	25 01	26 06	18 62	19 29	16 16	16 49
1930	21 40	21 46	24 51	24 46	24 68	23 34	17 44	17 53	14 03	13 34

* Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Divisions for instance, the standardized death rates given above differ from the average death rate for all ages in the whole of Bengal only because of the differences in the age distribution. They omit all consideration of the differences in the rate of mortality due to other considerations and peculiar to each division. The figures shown in statement No. IV-20 as "corrected" death rates are not quite what is usually understood by that term. A corrected death rate is thus described by Pearl—

"A corrected death rate is an abstract or theoretic figure got by applying the specific death rates observed in a local population to the age and sex distribution of some arbitrarily chosen standard population. A corrected death rate is, in short, just the reverse of a standardized death rate."

It shows what would have been the death rate in a given locality if with the forces of mortality recorded in each age-group of the actual population, the population had in fact been constituted in respect of its age distribution in the

same manner as the general population. What are presented as “corrected” death rates in statement No. IV-20, however, are rates calculated from the standardized death rates by the application of a correction factor measuring the amount by which the crude death rates of the local population are altered from the death rate at all ages of the general population as a result solely of the difference between the two populations in respect of the age distribution of the living. The correction factor was obtained by dividing the death rate in the general population by the standardized death rate in the local population. By the product of this factor with the crude death rate of each division the figures presented as “corrected” death rates were obtained. These figures consequently show for each division a death rate in which are included (a) the specific forces of mortality peculiar to each division (introduced implicitly in the crude figures) and (b) an allowance for the peculiar age distribution of the living population in each division which brings it into identity with the age distribution of the standard population. For purposes of comparison, therefore, the figures shown as “corrected” death rates also measure, though perhaps less exactly, the effect of the specific forces of mortality at work in each division, abstracting from the difference introduced in the crude death rate by the difference in the age distribution.

NOTE.—The method by which standardized and “corrected” death rates were calculated is illustrated in the form by which their computation was facilitated and which is reproduced in substance below. Using the notation in the form and adopting L_x to represent the number of persons of age x in the total (i.e., the general) population, the formula for corrected death rates as generally understood would be—

$$R_{cv} = \frac{\sum [(L_x) (R_{sx})]}{\sum (L_x)}$$

Calculation of standardized and “corrected” death rates.

Detail of . . .	Year		Locality . . .		Population dealt with						Explanations— P_x —Population at age x R_{sx} —Sex and age specific death rate of actual population being dealt with. R_s —Sex specific death rate of actual population dealt with, all ages q_x —Crude sex and age specific death rate of total population. q —Crude sex specific death rate, total population, all ages R_{st} —Standardized death rate. R_{co} —"Corrected" death rate. Σ —Sum of all quantities like
Age-group	P_2 (Population at age-groups)		Deaths at age-groups		R_{s1} Death rate at age-groups		q_2 Death rate at age-groups Total population		$(P_2) (q_2)$		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
0—5											
5—10											
10—15											
15—20											
20—30											
30—40											
40—50											
50—60											
60 and over											
All ages											
	$\Sigma (P_x)$				R_s		q		$\Sigma [(P_x) (q_x)]$		

165. **Discussion of “corrected” death rates.**—The “corrected” death rates place the divisions in the same relative order as the actual rates shown in subsidiary table X. In both sexes Rajshahi has the highest “corrected” death rate followed by Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions.

The corrected figures differ comparatively little from the actual figures given in subsidiary table IX and are noticeably greater than them only in the Burdwan Division and amongst males in the Presidency Division. In a previous paragraph the unhealthiness of each division was estimated by comparison of the standardized with the actual recorded death rates. But

STATEMENT No. IV-21.

Female death rate as a percentage of male death rate—crude, standardized and "corrected"—by divisions, 1921-1930.

Year	Burdwan			Presidency			Rajshahi			Dacca			Chittagong		
	Crude	Standardized	"Corrected"	Crude	Standardized	"Corrected"	Crude	Standardized	"Corrected"	Crude	Standardized	"Corrected"	Crude	Standardized	"Corrected"
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Average, 1921-30	99.58	100.63	96.94	103.88	101.11	100.66	97.95	99.90	99.05	99.33	96.61	97.72	83.77	94.22	97.5
1921	96.49	101.43	93.37	102.14	101.67	98.43	95.89	93.79	100.03	97.14	97.19	97.93	83.06	94.15	96.5
1922	93.06	101.31	91.93	100.00	101.67	96.37	93.04	96.57	96.15	92.89	97.08	94.79	81.70	91.70	92.8
1923	97.16	101.18	92.13	100.00	101.43	96.68	97.14	96.76	95.20	94.02	96.99	94.31	80.80	94.80	91.7
1924	104.63	100.84	101.71	96.90	101.12	93.96	91.45	90.76	92.66	91.97	96.91	91.02	89.10	94.63	92.2
1925	97.05	100.58	91.56	104.09	101.03	100.91	94.31	90.44	95.75	92.24	96.71	93.18	91.72	94.23	94.3
1926	100.49	100.97	97.76	105.86	101.03	102.98	96.07	97.04	97.62	96.06	96.01	97.26	84.65	91.99	88.7
1927	105.03	109.74	99.45	107.06	100.86	104.00	104.00	96.58	101.14	99.75	96.42	101.16	97.49	94.00	101.5
1928	101.24	100.21	95.99	106.00	100.90	102.94	101.79	97.05	102.70	100.44	99.21	102.26	97.56	93.97	101.7
1929	101.87	100.24	96.39	109.69	100.62	106.54	103.14	96.97	104.29	101.73	97.05	103.64	97.97	95.75	102.9
1930	101.80	99.34	100.00	106.89	100.69	104.04	101.59	96.97	102.67	98.33	92.58	100.52	98.10	93.59	102.7

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tract.

it is perhaps more significant to make the estimate by comparison between the standardized and the corrected rates. The conclusions already drawn are reinforced by this comparison. The discrepancy is greatest amongst both sexes in Rajshahi and the Presidency Divisions and the inference is that in these two divisions conditions of health contribute a larger share to the actual comparative death rates than differences in the age constitutions of the population. A comparison of the relative incidence of the crude, standardized and "corrected" death rates amongst the sexes in each division is facilitated by statement No. IV-21.

166. **Causes of death.**—In subsidiary table XI the actual number of deaths from the principal causes of death are shown together with the death rates calculated upon them by both methods used in this chapter. In subsidiary table No. XII a statement new in the present report has been included showing the proportion of deaths due to each of these selected causes. The proportionate incidence of deaths from each individual cause, except in child-birth, varies comparatively little between the sexes. Deaths from fevers occur proportionately more frequently amongst women in Burdwan and Presidency and less frequently in the other divisions of the province. Small-pox appears to take proportionately a slightly larger toll of women than men only in the Presidency Division. Except in the Presidency Division dysentery everywhere despatches a larger proportion of the male than the female population. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in equal numbers of men and women 9 men will die from respiratory diseases for every 6 women. Expectations would suggest that the sex proportions would be reversed and that women living often secluded in confined and sometimes ill-ventilated quarters would suffer more from such diseases as tuberculosis; but the conditions under which these returns are compiled through village chaukidars make it likely that in a very considerable number of cases inaccuracies or indefinite returns have crept in. On the other hand, it is in accordance with expectation to find that the returns show a larger proportion of females dying by suicide in each division although the preparation of the returns to one place of decimals only conceals the differences which are clear if the calculation is carried to a second place. In both sexes causes of death grouped together as fever account for by far the great majority of deaths, viz., in every 1,000, 713 amongst males and 719 amongst females. In the Rajshahi Division the proportion of deaths from these causes is very considerably higher and reaches 850 per 1,000 amongst males and 844 per 1,000 deaths amongst females. It is, somewhat surprisingly, lowest in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions. In every 1,000 deaths of persons of the same sex fevers account in the Presidency Division for 634 amongst males and 653 amongst females and in the Burdwan Division for 639 amongst males and 668 amongst females. This difference,

however, is possibly due to the more inaccurate classification of causes of death in the more illiterate area of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi, since except in Rajshahi, fevers account in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions for the deaths of a larger percentage of the total population than in any

STATEMENT No. IV-22.

Monthly figures of rainfall, seers of rice per rupee, birth rate and death rate, 1921-1930.

Year	Actual figures												Monthly average.		
	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct.	Nov	Dec	All months	Standard deviation	Probable error
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
RAINFALL IN INCHES (see note 1).															
1921	1.26	0.27	0.92	3.77	6.32	12.67	17.07	15.73	9.07	3.76	0.02	0.03	6.12	5.04	1.208
1922	0.20	0.08	0.11	1.47	1.18	22.55	13.90	15.75	13.37	4.12	0.20	0.07	6.3	7.55	1.535
1923	0.00	0.35	0.31	1.52	0.16	11.84	19.48	13.68	8.22	4.12	0.58	0.07	7.459	5.352	0.938
1924	0.22	0.25	0.05	3.52	0.75	14.65	18.44	14.16	11.29	3.54	0.00	0.02	6.568	6.587	1.340
1925	0.54	0.72	1.40	7.27	7.89	11.77	13.68	11.64	12.29	5.72	0.40	0.01	6.115	5.717	1.041
1926	0.09	0.43	0.90	1.14	0.00	0.40	21.57	15.84	12.42	4.44	0.17	0.05	6.653	6.60	1.343
1927	1.05	1.20	1.00	2.91	7.08	12.62	12.12	8.91	12.27	3.32	0.33	0.00	5.23	1.521	0.980
1928	0.41	0.39	0.40	2.17	8.21	17.27	18.24	15.24	15	8.86	0.14	0.01	6.58	6.783	1.578
1929	1.62	0.28	1.41	1.11	3.17	13.15	16.38	11.35	10.43	10.73	0.00	0.73	6.198	5.483	0.904
1930	0.34	0.50	2.19	1.84	0.40	14.64	17.03	14.25	7.08	2.92	3.45	0.03	5.856	6.749	1.169
Average of 1921-30	0.627	0.62	1.383	3.292	6.496	13.886	16.285	13.655	10.779	5.016	0.815	0.193	6.087	6.063	0.373
S.D.	0.519	0.630	1.227	1.718	3.493	2.611	2.221	2.384	2.552	1.774	0.273	0.068	0.873	0.603	
P.E.	0.171	0.167	0.561	0.535	0.539	0.744	0.667	0.474	0.508	0.544	0.250	0.037	0.373		
SEERS OF RICE PER RUPEE (see note 2).															
1921	0.312	6.625	6.687	0.25	0.062	6.062	5.75	5.75	6.0	6.375	6.875	7.187	6.328	6.427	0.087
1922	0.27	7.373	7.0	0.5	0.112	6.187	6.187	6.312	6.437	6.875	7.125	7.502	6.884	6.459	0.087
1923	0.27	7.087	7.087	0.5	0.062	6.062	6.187	6.312	6.437	6.875	7.125	7.502	6.884	6.459	0.087
1924	7.5	7.502	7.087	7.475	7.0	6.062	6.125	6.087	6.5	6.512	6.5	6.125	6.578	6.820	0.167
1925	6.437	6.437	6.087	5.812	6.025	6.025	6.087	6.087	6.562	6.562	6.087	6.0	6.849	6.408	0.087
1926	3.875	7.937	6.675	6.75	6.625	6.625	6.187	6.312	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.875	6.025	0.087
1927	3.047	5.812	5.75	5.625	5.5	5.812	5.812	5.125	5.0	4.937	5.125	5.625	5.427	5.320	0.087
1928	5.125	5.125	5.125	5.125	5.437	5.375	5.437	5.375	5.562	5.562	5.0	6.137	6.025	5.908	0.087
1929	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	6.437	0.087
1930	7.437	7.5	7.502	7.25	1.25	7.062	7.187	7.312	7.6	7.812	8.062	8.062	7.615	6.638	1.133
Average of 1921-30	6.725	6.731	6.688	6.513	6.369	6.250	6.075	6.025	6.037	6.225	6.425	6.794	6.405	6.857	0.063
S.D.	0.709	0.763	0.767	0.782	0.782	0.782	0.782	0.782	0.782	0.782	0.782	0.782	0.782	0.782	
P.E.	0.151	0.163	0.164	0.172	0.163	0.156	0.155	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.154	0.154	
BIRTH RATE PER 1,000 (see note 3).															
1921	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1922	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1923	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1924	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1925	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1926	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1927	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1928	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1929	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
1930	2.91	2.65	3.41	2.41	2.85	1.69	1.49	1.68	1.75	2.36	2.77	2.41	2.326	2.552	0.113
Average of 1921-30	2.649	2.453	2.921	2.518	2.207	1.851	1.693	1.847	1.829	2.431	2.731	2.293	2.311	2.180	0.30
S.D.	0.173	0.175	0.192	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168	0.168	
P.E.	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	0.043	
DEATH RATE PER 1,000 (see note 3).															
1921	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1922	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1923	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1924	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1925	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1926	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1927	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1928	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1929	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
1930	1.47	2.08	1.28	2.73	2.50	1.60	1.54	1.92	1.87	2.53	3.29	3.00	2.522	2.921	0.126
Average of 1921-30	2.605	1.940	2.137	2.108	1.908	1.545	1.478	1.582	1.556	2.100	2.582	2.885	2.041	0.522	0.32
S.D.	0.113	0.263	0.156	0.166	0.297	0.176	0.157	0.179	0.173	0.320	0.463	0.391	0.522		
P.E.	0.073	0.076	0.093	0.067	0.066	0.038	0.033	0.033	0.037	0.068	0.077	0.062	0.032		

NOTE 1—Figures are unweighted, arithmetical averages from the district figures published by the Director of Agriculture. These are unweighted arithmetical averages of the recording stations in each district which had been in existence at least 5 years in 1921. All British districts are included except Calcutta, Noakhali, Malda and Chittagong Hill Tracts.

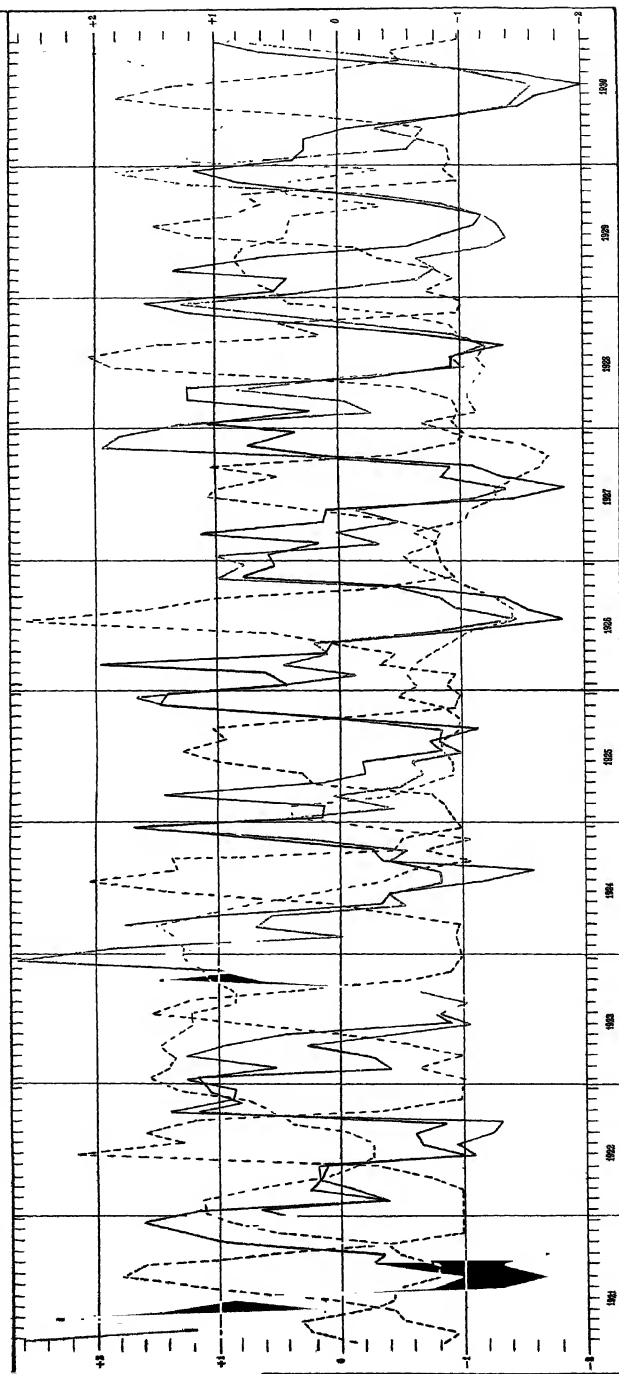
NOTE 2—Figures are unweighted averages from the district figures published by the Board of Revenue, Bengal. These are the details reported by local officers at the headquarters station of each district. All British districts are included except Calcutta, Darseling and Chittagong Hill Tracts.

NOTE 3—Birth and death rates are computed from the monthly returns of the D. P. H. and are per 1,000 of the population at the beginning of each month calculated on the assumption that the population was changed at a regular monthly rate between the census of 1921 and that of 1931. All British districts are included except Calcutta, Malda, Noakhali and Chittagong Hill Tracts.

division in Bengal. Plague has practically ceased to be a regular cause of death at all. No deaths from this cause were returned during the decade in Chittagong, only 3 in Rajshahi and only 20 in Dacca amongst all sexes and on the average during the decade no more than 4 men and 2 women in every 100,000 deaths of the same sex died from this cause. The returns show that small-pox was most prevalent during the decade in Burdwan and Dacca Divisions, dysentery in Burdwan and respiratory diseases in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions.

Chapter IV, Diagram A :— Monthly variation in the birth rate _____, death rate _____, and rainfall - - - - , 1921 to 1930.

The overall monthly average is taken as a base (0) and the points plotted are the amounts by which the actual figures exceed (+) or fall short of (-) this overall average expressed as a multiple of six standard deviations.



167. **Comparison of birth rate, death rate, price of rice and rainfall.**—

It is customary in the census reports to incorporate a diagram showing the monthly figures of rainfall, price of rice and recorded deaths. With some modifications a similar diagram appears in the present report. The figures from which it is based

form statement No. IV-22. In place of the number of deaths the death rate has been shown because it is a better index of the incidence of mortality in the total population.

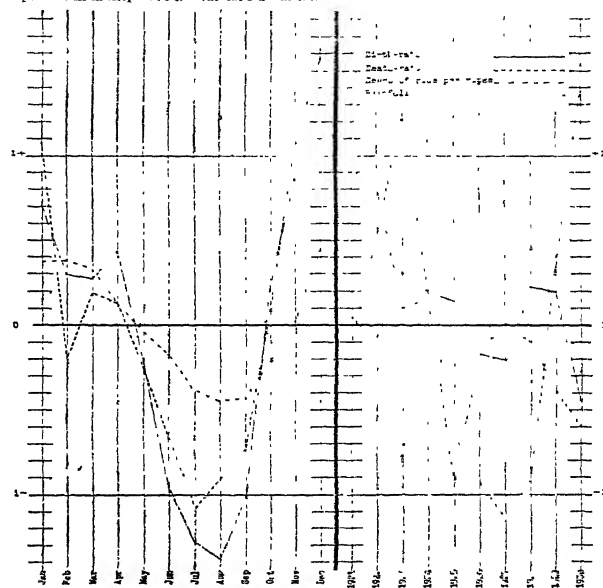
The birth rates have also been added, and both the birth and death rates have been calculated upon the population estimated on the 1st of each month on the assumption that the population changed at a uniform monthly rate between one census and the next. This method of calculation (as has been already pointed out) is not unexceptionable but avoids the entirely unreal enhancement of birth and death rates introduced towards the end of a census decade by using the population at the beginning of the decade from which to calculate them.

The graphic method adopted for presentation of these figures on the present occasion also differs somewhat from that previously used. The figures have been averaged in three separate ways: first to show the average incidence in each of the twelve months during the whole period 1921-1930; next to show the average monthly incidence in each of the years 1921-1930; and thirdly to show the monthly average of all months over the whole period 1921-1930. In presenting the actual figures this last average has been taken as a base line and the standard deviation (see introduction) has been adopted as the unit of variation to show the amount by which the actual monthly figure of any month exceeds or falls short of the over-all monthly average. The standard deviation is a factor so calculated that, except in very unusual circumstances, an equal proportion of examples taken from two different series may be expected to fall within an interval measured by the same number of times the standard deviation appropriate for each series and this method of plotting therefore has the advantage that it gives a universal scale by which to compare the extent of variation from month to month within the total range of variation observed during the whole period. Diagram A on a neighbouring page therefore shows not only the variation from month to month during the last decade but also its relative extent. In addition two further graphs have been plotted to show first the average in each of the twelve months over the ten years concerned and secondly the monthly average in each of these ten years. These details are shown in diagram No. IV-15.

DIAGRAM No. IV-15.

Fluctuation from month to month—average, 1921-30—(on left), and from year to year—monthly average, 1921-30—on right, in the birth and death rates per 1,000, rainfall and price of rice in seers per rupee.

NOTE.—The base line (0) represents the average incidence of each series in 1921-30; the points plotted are the amount by which the actual figure for each month and year exceeds or falls short of this average, expressed in multiples of its standard deviation.



The most instructive of these diagrams is probably that showing the variations between the averages for each month during the whole period. It will be seen that the curves for the birth rate and the death rate evidently follow the same tendencies, whilst there appears to be no connection between the curve for the death rate and that for the cheapness of rice: on the other hand if the death rate curve be shifted to nine months, seven months or six months earlier it will be seen to follow much the same tendencies as that of the birth rate. The validity of these agreements can be tested by obtaining a correlation co-efficient between the two rates concerned. The correlation co-efficient, as its name implies, is the result of a calculation which gives a measure of the correlation between two series of events. It is so calculated that its value is plus one when two series change invariably in the same direction (greater or smaller) and is minus one when a change in one is represented by an equal proportionate change in the other but in the opposite direction. By the size of the correlation co-efficient it is therefore possible to determine roughly the extent to which any two series are interconnected. The correlation co-efficients worked out are shown below.

Co-efficient of correlation between—

(1) Birth rate and death rate	= + .796 ± .023
(2) Death rate and scers of rice per Re. 1	= + .137 ± .064
(3) Death rate and birth rate 9 months later	= - .308 ± .058
(4) Death rate and birth rate 7 months later	= - .603 ± .040
(5) Death rate and birth rate 6 months later	= - .473 ± .045
(6) Death rate and birth rate 2 months later	= + .374 ± .053
(7) Scers of rice per Re. 1 and birth rate 9 months later	= + .173 ± .062

In considering the correlation co-efficient it is customary to assume that correlation is significant if the co-efficient is both of reasonable magnitude and at least six times its probable error. The co-efficients shown above support the conclusion, drawn from an examination of the curves themselves, that there is a high degree of positive correlation between the birth rate and the death rate. The reasons for this are obscure since it is obviously improbable that the same conditions which result in a birth in, say, the month of December, have been combining since the month of March when the child was conceived to influence the death rate in that same month. But some part of the correlation may be due to the fact that the first month of life is the most critical and that where there is a large number of births in any month, if the same proportion die in the first two weeks, there will also be an increase in the death rate for that month. The births nine months later correspond to some part of the conceptions in any month and assuming that children are rarely born outside the normal term it might have been expected that the conception rate would vary inversely with the death rate: but the degree of correlation indicated is in itself comparatively small and is scarcely as much as six times its probable error so that it is doubtful if it is significant: on the other hand the births seven months later and six months later than any given month correspond on the same assumption respectively to the conceptions which have survived the first and second months of ante-natal mortality and have reached the second and third months of pregnancy which are admittedly critical periods. For both of these, particularly the first, the correlation co-efficient is comparatively high, and in each case it is many times its probable error so that the conclusion appears to be suggested that lethal factors exercise a greater influence over the birth rate during the second and third months of ante-natal life than they exercise upon the conception rate.

168. Examination of the effect of malaria on fertility.—Somewhat similar figures to those referred to in the last few paragraphs were worked out for the three districts of Jessore, Bogra and Bakarganj. In this case, however, what was ascertained was the average in each month over the period 1901 to

1930 for the birth rate, the death rate from all causes, the death rate from fever, the price of rice in seers per rupee, the temperature in degrees (maximum, minimum and average) and the rainfall in inches. In addition the death rate from malaria and kala-azar was similarly computed for 1921-1930, the only

STATEMENT No. IV-23.

Monthly averages (1901-30 where not otherwise stated) of birth rate, death rate, temperature, rainfall and seers of rice per rupee in Jessore, Bogra and Bakarganj.

District.	Month.	*Birth rate per 1,000	*Death rate per 1,000			Temperature in degrees			Rainfall in inches	Seers of rice per rupee
			All causes	Fever	Malaria and kala-azar (1921-30)	Maximum	Minimum	Average.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
JESSORE.	January	2 764±0 049	3 868±0 110	3 079±0 092	2 748±0 145	76 676±0 222	68 790±0 107	65 046±0 174	0 450±0 006	12 365±0 077
	February	2 701±0 056	2 508±0 069	3 123±0 064	1 955±0 158	81 263±0 357	87 100±0 291	69 250±0 257	1 011±0 144	0 18±0 012
	March	2 008±0 087	2 703±0 058	2 112±0 054	1 860±0 098	86 643±0 384	86 848±0 232	75 763±0 232	1 840±0 231	8 840±0 309
	April	2 800±0 066	2 876±0 080	1 945±0 044	1 619±0 074	85 15±0 343	74 299±0 216	64 788±0 207	3 860±0 292	9 091±0 41
	May	2 551±0 050	2 511±0 062	1 708±0 034	1 434±0 072	94 296±0 251	70 420±0 144	68 376±0 364	8 882±0 229	8 917±0 262
	June	2 842±0 041	2 628±0 038	1 844±0 029	1 922±0 087	86 891±0 246	78 351±0 101	84 455±0 167	12 070±0 249	8 462±0 368
	July	2 647±0 041	1 530±0 025	1 260±0 023	1 095±0 030	88 734±0 112	76 130±0 077	83 760±0 078	11 969±0 476	7 562±0 246
	August	2 414±0 039	1 070±0 031	1 433±0 039	1 189±0 044	88 203±0 115	78 48±0 147	81 463±0 091	11 075±0 359	8 570±0 385
	September	2 730±0 059	1 040±0 047	1 770±0 042	1 354±0 040	89 12±0 123	78 604±0 182	81 467±0 086	9 693±0 436	8 410±0 334
	October	2 327±0 059	1 718±0 071	2 393±0 062	1 918±0 041	87 904±0 224	71 013±0 192	81 116±0 381	4 464±0 386	8 696±0 321
	November	2 072±0 080	4 087±0 050	3 325±0 107	2 577±0 106	81 23±0 196	61 47±0 276	73 593±0 107	0 573±0 001	8 573±0 284
	December	2 100±0 075	6 114±0 169	4 945±0 181	3 100±0 117	77 089±0 165	84 05±0 291	66 190±0 103	0 108±0 004	0 007±0 015
	Average	2 450±0 026	2 734±0 045	2 121±0 033	1 828±0 051	86 442±0 209	83 433±0 347	78 238±0 270	5 329±0 190	8 866±0 085
	S D	0 790	1 267	0 996	0 827	5 57	0 76	7 33	5 35	2 07
BOGRA.	January	2 088±0 096	2 379±0 070	1 890±0 056	1 200±0 087	75 651±0 244	52 413±0 157	64 140±0 104	0 322±0 070	9 711±0 411
	February	2 008±0 104	1 841±0 048	1 549±0 031	0 981±0 064	20 430±0 271	55 040±0 229	67 760±0 198	0 808±0 076	9 358±0 411
	March	2 612±0 126	1 869±0 052	1 698±0 047	0 971±0 078	90 486±0 493	62 02±0 179	70 712±0 246	1 142±0 144	9 261±0 491
	April	1 937±0 083	2 169±0 057	1 681±0 047	0 862±0 081	94 326±0 261	71 26±0 135	81 160±0 239	2 295±0 449	9 244±0 465
	May	1 398±0 071	0 977±0 038	1 601±0 045	0 849±0 060	92 7±0 139	74 10±0 149	83 263±0 218	7 465±0 411	8 802±0 409
	June	1 945±0 063	1 734±0 058	1 413±0 049	0 866±0 068	89 67±0 191	67 07±0 099	81 38±0 152	2 068±0 490	8 500±0 285
	July	1 916±0 056	1 439±0 021	1 857±0 042	1 416±0 061	92 00±0 181	80 69±0 144	86 608±0 104	5 21±0 790	8 130±0 276
	August	1 836±0 063	1 608±0 068	1 699±0 069	1 000±0 087	89 246±0 168	78 009±0 050	83 940±0 190	11 841±0 095	7 752±0 328
	September	2 041±0 082	2 007±0 079	1 913±0 127	0 940±0 081	84 123±0 169	77 999±0 071	81 760±0 102	11 601±0 127	7 73±0 380
	October	2 471±0 072	2 439±0 121	1 857±0 070	1 276±0 068	87 900±0 214	74 139±0 174	80 280±0 155	5 21±0 790	8 008±0 491
	November	2 091±0 055	2 772±0 118	1 933±0 066	1 408±0 105	82 306±0 161	62±0 101	72 850±0 132	0 574±0 110	9 447±0 452
	December	2 101±0 111	2 813±0 090	2 380±0 085	1 409±0 133	76 206±0 148	54 013±0 179	65 410±0 126	0 62±0 087	9 70±0 425
	Average	2 614±0 033	2 163±0 025	1 749±0 020	1 095±0 027					8 849±0 116
	S D	0 932	713	573	112					1 268
BAKARGANJ.	January	4 023±0 098	8 287±0 078	1 841±0 049	0 203±0 090	77 583±0 185	55 126±0 192	66 458±0 160	0 844±0 072	8 650±0 352
	February	4 363±0 087	2 201±0 054	1 276±0 078	0 126±0 090	81 709±0 241	34 726±0 262	76 730±0 213	0 724±0 111	8 344±0 341
	March	4 080±0 080	2 710±0 098	1 841±0 078	0 917±0 112	89 511±0 192	68 848±0 191	72 848±0 191	2 421±0 296	8 257±0 387
	April	4 522±0 084	3 624±0 051	1 473±0 036	0 200±0 062	91 46±0 195	74 126±0 245	82 003±0 213	4 874±0 129	7 365±0 329
	May	2 758±0 053	2 216±0 070	1 355±0 040	0 190±0 048	91 710±0 171	76 176±0 150	81 242±0 143	8 069±0 518	7 062±0 266
	June	2 914±0 044	1 914±0 041	1 101±0 031	1 101±0 031	90 700±0 131	70 700±0 131	78 700±0 131	7 645±0 322	7 645±0 322
	July	1 929±0 046	1 644±0 041	1 111±0 036	0 110±0 028	97 296±0 081	77 273±0 057	82 213±0 059	10 002±0 041	7 785±0 333
	August	1 610±0 011	1 711±0 051	1 082±0 041	0 075±0 018	94 013±0 090	75 100±0 081	82 570±0 089	17 038±0 368	7 000±0 426
	September	1 815±0 015	1 712±0 014	1 082±0 041	0 108±0 018	94 013±0 090	75 100±0 081	82 570±0 089	17 038±0 368	7 702±0 441
	October	2 700±0 080	2 625±0 058	1 382±0 040	0 166±0 040	87 350±0 139	74 18±0 165	81 04±0 118	6 818±0 361	7 504±0 118
	November	2 744±0 117	2 821±0 102	1 875±0 079	0 171±0 040	82 291±0 131	65 36±0 260	74 206±0 126	1 591±0 243	7 327±0 110
	December	4 445±0 134	4 000±0 137	2 482±0 117	0 145±0 012	76 01±0 160	56 87±0 196	67 016±0 156	0 300±0 105	7 27±0 280
	Average	2 861±0 040	2 377±0 034	1 471±0 008	0 168±0 012				7 78±0 230	8 011±0 088
	S D	1 12	97	827	193				8 16	2 66

*Calculated on the estimated population on the 1st of each month assuming a regular geometrical rate of change in the population from one census to the next.

*Not calculated.

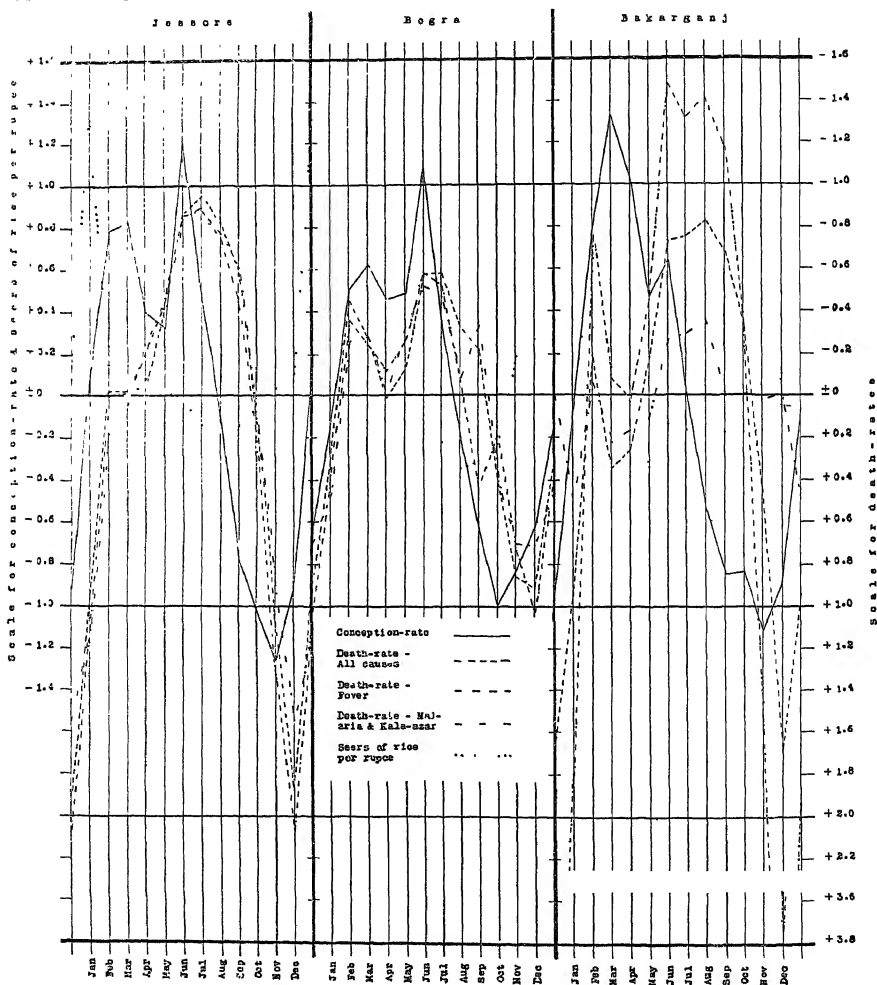
years in which separate figures were on record in the Public Health Department. The birth rate and death rate were calculated upon the population on the first of each month again computed on the assumption that the population had changed at a regular monthly rate from one census to the next. The averages thus obtained together with their probable error are entered in statement No. IV-23. From these figures diagram No. IV-16 overlaid has been prepared. As in the case of the last three diagrams the base line (0) represents the over-all monthly average of each district and the points plotted represent the amount by which the birth rate, death rate and price of rice exceed or fall short of the over-all monthly average. In the diagram the birth rate has been shifted back to nine months earlier in order to represent the conception rate. This involves a slight inaccuracy inasmuch as it takes into account nine recorded rates at the beginning of the period which strictly should fall outside if the computation were accurate and it leaves out of account rates for nine months after the end of the period chosen which strictly ought to be taken into account. Over a period of 30 years the effect of this inaccuracy is not likely to be very great and for practical purposes on the assumptions detailed in the last paragraph the birth rate in any month may be reasonably taken as equivalent to the conception rate nine months earlier. In plotting the points on the diagram, moreover, in order to illustrate any negative correlation which might exist the death rate has been inverted so that the excess of the death rate over the average is shown on the same side of the base line as a deficiency in the number of births, etc. As in diagram A the points plotted show the amounts by which the averages for individual

months exceed or fall short of the over-all monthly average in terms of its standard deviation. In each case the conception rate curve shows two marked peaks in March and June and a marked depression in October or November. The principal peak occurs in June in Jessore and Bogra and in

DIAGRAM No. IV-16.

Average monthly rates of conception and of death from various causes with plentifulness of rice (seers per rupee), districts of Jessore, Bogra and Bakarganj.

NOTE.—The base (0) represents the over-all monthly average and the points plotted are the amount by which the averages for individual months exceed (+) or fall short of (—) the over-all monthly average expressed in multiples of its standard deviation. In order to bring out negative correlation the death rates are plotted on the same side of the base line as deficiency and excess respectively in other items. Averages are of 1921-30 for deaths from malaria and kala-azar and of 1901-1930 for other items.



March in Bakarganj and the lesser peak occurs in March in the first two districts and in June in Bakarganj. The deepest depression occurs in November in Jessore and Bakarganj and in October in Bogra. The tendencies agree in general with those illustrated in diagram No. IV-15.

Variations in the death rate from fever and from malaria and kala-azar do not appear to show strongly marked deviations from the death rate in each district from all causes. This of course is natural since deaths from fever contribute between 64 and 85 per cent. of those from all causes. Here also the natural expectation that the conception rate might prove to be lowest when the death rate was highest is not entirely borne out. In each case, however, it is in December that the maximum death rate occurs and this would seem to support the conclusions deduced above that the second or third month of pregnancy is a period of particular susceptibility to adverse health conditions and that lethal factors have a comparatively greater effect in influencing the birth rate at this period than at the time of conception. Some apparent support seems to be given to such a deduction also by the figures at the peak of the curve for conceptions, for favourable conditions of health (i.e., a low death rate) occur a month or two months after the peak for conceptions in Jessore and Bogra or even three to five months after, in the case of Bakarganj. Similarly, it is a month or two months after the lowest conception rate that the highest death rate occurs in each district.

169. Correlations.—The main object of the extraction of these figures, however, was to provide material for an examination into the correspondence between fertility and malaria. The three districts chosen were selected because amongst those for which there is available a continuous record of all the factors considered, they show the most notable differences of population, growth or population constitution. The population of Jessore during the whole period has shown a decline at each successive census whereas Bakarganj has rapidly increased. The population of Jessore is principally Hindu and of Bakarganj principally Muslim whilst that of Bogra contains a considerable admixture of aborigines introduced during the middle of the last century. It was not anticipated that there would be any considerable effect on the birth rate caused by the occurrence of such festivals as those amongst the Muslims during which marital relations are forbidden since these festivals, occurring according to a lunar year, show a regular recession through the calendar months and in a period of 33 years will have occurred roughly an equal number of times in each month of the year. The figures when computed were forwarded to Mr. P. J. Griffiths, I.C.S., who kindly undertook the task of attempting to work out partial correlation co-efficients. The value of this analysis is that where there are a number of factors some of which may individually or in combination act as conditions of others, it provides a method by which the effect of each can be independently estimated, whilst allowance is made for the effect of their combinations. It was intended to put into an appendix an account of the method adopted in working out the correlation co-efficients, but technical difficulties in setting up type with a number of complicated mathematical formulæ have prevented this. The results can be summarised briefly: Mr. Griffiths found no evidence of linear correlation between temperature, seers of rice per rupee, rainfall and conception rate or between malaria, seers of rice and conception rate. In each case the co-efficients obtained were small and were not significantly greater than their own probable error. He states—

“In the first place I looked for correlation between four variables,—temperature, seers of rice per rupee, rainfall and conception rate. There was no evidence of correlation and the linear regression equation (of best fit) did not even approximately work.

I next looked for correlation between three variables—malaria, seers of rice and conception. If my figures are correct there is no linear correlation in either of these cases. Theoretically one should go further and use the method of successive approximation to look for multiple curvilinear correlation. The labour would be enormous and probably not worth while.”

The conclusions of this enquiry require further elucidation by professional statisticians, but there seems to be justification in hesitating to ascribe observed fluctuations in the death rate simply or exclusively to the prevalence of malaria: in other words it appears that the immediate incidence of malaria is not itself a trustworthy index of fertility.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in Bengal and in natural divisions of Bengal, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(NOTE.—The mean age is calculated on the method adopted in 1921.)

Age at last birthday	1931		1921		1911		Age at last birthday	1931		1921		1911	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL BENGAL													
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	1,477	1,036	1,209	1,370	1,343	1,503	0-5	1,611	1,098	1,390	1,495	1,396	1,616
5-10	1,119	746	881	1,077	1,153	981	5-10	1,421	1,301	1,655	1,709	1,692	1,708
10-15	244	270	119	142	142	162	10-15	1,206	1,171	1,169	960	1,080	894
15-20	309	449	242	272	297	311	15-20	884	1,066	885	1,020	793	956
20-25	309	142	241	216	309	359	20-25	8,331	3,280	3,213	3,212	3,208	3,171
25-30	301	320	283	313	291	315	30-35	1,387	1,172	1,458	1,213	1,401	1,229
35-40	1,388	1,315	1,644	1,606	1,635	1,573	35-40	810	822	380	369	400	426
40-45	1,195	1,187	1,247	1,031	1,153	981	Mean age	22.9	21.8	23.3	22.5	23.5	22.4
45-50	876	1,056	896	1,037	887	1,011							
50-55	929	1,094	792	872	785	948							
55-60	903	896	947	834	938	938							
60 & over	833	761	804	745	792	719							
Mean age	23.3	21.7	23.9	23.1	23.8	23.2							
WEST BENGAL													
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000							
0-5	1,285	1,394	984	1,064	1,160	1,214							
5-10	1,235	1,261	1,464	1,255	1,311	1,111							
10-15	1,105	1,020	1,250	1,009	1,201	968							
15-20	1,209	1,017	958	1,079	911	1,018							
20-25	3,554	3,507	3,445	3,245	3,245	3,206							
25-30	1,506	1,303	1,581	1,341	1,604	1,000							
30-35	820	1,077	891	1,228	844	591							
Mean age	24.5	24.4	25.0	25.2	24.8	25.3							
CENTRAL BENGAL													
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000							
0-5	1,270	1,315	1,024	1,249	1,305	1,385							
5-10	1,224	1,247	1,332	1,442	1,295	1,301							
10-15	1,118	1,124	1,187	1,014	1,181	956							
15-20	1,020	1,027	914	1,020	897	991							
20-25	3,594	3,322	3,532	3,401	3,511	3,240							
25-30	1,532	1,347	1,605	1,473	1,764	1,526							
30-35	846	1,077	891	1,228	844	591							
Mean age	24.4	23.3	25.2	24.6	25.1	24.7							
NORTH BENGAL (RAJSHAHI DIVISION AND GOOOH BEHAR)													
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000							
0-5	1,611	1,098	1,390	1,495	1,396	1,616							
5-10	1,421	1,301	1,655	1,709	1,692	1,708							
10-15	1,206	1,171	1,169	960	1,080	894							
15-20	884	1,066	885	1,020	793	956							
20-25	8,331	3,280	3,213	3,212	3,208	3,171							
25-30	1,387	1,172	1,458	1,213	1,401	1,229							
30-35	810	822	380	369	400	426							
Mean age	22.9	21.8	23.3	22.5	23.5	22.4							
EAST BENGAL (DAOGA DIVISION)													
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000							
0-5	1,602	1,755	1,340	1,506	1,465	1,624							
5-10	1,444	1,389	1,617	1,719	1,608	1,675							
10-15	1,261	1,289	1,290	1,056	1,228	1,021							
15-20	1,287	1,022	1,079	1,154	1,344	1,015							
20-25	3,100	3,107	3,083	3,085	3,010	3,018							
25-30	1,356	1,124	1,387	1,187	1,359	1,106							
30-35	868	815	424	414	451	451							
Mean age	22.6	21.3	23.2	22.2	23.2	22.3							
EAST BENGAL (DHITTAGONG DIVISION AND TRIPURA STATE)													
ALL AGES	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000							
0-5	1,720	1,775	1,372	1,444	1,530	1,580							
5-10	1,512	1,397	1,705	1,730	1,730	1,720							
10-15	1,287	1,022	1,079	1,154	1,344	1,015							
15-20	855	1,021	915	1,029	885	1,041							
20-25	2,906	3,170	2,862	3,111	2,806	2,898							
25-30	1,382	1,105	1,362	1,185	1,330	1,107							
30-35	882	870	405	457	412	390							
Mean age	22.0	21.0	22.7	21.8	22.7	21.8							

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each of the main religions, Bengal with States.

No. per 10,000 of the sex and religion shown who were aged at last birthday														
Religion, race and sex		0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	60 and over.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
All religions														
1911	Male	1,478	1,368	1,198	876	929	903	833	648	545	391	305	195	333
	Female	1,636	1,430	1,078	1,036	981	968	748	509	392	346	148	430	
1921	Male	1,209	1,544	1,287	896	792	947	804	681	577	384	350	186	403
	Female	1,370	1,665	1,031	1,037	972	998	745	538	509	302	346	148	430
1911	Male	1,343	1,835	1,183	867	785	934	792	688	571	370	355	167	430
	Female	1,503	1,573	1,861	1,011	948	938	719	516	512	302	363	154	486
Muslim														
1911	Male	1,598	1,471	1,204	850	901	898	798	600	500	362	278	179	310
	Female	1,736	1,402	1,232	1,080	1,106	890	704	608	408	300	227	198	200
1921	Male	1,310	1,097	1,309	873	778	910	765	649	530	355	331	147	380
	Female	1,740	1,740	1,073	1,084	908	953	710	600	511	297	318	170	380
1911	Male	1,478	1,690	1,241	839	724	895	716	640	525	339	332	141	402
	Female	1,031	1,708	1,017	1,009	946	929	697	477	472	260	330	179	405
Hindu														
1911	Male	1,320	1,242	1,114	897	963	946	876	698	598	428	338	213	361
	Female	1,484	1,204	1,079	1,022	1,036	920	789	588	502	342	319	224	401
1921	Male	1,075	1,390	1,174	927	861	987	861	720	631	419	372	190	483
	Female	1,234	1,430	1,078	1,036	981	982	777	585	558	348	354	198	518
1911	Male	1,187	1,356	1,119	903	846	981	832	700	622	405	360	195	404
	Female	1,348	1,411	1,913	1,017	951	949	692	432	561	352	400	197	571
Tribal														
1931	Male	1,492	1,422	1,171	765	805	873	825	672	373	404	318	200	387
	Female	1,818	1,415	1,011	961	907	970	748	681	438	310	263	120	368
1921	Male	1,338	1,075	1,107	791	657	871	798	704	648	389	377	190	410
	Female	1,368	1,708	1,142	961	902	958	784	653	494	249	292	123	379
1911	Male	1,582	1,691	1,142	738	648	968	792	681	628	348	365	145	491
	Female	1,085	1,728	1,028	931	908	965	707	493	405	230	284	114	410
Buddhist														
1931	Male	1,029	1,414	1,228	890	873	885	767	560	488	378	320	225	392
	Female	1,303	1,554	1,180	938	934	928	797	607	437	341	312	180	471
1921	Male	1,322	1,401	1,301	968	865	877	778	684	582	375	400	181	407
	Female	1,261	1,475	1,185	1,044	939	873	751	483	510	325	368	159	503
1911	Male	1,369	1,563	1,277	912	770	984	798	684	585	320	368	180	480
	Female	1,403	1,698	1,186	1,006	912	883	748	481	520	303	387	161	478
Christian														
1931	Male	1,358	1,588	1,121	917	940	978	903	697	604	430	335	198	391
	Female	1,632	1,298	1,185	1,083	917	970	783	689	474	355	374	165	466
1921	Male	1,093	1,240	1,310	905	926	967	874	761	653	430	364	179	378
	Female	1,411	1,681	1,092	982	887	983	789	614	609	389	312	156	447
1911	Male	1,171	1,501	1,116	905	816	961	800	749	609	405	343	167	407
	Female	1,181	1,567	1,111	905	1,039	932	790	588	409	332	317	167	446

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes and other groups.

CASTE or other group and religion	Locality	Number per mille of males aged to (nearest birthday) —						Number per mille of females aged to (nearest birthday) —						
		0-6	7-13	14-19	20-23	24-43	44 and over	0-6	7-13	14-19	20-23	24-43	44 and over	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 AGARWALA—Hindu	Calcutta	125	126	80	159	340	170	177	157	95	151	294	150	
2 BAIDYA—Hindu	Bengal	173	172	85	141	261	108	105	155	84	136	245	137	
3 BAISHNAB—Hindu	Bengal	153	150	61	119	304	213	114	143	58	155	299	224	
4 BAURI—Hindu	West Bengal	188	164	60	114	324	146	185	149	64	142	311	154	
5 BRAHMAN—Hindu	Bengal	163	156	68	143	305	162	189	167	70	145	272	157	
6 BRAHMO—Hindu	Bengal	45	121	159	151	164	134	85	150	124	163	222	152	
7 CHAKMA—All religions	Chittagong	233	196	59	102	272	135	258	180	64	130	254	114	
8 DOM—Hindu	Bengal	168	159	60	117	341	152	174	140	62	144	229	151	
9 JALIYA KAIBARTA—Hindu	West Bengal	183	160	71	125	293	168	187	158	67	155	270	145	
10 JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	Bengal	183	169	70	128	289	161	195	158	74	151	277	112	
11 KAYASTHA—Hindu	Bengal	172	166	70	135	259	168	189	165	69	145	275	159	
12 KHAMBU—All religions	Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri	150	146	77	147	290	172	175	119	65	169	297	207	
13 KOCH—Hindu	North Bengal	190	197	98	149	249	156	210	141	103	178	281	167	
14 LEPCHA—All religions	Darjeeling	169	152	72	115	261	231	175	135	104	181	259	182	
15 MAHISHYA—Hindu	West Bengal	174	169	69	132	301	155	179	154	63	155	295	154	
16 NAMASUDRA—Hindu	Bengal	199	177	65	136	289	160	201	165	72	143	274	143	
17 SANTAL—All religions	West Bengal and North Bengal	198	182	60	110	303	147	226	164	62	140	296	138	
18 SHAHA—Hindu	Bengal	170	166	75	131	273	185	186	194	80	152	290	152	
19 TIPARA—All religions	East Bengal and Tripura State	239	198	51	96	281	142	254	187	61	159	244	115	
20 ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	Calcutta, Towns	163	178	75	135	306	118	173	170	89	144	294	154	
21 INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	Bengal	200	161	68	122	293	147	260	159	77	149	278	137	
22 "MUSLIM" (JOLAH) —Muslim	Bengal	192	188	61	118	304	137	206	175	70	155	271	117	
23 SAYYAD—Muslim	Bengal	185	185	69	127	291	143	202	175	77	155	293	128	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Proportion of children under 14 and of persons over 43 to those aged 14-43 in certain castes; also of married females aged 14-43 per 100 females (ages are to the nearest birthday).

CASTE or other group and religion.		Proportion of children both sexes per 100		Proportion of persons over 43 per 100 of the same sex aged 14-43		Number of married females aged 14-43 per 100 females of all ages.
		Persons aged 14-43.	Married females aged 14-43	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	AGARWALA—Hindu	50	163	20	23	43
2	BAIDYA—Hindu	78	228	35	34	38
3	BAISHNAB—Hindu	57	158	44	44	33
4	BAURI—Hindu	67	161	29	30	42
5	BRAHMAN—Hindu	66	168	31	31	37
6	BRAHMO—Hindu	22	85	21	45	40
7	CHAKMA—All religions	99	253	42	26	37
8	DOM—Hindu	61	153	39	38	43
9	JALIYA KAIBARTA—Hindu	69	161	34	28	37
10	JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	75	160	33	25	38
11	KAYASTHA—Hindu	70	165	34	34	34
12	KHAMBU—Hindu	87	193	32	40	38
13	KOCH—Hindu	71	188	31	27	39
14	LEPCHA—All religions	61	171	52	29	36
15	MAHISHYA—Hindu	67	183	31	30	38
16	NAMASUDRA—Hindu	75	180	35	39	27
17	SANTAL—All religions	80	198	31	26	39
18	SHAHA—Hindu	70	185	39	30	38
19	TIPARA—All religions	100	242	31	26	38
20	ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	64	217	29	39	31
21	INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	74	258	31	27	39
22	"MUSLIM" (JOLAH)—Muslim	77	190	30	28	43
23	SAYYAD—Muslim	76	195	29	26	41

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Proportion of children under 10 and of persons over 60 to those aged 15-40 ; also of married females aged 15-40 per 100 females ; 1911, 1921 and 1931 (ages are to the last birthday).

Part A.—All religions by districts.

Natural and administrative division, district and state	Proportion of children, both sexes, per 100						Proportion of persons aged 15 and over per 100 aged 15-40						Number of married females, aged 15-40 per 100 females, all marital conditions, of all ages		
	Persons aged 15-40			Married females aged 15-40			1931		1921		1911		1931	1921	1911
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
BENGAL	68	68	76	170	172	181	8	8	10	10	11	12	36	34	34
West Bengal	56	53	61	148	146	157	7	9	9	12	11	13	35	33	33
BURDWAN DIVISION	58	53	61	148	148	157	7	9	9	12	11	13	35	33	33
Burdwan	71	70	53	142	130	147	7	9	8	11	11	11	36	35	33
Burduah	61	51	60	151	151	157	8	9	9	10	12	11	36	36	31
Bardham	62	54	67	157	157	167	8	10	9	12	11	11	34	32	32
Malaypur	57	56	61	148	145	154	7	8	9	12	10	13	32	32	34
Howrah	70	51	56	142	144	152	7	9	9	12	11	15	35	33	32
Howrah	57	57	57	151	152	159	7	10	9	13	10	11	37	34	33
Central Bengal	59	57	62	165	160	170	7	9	9	11	10	13	35	34	33
PRESDENCY DIVISION	58	57	62	165	160	170	7	9	9	11	10	13	35	34	33
24-Parganas	58	60	63	177	181	170	8	9	10	11	11	12	36	35	31
Calcutta	59	57	56	144	142	152	7	9	9	12	11	14	37	36	31
Nadia	64	60	68	166	160	171	8	10	10	13	11	15	33	32	32
Murshidabad	73	64	74	177	156	183	8	10	9	12	11	17	33	31	32
Tinaguri	62	59	62	164	157	161	8	8	10	11	10	11	34	34	33
Khulna	71	71	75	141	177	187	10	8	11	9	12	11	35	34	31
North Bengal	71	74	78	175	183	195	7	7	9	9	10	10	36	35	34
RAJSHAH DIVISION	71	74	79	174	182	194	7	7	9	9	10	10	36	35	34
Rajshahi	68	70	75	157	164	181	7	7	9	9	9	11	37	36	35
Dinajpur	71	74	81	172	181	204	7	5	8	7	9	8	37	37	34
Jaipur	64	67	74	157	164	184	6	7	7	7	10	10	36	36	31
Baranagar	63	68	61	188	176	170	8	10	10	12	11	11	31	30	32
Baranagar	68	80	80	182	197	200	7	10	10	8	11	10	35	35	34
Bohara	71	78	88	162	177	203	8	7	7	10	9	9	38	37	35
Patna	75	75	77	176	174	184	9	9	10	12	10	13	35	35	31
Malda	75	74	85	186	185	206	8	8	9	11	10	13	33	33	32
COCH BIHAR STATE	68	72	72	168	205	205	8	8	10	8	11	10	32	31	31
East Bengal	77	78	82	178	183	190	9	7	11	9	11	11	36	35	34
Dacca DIVISION	76	77	80	178	183	190	9	8	11	10	11	11	36	35	34
Dacca	77	80	82	176	181	189	10	8	12	11	12	12	36	34	34
Moulvibazar	81	80	81	181	190	204	9	7	10	9	11	10	36	36	34
Faridpur	71	73	75	176	176	181	9	9	11	12	12	13	36	34	31
Bakarganj	75	71	73	174	166	174	8	7	11	10	12	10	36	36	35
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	80	79	86	178	182	190	9	8	11	8	11	9	36	35	34
Tippera	78	77	82	177	181	189	8	5	10	7	10	8	37	36	35
Narail	80	81	84	184	192	202	9	6	12	8	11	12	37	37	34
Chittagong	78	81	84	173	179	182	9	8	12	11	11	11	36	33	34
Chittagong Hill Tract	80	67	75	207	192	202	8	7	11	10	12	10	33	32	32
TRIPURA STATE	74	72	77	183	183	190	8	7	10	9	10	9	36	35	35
SIKKIM	73	67	72	197	180	186	13	14	16	17	15	17	30	29	31

Part B.—By religions in each division.

Religion and natural division	Number of children (both sexes) aged under 10 per 100						Persons aged 60 and over per 100 persons aged 15-40						Number of married females aged 15-40 per 100 females, all marital conditions, of all ages		
	Persons aged 15-40			Married females aged 15-40			1931		1921		1911		1931	1921	1911
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
All religions	68	68	76	170	172	181	8	8	10	10	11	12	36	34	34
All Bengal	68	68	76	170	172	181	8	8	10	10	11	12	36	34	34
Burdwan	58	53	61	148	146	157	7	9	9	12	11	13	35	33	33
Presidency	59	57	62	165	160	170	7	9	9	11	10	13	35	34	33
Rajshahi	71	74	78	175	183	195	7	7	9	9	10	10	36	35	34
Dacca	76	77	80	178	183	190	9	8	11	9	11	9	36	35	34
Chittagong	79	79	85	179	182	190	9	8	11	9	11	9	36	35	34
Muslim	75	77	82	174	179	188	8	6	10	9	10	10	37	36	35
All Bengal	75	77	82	174	179	188	8	6	10	9	10	10	37	36	35
Burdwan	59	55	65	143	136	151	7	8	9	10	11	18	38	37	36
Presidency	64	63	68	161	161	171	7	7	9	10	10	12	36	36	35
Rajshahi	74	79	85	171	182	194	7	8	10	9	10	12	37	36	35
Dacca	80	82	87	191	188	196	8	6	10	9	11	10	37	36	35
Chittagong	84	84	91	181	187	194	8	6	10	8	11	9	37	35	35
Hindu	60	58	62	163	163	171	8	9	10	12	11	14	34	33	32
All Bengal	60	58	62	163	163	171	8	9	10	12	11	14	34	33	32
Burdwan	55	52	59	140	146	160	7	9	9	12	11	14	35	33	32
Presidency	63	63	67	161	161	171	8	10	9	12	10	14	33	32	32
Rajshahi	64	66	69	177	184	194	8	8	10	10	10	12	33	33	34
Dacca	67	66	67	172	172	176	11	10	12	13	12	15	33	32	32
Chittagong	69	68	72	170	164	177	11	10	8	12	11	11	35	34	33
Tribal	78	77	85	187	188	201	9	8	11	9	11	11	34	33	34
All Bengal	78	77	85	187	188	201	9	8	11	9	11	11	34	33	34
Burdwan	72	70	74	160	172	185	8	10	10	11	11	14	35	33	34
Presidency	76	61	81	197	165	220	8	8	11	10	11	14	36	36	32
Rajshahi	87	85	95	209	203	219	9	9	11	7	12	8	33	33	34
Dacca	88	81	85	191	198	194	10	8	11	10	12	9	37	37	35
Chittagong	77	60	84	199	170	198	8	7	17	11	12	9	32	31	36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Variation in population at certain age periods, by natural divisions for each decade from 1881-1931.

(NOTE.—Ages are to the last birthday.)

Natural division	Period	Variation per cent in population (increase+ decrease-)					
		All ages	0-10	10-15	15-40	40-60	60 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bengal	1881-1891	7.5	+ 9.6	-11.5	+ 7.9	+ 3.2	- 1.6
	1891-1901	7.7	+ 6.6	-16.1	+ 9.4	+ 6.7	- 1.2
	1901-1911	8.0	+ 9.3	- 8.0	+10.1	+ 3.6	+ 0.9
	1911-1921	2.2	+ 1.2	- 8.3	+ 5.3	+ 3.5	+ 5.9
	1921-1931	7.3	+ 8.8	-10.7	+ 8.9	+ 3.8	-14.6
West Bengal	1881-1891	4.0	+ 7.5	+ 9.6	+ 1.0	+ 5.1	- 1.1
	1891-1901	7.2	+ 5.1	-13.4	+ 6.1	+ 5.1	+ 7.5
	1901-1911	2.8	+ 1.1	- 2.3	+ 0.2	+ 1.9	+ 0.6
	1911-1921	4.9	+11.4	+ 0.6	+ 0.1	+ 1.9	-17.1
	1921-1931	7.4	+ 13.9	+ 0.9	+ 1.1	+ 0.6	-15.0
Central Bengal	1881-1891	3.0	+ 4.3	- 7.6	+ 5.1	+ 1.7	- 3.2
	1891-1901	5.4	+ 1.0	-11.8	+ 6.4	+ 1.2	- 3.1
	1901-1911	5.1	+ 4.2	+ 3.6	+ 0.3	+ 1.7	- 3.0
	1911-1921	9.4	+ 5.3	+ 4.6	+ 2.8	+ 1.9	- 8.1
	1921-1931	6.5	+11.4	+ 8.1	+ 5.4	+ 1.4	-17.0
North Bengal	1881-1891	4.1	+ 5.9	+ 2.0	+ 7.2	+ 1.6	- 5.0
	1891-1901	10.8	+ 11.8	+ 1.1	+ 4.8	+ 1.1	- 0.4
	1901-1911	8.0	-10.5	+ 4.9	+ 4.0	+ 5.7	+ 2.1
	1911-1921	1.9	+ 1.4	+ 9.9	+ 4.9	+ 1.3	+ 7.2
	1921-1931	2.9	+ 0.4	+11.6	+ 5.2	+ 1.5	-18.6
East Bengal	1881-1891	14.5	+16.5	+21.4	+15.1	+ 7.0	+ 4.9
	1891-1901	10.8	+19.7	+14.8	+ 7.0	+ 3.2	+ 3.6
	1901-1911	12.4	+14.3	+ 6.0	+11.0	+ 9.7	+ 3.6
	1911-1921	8.7	+ 5.0	-12.0	+10.1	+ 0.4	+ 2.6
	1921-1931	10.1	+10.8	+12.7	+12.1	+ 6.1	-12.5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Estimated population in thousands, Bengal, British Territory and administrative divisions, on the 1st January in each year 1921 to 1930 by sexes.

(NOTE.—The population of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is not included.)

Year.	BENGAL		Burdwan Division		Presidency Division		Raychura Division		Dacca Division		Chittagong Division	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Population (in thousands) recorded at the census of 1921—												
1921	24,043	24,057	4,100	4,100	5,089	5,089	5,371	5,371	6,573	6,573	2,922	2,922
1922	22,484	22,484	3,949	3,949	4,371	4,371	4,974	4,974	6,263	6,263	2,604	2,604
Population (in thousands) recorded at the census of 1931 —												
1931	25,927	25,927	4,452	4,452	5,475	5,475	6,549	6,549	7,122	7,122	3,327	3,327
1930	23,973	23,973	4,194	4,194	4,632	4,632	5,118	5,118	6,741	6,741	3,286	3,286
Population (in thousands) on the 1st January of each year calculated at a uniform annual rate of increase —												
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1921	24,043	24,057	4,100	4,100	5,089	5,089	5,371	5,371	6,573	6,573	2,922	2,922
1922	22,484	22,484	3,949	3,949	4,371	4,371	4,974	4,974	6,263	6,263	2,604	2,604
1923	22,397	22,397	3,917	3,917	4,340	4,340	4,943	4,943	6,232	6,232	2,594	2,594
1924	22,377	22,377	3,903	3,903	4,326	4,326	4,929	4,929	6,218	6,218	2,580	2,580
1925	22,357	22,357	3,889	3,889	4,312	4,312	4,915	4,915	6,204	6,204	2,566	2,566
1926	22,337	22,337	3,875	3,875	4,298	4,298	4,901	4,901	6,190	6,190	2,552	2,552
1927	22,317	22,317	3,861	3,861	4,284	4,284	4,887	4,887	6,176	6,176	2,538	2,538
1928	22,297	22,297	3,847	3,847	4,270	4,270	4,873	4,873	6,162	6,162	2,524	2,524
1929	22,277	22,277	3,833	3,833	4,256	4,256	4,859	4,859	6,148	6,148	2,510	2,510
1930	22,257	22,257	3,819	3,819	4,242	4,242	4,845	4,845	6,134	6,134	2,496	2,496
Average 1921-30	24,201	24,201	4,255	4,255	5,059	5,059	5,480	5,480	6,808	6,808	3,094	3,094

Year.	Population (in thousands) on the 1st January of each year calculated from the returns of vital occurrences :—											
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1921	24,070	24,471	4,113	3,900	5,100	4,354	5,304	6,509	6,239	2,916	2,899	3
1922	24,025	24,437	4,089	3,912	5,080	4,358	5,317	6,500	6,234	2,901	2,884	3
1923	24,005	24,500	4,101	3,958	5,064	4,363	5,347	6,503	6,238	2,905	2,888	3
1924	24,159	24,613	4,128	3,983	5,105	4,395	5,373	6,522	6,310	2,940	2,935	3
1925	24,222	24,717	4,140	3,997	5,106	4,410	5,389	6,505	6,338	2,970	2,959	3
1926	24,285	24,833	4,173	4,020	5,110	4,424	5,408	6,510	6,365	3,001	2,997	3
1927	24,385	24,888	4,198	4,051	5,101	4,438	5,422	6,511	6,377	3,015	2,997	3
1928	24,441	24,940	4,208	4,057	5,098	4,401	5,421	6,522	6,443	3,030	3,006	9
1929	24,545	24,922	4,280	4,075	5,098	4,413	5,377	6,544	6,470	3,050	3,019	5
1930	24,623	24,441	4,270	4,111	5,110	4,423	5,391	6,553	6,488	3,050	3,044	5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—Annual reported births and birth rates by sexes in each administrative division, 1921-1930.

(i) Actual births.

Year	*Bengal		Divisions									
			Burdwan		Presidency.		Rajshahi		Dacca		*Chittagong	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	689,549	635,868	124,787	116,869	139,032	127,946	160,152	149,138	162,813	167,473	82,789	74,862
1921	674,791	626,210	116,311	108,317	132,189	122,297	156,066	150,706	178,698	184,815	81,611	74,135
1922	664,469	611,745	121,171	115,557	140,395	128,047	160,372	140,192	176,828	162,030	72,708	65,310
1923	723,508	689,903	127,075	119,412	148,450	137,648	165,940	157,937	165,840	180,044	82,263	74,842
1924	710,933	669,181	110,564	112,079	130,489	128,714	163,267	151,721	200,119	185,420	88,574	80,637
1925	717,330	659,767	133,477	124,779	150,519	138,290	174,785	162,761	178,245	161,709	80,304	72,128
1926	663,588	612,792	132,012	124,993	120,523	119,589	145,584	135,562	171,755	157,374	83,814	75,294
1927	670,251	616,612	116,118	108,813	128,564	118,279	169,650	157,863	177,909	161,986	78,010	69,671
1928	717,568	658,084	126,225	117,499	143,526	132,073	168,466	155,891	192,841	171,725	87,028	77,906
1929	709,145	652,133	134,471	120,714	147,643	135,807	154,811	141,860	181,460	168,314	88,757	79,438
1930	643,865	594,046	117,257	109,925	129,219	117,794	110,665	130,884	171,092	158,301	81,822	77,112

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(ii) Birth rates (number of births per 1,000 of the same sex).

A.—Calculated on the population at the census of 1921.

Year.	*Bengal		Divisions									
			Burdwan		Presidency.		Rajshahi		Dacca.		*Chittagong	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	28.7	26.3	30.4	29.8	27.3	29.2	29.7	29.9	27.8	26.8	28.3	25.7
1921	28.0	27.9	28.4	27.4	26.0	28.0	30.8	31.4	27.2	26.1	27.9	25.5
1922	27.6	27.2	30.3	29.3	26.0	29.3	27.0	28.1	27.0	25.9	24.9	22.5
1923	30.1	29.8	31.0	30.2	29.4	31.5	31.8	31.6	29.8	28.8	28.1	25.8
1924	29.6	29.3	29.2	28.5	27.4	29.5	30.3	30.1	30.5	29.6	30.3	27.8
1925	29.8	29.4	32.6	31.6	29.0	31.7	32.4	32.0	27.2	25.8	27.5	24.9
1926	27.6	27.3	32.4	31.6	25.5	27.4	27.0	27.1	26.2	25.2	28.7	25.9
1927	27.9	27.5	28.3	27.6	25.3	27.1	31.5	31.6	27.1	25.0	26.7	24.0
1928	29.8	29.3	30.8	29.8	25.2	30.2	31.3	31.2	29.8	27.0	29.8	26.8
1929	29.5	29.0	32.8	32.1	29.0	31.1	22.5	29.4	28.1	26.9	30.4	27.3
1930	26.8	26.4	28.6	27.8	25.4	27.0	26.1	26.2	26.2	25.3	26.0	26.6

B.—Calculated on the estimated population on 1st January of each year computed on the assumption that the population changed at a regular rate from one census to the next.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions									
			Burdwan.		Presidency		Rajshahi		Dacca		*Chittagong	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Annual average 1921-30	27.7	27.5	29.3	28.9	26.5	28.5	29.3	29.5	26.9	25.9	26.7	24.3
1921	26.1	27.9	28.3	27.4	26.0	28.0	30.8	31.4	27.3	26.4	28.0	24.3
1922	27.5	27.1	30.1	29.0	27.4	29.2	27.8	28.0	26.8	25.7	24.6	22.2
1923	29.7	29.5	30.5	29.9	31.5	29.0	31.1	31.5	29.4	28.4	27.5	25.2
1924	28.8	28.8	28.5	28.0	26.9	29.0	30.0	30.2	29.8	29.0	29.2	26.8
1925	29.0	28.6	31.5	30.8	28.8	31.0	32.1	32.3	26.8	25.1	26.1	23.7
1926	26.6	26.4	31.1	30.7	24.6	26.6	28.6	26.8	25.2	24.3	26.9	24.4
1927	26.7	26.4	27.6	26.6	24.2	26.2	30.9	31.2	25.9	24.8	24.8	22.3
1928	28.3	28.0	29.8	28.6	26.8	29.1	30.6	30.7	27.7	26.6	27.3	24.6
1929	27.8	27.6	30.7	30.6	27.4	29.7	27.9	27.9	26.4	25.4	27.4	24.8
1930	25.1	25.0	26.6	26.4	23.8	25.6	25.4	25.6	24.4	23.7	25.6	23.8

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—Annual reported deaths and death rates by sexes in each administrative division, 1921-1930.

(i) Actual deaths.

Year	*Bengal.		Divisions										*Chittagong.	
			Burdwan		Presidency		Rajshahi.		Dacca					
	Male	Female.	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Annual average 1921-30	618,348	560,840	106,691	100,155	139,209	123,636	156,797	140,857	153,458	138,516	62,313	57,678		
1921	735,638	667,392	110,616	130,255	168,276	148,092	177,707	160,921	186,741	161,924	62,088	58,260		
1922	624,299	548,947	108,068	99,905	137,010	117,967	150,752	131,361	177,901	145,524	60,918	62,799		
1923	629,632	556,159	103,167	94,268	128,923	110,738	168,020	150,009	162,288	141,816	66,325	58,428		
1924	647,403	555,841	108,290	98,463	136,815	113,332	170,697	143,589	167,086	144,211	61,515	56,425		
1925	614,738	543,737	100,165	92,070	140,095	124,916	165,340	144,012	148,179	128,393	60,174	54,116		
1926	603,602	547,595	108,230	103,545	143,960	130,066	152,353	134,034	140,190	124,638	50,960	55,292		
1927	614,685	574,685	105,500	102,350	142,434	130,222	150,380	138,138	152,630	142,638	63,722	61,337		
1928	613,394	575,621	101,368	100,075	138,491	120,798	152,661	142,949	156,154	147,473	66,720	64,326		
1929	560,834	532,429	94,374	90,781	134,517	125,777	159,829	133,060	135,290	129,398	56,324	54,363		
1930	539,260	504,996	93,231	89,837	128,648	114,529	159,042	139,179	128,105	119,112	54,239	51,359		

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(ii) Death rates (number of deaths per 1,000 of the same sex).

A.—Calculated on the population at the census of 1921.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions										*Chittagong.	
			Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.					
	Male.	Female	Male.	Female.	Male	Female.	Male.	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Annual average 1921-30	25.7	25.0	26.0	25.3	27.4	28.3	26.2	28.3	23.3	22.1	21.3	19.9		
1921	30.6	29.7	34.1	33.0	33.1	33.9	33.0	32.0	28.4	27.2	21.3	20.1		
1922	25.9	24.4	26.5	25.1	27.0	27.0	28.0	26.3	24.1	22.0	24.9	21.6		
1923	26.2	24.7	25.2	23.9	25.4	25.4	31.8	30.2	24.8	22.7	25.7	20.1		
1924	26.9	24.7	26.4	24.9	26.9	26.0	31.7	29.7	25.7	23.1	25.1	19.4		
1925	26.8	24.2	24.4	23.5	27.7	28.6	30.7	28.8	22.6	20.5	20.6	18.6		
1926	25.1	24.4	26.4	26.2	28.3	29.8	28.2	29.9	21.4	19.9	20.2	19.0		
1927	25.5	25.6	25.7	25.0	28.0	29.9	27.9	27.6	23.3	22.8	21.6	21.1		
1928	25.5	25.6	25.5	25.3	29.3	27.7	29.8	25.6	23.5	23.6	22.8	22.1		
1929	23.3	23.7	23.0	23.0	26.5	25.8	26.0	26.7	20.6	20.7	19.3	18.7		
1930	22.4	22.5	22.7	22.8	24.7	26.3	25.8	26.1	19.5	19.0	18.2	17.7		

B.—Calculated on the estimated population on 1st January of each year computed on the assumption that the population changed at a regular rate from one census to the next.

Year.	*Bengal.		Divisions.											
			Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong.			
	Male	Female	Male.	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female.	Male.	Female	Male.	Female		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Annual average 1921-30	24.9	24.3	25.1	24.7	26.5	27.6	28.7	27.9	22.6	21.4	20.1	18.8		
1921	30.6	29.7	34.1	32.9	33.1	33.9	33.0	32.2	28.5	27.2	21.6	20.1		
1922	25.8	24.3	26.8	25.0	26.8	26.0	27.9	26.0	23.0	21.8	20.2	19.6		
1923	25.9	24.4	24.7	23.6	25.0	25.1	31.2	30.1	24.4	22.4	22.2	19.7		
1924	26.3	24.3	25.8	24.5	26.4	25.5	31.4	29.5	24.0	22.6	21.3	18.8		
1925	24.8	23.6	23.6	22.9	26.9	28.0	30.4	28.5	21.9	20.9	19.6	17.8		
1926	24.2	23.6	25.3	25.4	27.3	29.0	27.8	26.0	20.5	19.2	19.0	17.9		
1927	24.5	24.6	24.5	25.0	26.8	28.8	27.4	27.3	22.2	21.8	20.2	19.6		
1928	24.2	24.5	24.1	24.2	25.0	26.6	27.8	25.2	22.5	22.4	20.9	20.3		
1929	22.0	22.6	21.6	21.9	25.0	27.5	25.4	26.1	19.9	19.5	17.5	17.0		
1930	21.0	21.2	21.1	21.6	23.1	24.9	25.1	25.5	18.2	17.5	16.2	15.9		

*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—Annual death rate by sex and age-groups, 1921-1930.**Part A.—Deaths reported per 1,000 of the same sex and age living at the census of 1921.**

(NOTE.—Rates for the age group "under 1 year" are calculated on the number of births recorded in that year.)

Age last birthday.	Average of decade		1921		1922		1923		1924		1925		1926		1927		1928		1929		1930	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
All ages	25.7	24.9	30.6	29.7	25.9	24.4	26.2	24.7	26.9	24.7	25.5	24.2	25.1	24.4	25.5	25.6	25.5	25.6	23.3	23.7	22.4	22.5
0-1	191.6	180.3	211.1	200.5	194.8	180.8	147.2	170.5	191.4	170.4	185.7	170.4	202.7	190.4	182.0	173.7	183.2	172.6	185.0	171.3	192.0	181.2
1-5	36.2	32.6	40.4	36.9	33.0	29.9	35.5	32.3	31.2	30.2	35.8	32.5	36.5	32.6	38.3	34.0	37.1	33.4	35.5	32.4	34.5	31.2
5-10	13.3	11.5	17.0	14.5	14.0	11.7	14.7	12.4	14.2	11.7	13.7	11.7	12.8	11.0	13.5	11.9	12.6	11.2	10.8	9.7	10.2	9.2
10-15	10.0	9.7	12.6	11.9	10.9	10.3	11.4	10.3	12.0	10.5	10.6	9.7	9.6	9.4	9.7	10.1	9.8	9.8	7.4	8.0	7.0	7.5
15-20	13.9	16.6	17.5	20.0	14.9	16.7	15.2	10.6	16.6	17.5	14.2	16.1	13.0	15.9	13.7	17.5	13.1	17.5	10.9	15.1	10.3	13.6
20-30	15.1	18.1	19.1	21.9	15.8	17.8	15.5	17.4	16.8	18.4	15.1	16.8	14.3	17.0	15.1	19.2	14.0	19.7	12.4	17.1	11.9	15.6
30-40	17.9	12.7	22.7	23.2	14.8	18.8	14.0	17.8	19.3	18.7	17.5	17.4	17.0	17.8	17.9	19.0	18.1	20.0	15.6	17.8	14.0	16.2
40-50	23.1	23.8	28.5	26.6	23.8	21.1	22.9	20.1	24.1	20.5	22.2	19.2	21.7	19.7	22.0	21.0	23.2	21.7	20.0	19.5	20.6	19.0
50-60	35.9	31.3	43.8	39.7	36.1	31.3	35.2	30.5	36.3	30.0	34.1	28.7	34.1	30.0	35.9	31.9	36.2	31.9	33.5	29.6	33.5	29.9
60 and over	72.7	61.9	84.6	74.8	71.1	50.6	60.7	57.5	72.7	57.4	71.1	59.1	72.0	62.1	75.0	65.2	72.7	62.2	69.6	61.3	67.6	59.9

Part B.—Deaths reported per 1,000 of the same sex and age estimated to be living on the 1st January of each year upon the assumption that the population changed at a uniform annual rate.

Age last birthday.	Average of decade		1921		1922		1923		1924		1925		1926		1927		1928		1929		1930.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
All ages .	24.9	24.3	30.6	29.7	25.8	24.3	25.8	24.5	26.3	24.3	24.8	23.6	24.2	23.6	24.5	24.6	24.2	24.5	22.0	22.6	21.0	21.2
0-1 ..	178.8	153.8	210.3	183.0	187.2	157.4	192.0	166.1	189.2	160.3	181.8	157.4	179.0	154.8	159.0	139.1	169.0	115.0	165.3	112.3	163.3	132.2
1-5 ..	31.8	29.3	40.6	37.3	33.1	29.4	33.6	30.0	31.4	28.2	31.0	29.5	31.6	28.8	32.1	30.0	30.1	27.8	28.0	26.4	24.0	
5-10 ..	13.6	12.1	17.0	14.4	14.1	11.8	14.8	12.7	14.4	12.1	14.0	12.3	13.0	11.7	13.0	12.8	14.0	12.3	11.2	10.8	10.6	10.3
10-15 ..	10.0	9.1	12.7	12.0	10.0	10.1	11.4	10.0	11.9	10.0	10.4	9.1	9.5	8.7	9.0	9.0	9.1	8.7	7.2	6.9	6.8	6.4
15-20 ..	13.7	16.1	17.5	20.0	14.9	16.0	15.1	13.4	16.3	17.1	13.9	13.6	12.7	15.3	13.3	16.0	12.6	16.5	10.1	14.1	9.8	12.0
20-30 ..	14.4	17.8	19.2	22.5	15.7	18.1	15.2	17.5	16.2	18.4	14.4	16.6	13.4	16.5	14.0	19.0	14.7	18.7	11.2	16.2	10.6	14.5
30-40 ..	17.6	18.4	23.3	23.8	19.1	19.1	18.0	17.9	19.2	18.6	17.2	17.2	16.0	17.4	17.2	19.0	17.3	19.2	11.8	16.0	13.7	15.8
40-50 ..	22.5	20.6	25.9	26.6	21.7	21.0	22.7	20.0	23.7	20.3	21.8	19.0	21.1	19.4	22.2	20.6	22.4	21.2	20.0	19.0	17.7	18.4
50-60 ..	35.2	31.4	41.3	39.7	36.0	31.3	35.0	30.5	35.0	30.0	33.5	28.7	33.4	30.0	34.9	32.0	35.1	32.0	32.3	29.7	32.1	30.0
60 and over	74.8	67.5	84.6	74.3	69.4	60.0	69.2	59.7	73.2	60.7	72.6	63.8	76.3	68.4	79.9	73.2	77.0	71.3	75.4	71.0	74.3	71.4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI.—Annual deaths and death rates from selected causes by sex 1921-1930.

Part A.—Actual number of deaths reported.

Cause of death.	Year	Actual number of deaths reported											
		*Bengal		Burdwan		Presidency.		Rajshahi		Dacca		*Chittagong	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Cholera.	Annual average 1921-30	37,027	33,605	4,803	4,583	10,028	8,394	5,721	5,437	12,297	11,262	4,176	3,929
	1921	42,393	38,154	6,031	5,454	10,202	7,902	7,180	7,302	16,978	15,714	1,692	1,612
	1922	27,830	23,882	3,450	2,961	7,710	6,082	2,061	1,788	9,180	7,964	1,111	977
	1923	22,360	19,183	1,812	1,644	4,872	3,766	4,048	3,699	9,221	7,991	2,250	2,089
	1924	25,657	22,857	3,120	2,721	6,813	4,971	4,996	4,973	7,174	6,670	2,078	1,791
	1925	18,002	16,274	2,146	1,829	4,102	3,419	3,734	3,986	5,121	4,754	1,209	1,202
	1926	30,961	28,745	1,349	1,199	10,644	9,344	4,637	4,258	5,457	5,188	2,871	2,601
	1927	61,728	56,649	3,853	3,507	17,167	14,435	9,460	8,328	21,117	19,410	7,701	7,111
	1928	70,561	65,684	9,458	8,527	17,682	15,820	10,622	10,419	24,211	22,268	8,118	7,661
	1929	42,824	39,066	5,817	5,721	14,374	12,691	6,420	6,146	10,961	10,217	1,111	1,011
	1930	28,809	26,154	4,259	4,210	7,700	6,411	3,761	3,512	10,073	9,111	1,116	2,551
Annual average 1921-30	440,501	402,939	68,148	66,880	88,259	80,697	133,209	118,826	104,365	93,622	46,520	42,914	
1921	557,979	512,388	99,728	95,897	117,521	107,065	154,791	139,467	134,127	122,372	61,509	47,688	
1922	489,679	415,589	73,712	70,084	90,878	80,150	135,070	116,886	114,806	99,430	51,113	46,889	
1923	481,345	428,450	70,092	66,040	86,643	79,811	100,712	134,511	150,553	104,604	51,035	46,784	
1924	491,282	421,126	72,448	68,260	92,294	77,210	101,027	120,145	124,012	101,791	51,061	41,887	
1925	462,943	411,285	61,266	62,861	94,094	88,045	140,482	129,478	110,417	91,602	50,284	41,210	
1926	429,696	393,078	63,229	61,162	90,149	82,922	129,806	111,982	96,773	86,012	41,677	42,960	
1927	405,115	383,991	63,210	60,180	82,347	77,925	119,790	109,166	94,194	85,373	41,165	41,913	
1928	384,925	367,078	60,317	60,924	71,024	64,890	119,631	111,019	87,247	82,700	41,625	42,006	
1929	361,584	351,897	62,564	61,216	77,872	70,180	111,107	100,601	80,671	77,641	41,642	40,614	
1930	360,463	344,603	63,885	63,343	76,076	73,112	113,239	107,481	80,881	74,078	40,672	40,489	
Annual average 1921-30	9,724	8,931	2,054	1,922	2,111	1,903	2,120	1,938	2,439	2,216	1,000	952	
1921	4,477	3,680	478	423	882	820	947	750	1,704	1,204	460	388	
1922	4,287	3,577	967	817	645	557	907	789	1,120	914	388	320	
1923	2,308	1,928	430	295	374	291	468	396	714	646	174	160	
1924	2,828	2,839	525	493	849	620	580	526	881	776	176	124	
1925	9,386	8,050	3,102	3,036	3,860	3,104	827	757	836	694	401	327	
1926	13,215	12,333	4,088	3,959	3,638	3,316	3,790	3,708	1,110	918	361	364	
1927	22,013	20,501	5,649	5,370	6,309	5,942	6,434	5,972	3,229	2,779	1,362	1,318	
1928	22,357	21,201	3,204	3,152	2,918	2,882	5,363	5,134	2,284	2,701	1,088	1,052	
1929	10,399	10,008	661	645	1,003	905	1,406	1,270	5,726	5,372	1,061	1,016	
1930	5,673	5,395	1,203	1,029	1,627	1,429	442	447	2,079	1,984	322	306	
Annual average 1921-30	27	9	2	0.4	24	7	0.2	0.1	1	1	..	..
1921	46	13	14	4	31	8	1	1	..	..	..	..
1922	108	42	5	..	103	42	..	..	..	..	..	..
1923	89	29	1	..	89	18	..	..	9	11	..	..
1924	31	4	2	..	29	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
1925	8	1	..	..	8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1927	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1928	6	..	1	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1930	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Annual average 1921-30	14,847	13,030	4,459	4,250	3,438	3,065	1,770	1,408	3,760	3,137	1,420	1,170	
1921	13,705	11,563	5,339	5,026	3,505	2,637	1,242	1,042	2,583	2,239	720	578	
1922	12,444	10,767	4,305	3,992	2,946	2,618	1,146	953	2,021	2,071	1,168	842	
1923	11,671	9,848	3,752	3,590	2,447	2,312	1,363	1,157	2,671	2,113	1,094	741	
1924	12,207	10,253	3,881	3,531	2,965	2,460	1,510	1,322	2,467	2,129	1,088	581	
1925	11,700	10,136	3,419	3,219	2,970	2,605	1,332	1,060	2,630	2,107	1,119	891	
1926	13,141	11,837	3,793	3,724	2,405	2,341	1,293	960	3,240	2,671	1,210	1,136	
1927	15,492	13,958	4,446	4,362	3,831	3,578	1,400	1,082	3,174	2,524	1,571	1,420	
1928	17,463	15,956	4,777	4,732	3,614	3,422	1,984	1,506	3,220	2,716	1,443	1,361	
1929	19,682	17,494	5,424	5,142	4,123	3,719	3,078	2,419	3,563	3,068	1,784	1,540	
1930	20,874	18,493	5,480	5,248	4,101	3,944	3,345	2,609	4,081	3,520	2,020	2,061	
Annual average 1921-30	21,946	13,455	6,638	3,843	9,393	6,029	2,600	1,573	2,465	1,377	852	633	
1921	19,383	12,984	5,956	4,043	9,166	6,067	2,341	1,615	1,747	1,114	183	112	
1922	16,275	10,096	4,333	2,688	8,209	5,000	1,604	1,084	1,313	681	216	145	
1923	16,598	10,059	4,662	2,600	7,742	4,940	1,443	852	1,379	658	1,170	1,009	
1924	16,717	9,832	4,727	2,535	8,051	5,129	1,657	973	1,640	827	637	468	
1925	17,858	10,067	4,670	2,647	8,520	5,231	1,561	940	1,538	794	740	455	
1926	18,998	11,761	5,078	2,995	9,554	6,373	1,720	995	1,604	784	863	614	
1927	20,312	12,589	5,507	3,387	9,478	6,218	1,966	1,174	2,169	1,240	832	580	
1928	26,502	15,740	6,830	5,110	10,312	6,418	2,488	1,400	4,026	2,269	840	583	
1929	32,883	19,960	10,417	6,298	11,498	7,281	4,031	2,975	4,588	2,715	1,049	661	
1930	34,727	21,355	10,552	6,125	11,288	7,132	6,277	3,764	4,626	2,690	1,064	1,641	
Annual average 1921-30	1,311	1,850	237	287	472	714	237	313	312	465	53	71	
1921	1,368	1,816	233	242	494	686	231	283	371	323	69	81	
1922	1,329	1,952	224	290	469	710	245	345	345	328	42	73	
1923	1,348	1,856	203	238	475	764	260	345	308	302	102	107	
1924	1,375	1,827	243	354	490	720	236	321	362	548	41	78	
1925	1,333	1,982	223	306	472	774	232	320	363	314	43	68	
1926	1,313	1,914	267	289	483	737	225	291	300	341	38	60	
1927	1,292	1,879	245	308	492	740	215	292	286	483	51	50	
1928	1,347	1,843	264	335	460	864	291	393	338	426	61	85	
1929	1,157	1,613	232	299	448	685	244	295	295	299	38	56	
1930	1,218	1,617	244	305	444	609	257	300	238	284	45	53	
Annual average 1921-30	..	4,431	..	787	..	941	..	1,309	..	925	..	469	
1921	..	4,656	..	263	..	356	..	720	..	234	..	83	
1922	..	2,567	..	645	..	611	..	1,165	..	142	..	4	
1923	..	1,186	..	168	..	333	..	367	..	216	..	101	
1924	..	1,672	..	260	..	483	..	624	..	403	..	302	
1925	..	2,790	..	420	..	860	..	626	..	485	..	399	
1926	..	3,228	..	671	..	874	..	715	..	608	..	460	
1927	..	4,397	..	727	..	1,069	..	968	..	1,082	..	601	
1928	..	7,226	..	1,431	..	1,206	..	2,019	..	1,777	..	793	
1929	..	9,770	..	1,861	..	1,978	..	2,877	..	2,244	..	807	
1930	..	9,616	..	1,622	..	1,634	..	3,107	..	2,108	..	1,144	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI.—Annual deaths and death rates from selected causes by sex 1921-30.

Part B.—Reported annual death rate per 1,000 of the same sex.

Cause of death	Year	Number of deaths reported per 1,000 of each sex calculated on the population recorded at the census of 1921.															
		*Bengal		Burdwan		Presidency		Rajshahi		Dacca.		*Chittagong.					
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
1	2	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		
Cholera.	Annual average 1921-30	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.2	2.0	1.9	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.4		
	1921	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.4	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.5	2.6	2.5	0.6	0.6	0.6		
	1922	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.8	1.5	1.4	0.4	0.4	1.4	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.3	1.3		
	1923	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7	1.4	1.3	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7		
	1924	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8		
	1925	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1		
	1926	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.1	2.1	2.1	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1927	2.3	2.5	1.4	1.4	3.4	3.8	1.9	1.9	3.2	3.4	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7		
	1928	2.9	2.9	2.4	2.4	3.3	3.5	2.0	2.2	3.7	3.6	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.7		
	1929	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.4	2.8	2.9	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4		
	1930	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.5	0.7	0.7	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0		
Fever.	Annual average 1921-30	18.3	17.9	16.6	16.9	17.3	18.5	24.8	23.9	15.9	14.9	15.9	14.8	14.8	14.8		
	1921	23.2	22.8	24.3	24.3	23.2	24.5	28.8	28.0	20.4	19.6	17.6	16.4	16.4	16.4		
	1922	18.5	18.5	18.0	17.7	17.8	18.3	25.1	23.4	17.5	15.9	18.9	17.0	17.0	17.0		
	1923	20.0	18.1	17.1	16.9	17.0	18.3	28.1	27.0	14.7	14.7	18.2	16.1	16.1	16.1		
	1924	20.4	18.7	17.7	17.3	18.1	17.7	28.1	26.2	18.0	16.9	17.6	15.3	15.3	15.3		
	1925	18.2	18.3	15.9	15.9	15.5	16.7	27.3	25.4	18.9	15.1	15.8	14.2	14.2	14.2		
	1926	17.3	17.5	18.6	17.2	17.7	19.0	24.2	22.9	14.7	13.7	15.8	14.5	14.5	14.5		
	1927	18.8	17.1	15.9	16.8	16.1	17.8	23.3	22.0	14.3	14.1	14.9	14.4	14.4	14.4		
	1928	18.0	16.3	14.7	15.4	14.5	16.9	22.8	21.7	13.3	12.3	14.9	14.0	14.0	14.0		
	1929	15.0	15.3	13.8	13.7	13.3	17.5	21.7	21.3	12.3	12.3	13.7	12.0	12.0	12.0		
	1930	15.0	15.3	13.1	14.1	16.0	16.8	21.1	21.2	12.2	11.9	12.5	11.2	11.2	11.2		
Small-pox.	Annual average 1921-30	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3		
	1921	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1922	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2		
	1923	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1924	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1925	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2		
	1926	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2		
	1927	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
	1928	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1		
	1929	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6		
	1930	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2		
Plague.	Annual average 1921-30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1922	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1928	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1930	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Annual average 1921-30	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4		
	1921	0.6	0.5	1.3	1.3	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3		
	1922	0.5	0.5	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4		
	1923	0.3	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3		
	1924	0.5	0.4	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3		
	1925	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3		
	1926	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4		
	1927	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
	1928	0.7	0.7	1.2	1.2	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6		
	1929	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6		
	1930	0.9	0.8	1.3	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6		
Respiratory diseases.	Annual average 1921-30	0.9	0.6	1.6	1.0	1.9	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2		
	1921	0.8	0.6	1.5	1.0	1.8	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1922	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.6	1.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1923	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.5	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1924	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.6	1.7	1.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1925	0.7	0.5	1.2	0.7	1.7	1.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1926	0.8	0.5	1.2	0.8	1.9	1.5	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1927	0.8	0.6	1.2	0.8	1.9	1.4	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		
	1928	1.1	0.7	2.1	1.3	2.0	1.5	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3		
	1929	1.4	0.9	2.6	1.6	2.2	1.7	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4		
	1930	1.4	1.0	2.6	1.6	2.2	1.6	1.2	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4		
Suicide.	Annual average 1921-30	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1921	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1922	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1923	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1924	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1925	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1926	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1927	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1928	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1929	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1930	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Child-birth.	Annual average 1921-30	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.3	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2		
	1921	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1922	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1923	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1924	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1925	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1926	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1927	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1928	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1929	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1930	..	..	..	0.1	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	..	..	..	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI.—Annual deaths and death rates from selected causes by sex 1921-30.

Part B.—Reported annual death rate per 1,000 of the same sex.

Cause of death.	Year	Number of deaths reported per 1,000 of each sex calculated on the population estimated on 1st January of each year at a uniform annual rate of change											
		*Benaul		Burdwan.		Presidency.		Rajshahi.		Dacca.		*Chittagong	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
Cholera.	Annual average 1921-30	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.9	1.9	1.0	1.4	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.3
	1921	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.4	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.6	2.0	2.5	0.6	0.6
	1922	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.7	1.5	1.4	0.4	0.7	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.7
	1923	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.7	1.1	1.0	0.5	0.7
	1924	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.1	1.1
	1925	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.2	0.5	0.5
	1926	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.2	0.1	0.8	1.3	1.0	0.2	0.2
	1927	2.5	2.4	1.3	1.3	3.2	3.2	1.8	2.1	3.5	3.4	1.0	1.0
	1928	2.8	2.8	1.5	1.5	3.4	3.4	1.9	2.1	3.5	3.4	1.0	1.0
	1929	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	0.7	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.0
	1930	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.4	1.4	0.7	0.7	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.0
Fever.	Annual average 1921-30	17.7	17.4	16.0	16.5	16.8	16.0	24.4	23.6	15.4	14.5	15.0	16.0
	1921	23.2	22.8	24.3	24.3	22.2	24.5	23.7	27.9	20.5	19.6	17.6	16.4
	1922	18.4	18.4	17.9	17.7	17.8	18.3	23.0	23.3	15.4	13.8	18.7	16.8
	1923	19.7	18.8	16.8	16.7	16.8	17.2	27.8	26.8	15.1	16.5	17.8	15.7
	1924	20.0	19.1	17.4	17.4	17.4	17.4	27.8	26.8	15.1	16.5	17.8	15.7
	1925	18.7	17.9	15.4	15.5	14.0	18.3	20.9	23.1	16.4	14.7	15.1	13.6
	1926	17.2	17.0	16.0	16.7	17.1	18.5	23.8	22.5	14.2	13.0	14.4	13.7
	1927	16.1	16.4	15.2	16.2	15.2	17.2	21.1	21.6	13.7	12.6	13.9	13.4
	1928	15.2	15.6	13.9	14.8	13.9	15.5	21.6	21.6	12.6	12.6	13.4	13.4
	1929	14.2	14.9	12.9	13.1	11.5	17.7	20.2	20.8	11.1	11.5	12.1	11.5
	1930	14.0	14.4	12.2	12.3	14.1	16.0	20.5	20.7	11.4	11.2	11.2	11.0
Small-pox.	Annual average 1921-30	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
	1921	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
	1922	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
	1923	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1924	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1925	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1926	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1927	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1928	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1929	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Plague.	Annual average 1921-30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1922	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1928	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dysentery and Diarrhea.	Annual average 1921-30	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4
	1921	0.6	0.6	1.3	1.3	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1922	0.5	0.5	1.1	1.1	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1923	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1924	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1925	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1926	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1927	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1928	0.5	0.5	1.2	1.2	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
	1929	0.5	0.5	1.2	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2
Respiratory diseases.	Annual average 1921-30	0.9	0.6	1.6	0.9	1.8	1.3	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2
	1921	0.9	0.8	1.5	1.0	1.8	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
	1922	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.6	1.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1923	0.9	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.5	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1924	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.6	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1925	0.7	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.6	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1926	0.5	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.8	1.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1927	0.5	0.4	1.2	0.7	1.8	1.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
	1928	1.0	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.9	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2
	1929	1.3	0.8	1.2	1.2	2.2	1.6	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.2
Suicide.	Annual average 1921-30	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1921	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1922	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1923	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1924	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1925	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1926	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1927	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1928	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
	1929	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
Child-birth.	Annual average 1921-30	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.2	..	0.1	..	0.1
	1921	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1922	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1923	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1924	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1925	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1926	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1927	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1928	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..
	1929	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	0.1	..	..	..	..

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XII.—Number of deaths reported from certain causes per 1,000 deaths from all causes by sexes, 1921-30.

Cause of death	Year	Bengal		Burdwan		Presidency		Rajshahi		Dacca		Chittagong	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Cholera.	Annual average 1921-30.	59.9	59.9	45.1	45.8	71.9	67.9	36.5	38.6	80.2	81.3	67.0	68.1
1921	57.0	57.2	43.1	43.1	60.6	54.0	49.2	15.4	15.4	81.0	92.7	26.0	28.0
1922	56.2	56.2	43.5	43.5	36.8	61.6	13.6	13.7	68.1	87.9	77.8	80.0	80.0
1923	38.4	34.5	17.6	17.3	47.8	31.0	24.0	24.5	60.8	50.4	35.4	35.8	38.0
1924	38.6	41.1	46.4	47.0	42.5	40.3	23.2	32.5	44.0	45.3	39.6	39.6	39.6
1925	29.3	35.9	31.4	19.7	39.3	27.4	20.1	20.1	34.6	47.0	54.3	40.8	40.8
1926	51.3	51.4	40.2	40.6	121.0	71.9	30.4	31.8	60.1	62.7	48.7	43.7	43.7
1927	100.4	98.6	52.9	53.8	130.6	110.9	65.6	67.5	139.0	139.2	123.4	123.7	123.7
1928	115.0	114.1	90.7	100.9	132.4	125.1	69.6	74.8	155.1	151.0	125.7	123.4	123.4
1929	74.9	73.2	61.7	63.0	106.6	100.9	45.9	49.1	81.0	80.5	78.7	76.4	76.4
1930	53.4	51.8	44.6	47.3	61.3	56.0	27.1	27.0	78.6	70.7	68.8	65.5	65.5
Annual average 1921-30.	712.5	718.5	639.3	667.9	633.9	652.7	850.0	843.7	680.5	675.9	746.6	744.2	744.2
Fever.	Annual average 1921-30.	750.4	733.5	712.4	736.4	700.4	723.3	871.2	887.0	719.6	720.2	815.8	810.1
1921	750.9	757.0	678.5	705.8	663.1	679.6	896.0	888.7	727.6	723.5	788.4	788.6	788.6
1922	744.3	770.3	770.3	681.6	681.6	681.6	891.3	743.0	738.3	803.9	800.7	800.7	800.7
1923	759.0	787.7	651.9	693.3	674.7	681.4	885.3	875.0	742.5	733.3	797.3	798.0	798.0
1924	752.8	796.3	651.6	675.4	668.6	686.9	834.0	880.0	747.8	730.9	769.1	768.3	768.3
1925	712.0	717.5	630.1	658.6	658.6	657.7	853.7	849.8	690.4	690.2	756.5	751.2	751.2
1926	659.2	668.6	618.3	640.8	577.4	598.4	796.1	762.3	617.3	610.6	685.7	688.0	688.0
1927	827.5	837.7	693.0	645.5	554.4	578.8	784.1	776.0	558.8	560.7	654.0	661.0	661.0
1928	644.8	659.4	550.7	597.3	577.7	606.3	736.0	700.6	596.4	599.3	690.4	695.3	695.3
1929	685.5	682.6	578.1	618.3	600.6	641.2	814.5	810.4	625.2	626.9	689.0	691.3	691.3
Annual average 1921-30.	15.7	15.9	19.3	19.2	15.2	15.4	13.5	13.8	15.9	16.0	16.1	16.5	16.5
Small-pox.	Annual average 1921-30.	6.1	5.5	3.4	3.2	5.2	5.6	5.3	1.7	9.1	7.0	7.4	0.7
1921	6.9	6.5	3.0	3.2	4.7	4.7	6.0	6.0	7.1	0.7	5.0	8.8	8.8
1922	3.7	3.5	3.5	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.3	2.3	4.4	4.4	7.1	6.8	6.8
1923	4.7	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.9	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6	9.4	9.4	9.4
1924	18.3	14.8	34.0	32.8	27.5	25.3	6.0	6.1	7.6	6.8	7.0	7.9	7.9
1925	21.9	22.5	37.8	38.2	25.3	24.0	20.2	20.2	7.9	7.9	10.0	10.2	10.2
1926	19.7	18.7	31.7	30.7	17.3	16.8	17.3	17.3	21.2	19.5	21.0	21.0	21.0
1927	30.5	38.8	34.0	33.4	21.9	22.9	35.3	35.0	40.7	43.1	53.6	53.8	53.8
1928	18.6	18.3	7.0	7.1	7.4	7.4	10.1	9.5	42.3	14.1	28.4	29.7	29.7
1929	10.9	10.7	12.9	11.6	13.0	12.5	8.2	3.4	10.2	10.7	9.8	9.9	9.9
Plague.	Annual average 1921-30.	0.6	0.2	-0.2	-0.04	1.7	-0.6	-0.01	-0.01	-0.06	0.8	..	..
1921	0.8	0.2	..	-0.5	1.8	0.5	-0.06	-0.06	..	..	..	..	..
1922	1.7	0.8	-0.5	..	1.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1923	0.5	0.5	0.1	..	4.0	1.6	..	..	0.6	0.8	..	..	..
1924	0.6	0.7	0.2	..	3.1	0.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1925	0.1	0.2	..	..	-0.6	-0.08	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1926	0.02	..	..	..	-0.07	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1927	0.1	..	..	..	0.3	..	..	0.07	..	..	..	..	..
1928	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1930	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Annual average 1921-30.	24.0	23.2	41.8	42.4	24.7	24.8	11.3	10.0	24.5	22.7	22.8	20.3
1921	18.6	17.3	38.1	38.6	20.8	19.0	7.0	6.5	15.5	13.2	11.5	9.0	9.0
1922	20.3	19.6	40.2	40.1	21.5	22.2	7.6	7.3	10.2	17.2	16.0	13.4	13.4
1923	18.4	17.7	36.4	36.4	22.1	20.9	8.1	7.6	16.5	14.9	15.7	15.7	15.7
1924	19.9	18.5	35.4	36.1	21.0	21.7	8.0	7.5	17.1	14.8	10.9	10.8	10.8
1925	19.0	19.6	34.1	34.7	21.1	20.9	8.0	8.0	10.1	18.4	10.1	10.5	10.5
1926	21.3	21.6	35.0	36.0	24.5	25.7	8.5	7.4	23.9	16.3	22.8	22.8	22.8
1927	25.1	24.3	42.2	42.5	26.9	27.5	9.3	7.8	27.2	24.7	21.7	23.2	23.2
1928	28.5	27.7	47.7	50.2	27.2	28.3	13.0	10.5	33.5	31.9	27.6	24.7	24.7
1929	35.1	32.8	56.4	58.0	30.1	29.6	22.9	18.2	39.0	36.1	31.6	25.4	25.4
1930	36.7	36.6	59.0	58.6	33.1	34.4	24.1	20.4	41.5	38.5	47.4	40.2	40.2
Respiratory diseases.	Annual average 1921-30.	35.5	24.0	62.3	38.4	67.5	48.8	16.6	11.2	16.1	9.9	13.7	11.0
1921	26.4	19.5	42.5	31.1	54.5	41.0	13.1	10.1	9.4	6.8	9.9	2.4	2.4
1922	26.1	18.4	44.5	27.1	60.6	46.6	10.6	8.3	8.3	4.0	3.1	2.3	2.3
1923	26.8	18.1	47.1	27.6	60.1	44.6	8.5	5.6	8.5	4.6	17.0	17.3	17.3
1924	21.3	17.7	43.7	25.7	58.7	42.7	6.8	5.7	6.8	5.7	9.7	8.3	8.3
1925	28.1	18.5	48.6	23.6	60.6	41.9	9.6	7.5	10.4	6.2	12.3	8.4	8.4
1926	31.2	21.5	49.9	28.9	66.1	49.0	11.4	10.4	11.5	6.3	14.9	11.0	11.0
1927	32.3	21.9	56.6	33.1	56.6	47.8	13.0	8.8	14.4	6.3	13.4	9.5	9.5
1928	43.2	27.3	88.3	54.2	77.2	53.1	16.3	9.5	23.5	15.4	12.7	9.1	9.1
1929	58.6	37.4	114.7	69.4	85.3	57.9	35.3	22.4	33.9	21.0	18.6	12.7	12.7
1930	61.4	43.3	113.2	68.2	86.9	62.5	15.9	75.9	36.1	22.6	37.3	32.0	32.0
Self-de.	Annual average 1921-30.	2.1	3.3	2.2	2.9	3.4	5.8	1.5	2.2	2.0	3.4	..	1.2
1921	1.9	2.7	1.7	1.9	2.9	4.0	1.3	1.8	2.0	3.1	1.1	1.4	1.4
1922	2.1	3.5	2.0	2.5	3.2	4.1	1.1	2.6	2.2	3.6	1.6	1.3	1.3
1923	2.1	3.5	2.0	2.5	3.7	6.9	1.4	2.8	2.2	3.6	1.6	1.3	1.3
1924	2.1	3.5	2.0	2.5	3.6	6.4	1.5	2.4	2.2	3.6	1.6	1.3	1.3
1925	2.2	3.6	2.1	2.6	3.4	6.9	1.5	2.8	2.2	3.6	1.6	1.3	1.3
1926	2.2	3.5	2.1	2.6	3.4	6.7	1.5	2.8	2.2	3.6	1.6	1.3	1.3
1927	2.2	3.3	2.3	3.0	3.6	5.7	1.4	2.1	1.9	3.4	1.6	1.3	1.3
1928	2.2	3.3	2.3	3.0	3.6	5.7	1.4	2.1	1.9	3.4	1.6	1.3	1.3
1929	2.1	3.0	2.5	3.3	3.3	5.8	1.7	2.2	1.5	2.3	1.6	1.0	1.0
1930	2.3	2.2	2.5	3.4	3.5	5.8	1.8	2.2	1.9	2.4	1.7	1.0	1.0
Child-birth.	Annual average 1921-30.	..	7.9	..	7.9	..	7.6	..	9.3	..	6.7	..	8.1
1921	..	5.5	..	5.0	..	5.4	..	4.5	..	1.4	..	1.4	1.4
1922	..	4.7	..	4.6	..	5.2	..	8.9	..	1.0	..	1.7	1.7
1923	..	4.7	..	4.7	..	5.0	..	8.9	..	1.0	..	1.7	1.7
1924	..	3.5	..	3.5	..	4.8	..	8.9	..	1.0	..	1.7	1.7
1925	..	5.1	..	4.6	..	6.9	..	8.9	..	1.0	..	1.7	1.7
1926	..	5.1	..	4.6	..	6.9	..	8.9	..	1.0	..	1.7	1.7
1927	..	7.7	..	7.1	..	8.2	..	7.0	..	7.2	..	9.8	9.8
1928	..	12.6	..	15.2	..	10.0	..	14.1	..	12.1	..	12.3	12.3
1929	..	15.9	..	16.7	..	15.7	..	15.7	..	17.4	..	14.8	14.8
1930	..	16.9	..	16.9	..	14.8	..	23.9	..	17.7	..	22.8	22.8

APPENDIX

An enquiry into the fertility of marriages

1. **Introduction.**—In 1921 for the first time an enquiry was made into the fertility of marriages in Bengal. A similar enquiry with some modifications was undertaken on the present occasion also. In 1921 the results yielded were imperfect owing mainly to the incomplete recognition by the general public of the interest and importance of the enquiry. It was hoped that a similar enquiry on the present occasion would show that there had been an advance in public opinion, that there was now less prejudice or apathy regarding such enquiries and that material of greater extent and more value might be made available. In order, if possible, to anticipate misunderstanding and prejudice, it was thought that the enquiry could best be conducted with the assistance of medical practitioners, ladies of the teaching profession or interested in social welfare and members of social organisations. The Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal and the Director of Public Health directed the officers subordinate to them to give such assistance as was possible, and the permission of Government was obtained for making use of ladies in the educational service of Government. It was hoped that women's associations in the districts, such as the *mahila samitis*, etc., might also be induced to assist in the enquiry.

2. **Method of enquiry and results.**—The form of the questionnaire upon which the returns were obtained is reproduced below :

1. Age	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Caste, tribe or race	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Husband's age	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Husband's occupation	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Number of years since the wife first went to live with her husband	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Sex of first child (quick or still-born)	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Number of children born alive	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Number of children still living	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Ages of children still living	..	..	..	..	..	..

Expectations that the enquiry would meet with any greater enthusiasm than in 1921 were not fulfilled. One district officer declined to have anything whatever to do with it on the ground that it was in general an offence to public decency. In most other districts a certain number of returns were prepared but nowhere was any enthusiasm displayed except perhaps by the district health officer of Dacca, who himself procured the submission of a considerable number of returns. In 1921 statistics were obtained for over 34 thousand families. On the present occasion, after unintelligible and duplicate slips had been discarded, no more than 14,586 returns were left for classification. The value of deductions based on so few returns is open to criticism, but in order to make them more suitable for scientific analysis statistical constants have been worked out where possible and are incorporated in the tables in which the results of the enquiry are shown. In case enquirers should desire to check the probable errors calculated in these tables, or to calculate standard errors by a different method, an additional statement (table I) is included showing the standard deviation for each item for which a probable error has been entered, and this with the frequency given in the tables themselves should supply all the data necessary.

3. **How far the returns are representative.**—It is in the first place necessary to estimate to what extent the returns received may be taken as an average sample of the total population. Amongst the 14,586 returns 10,856 are from Hindus, 3,335 from Muslims and 395 from persons of other classes. The upper class of Hindus represented by Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas contributes an unexpectedly high proportion of the returns amounting to more than three-quarters of the total number returned for Muslims, and nearly one-fifth of the total returns received. As a sample of the total population, averages taken from all the returns are liable to be affected by differences existing between communities or classes within the same community which are not represented in the same proportion amongst the returns as amongst the general population. For comparison, however, amongst themselves the provision of a figure of probable error makes it possible to allow to some extent for differences introduced by the varying size of the samples of each class taken and the range of individual variations within them. The largest number of returns was received from North Bengal which contributed 6,132; from Central Bengal and East Bengal between 3 and 4 thousand returns were received; but from West Bengal only a comparatively small number over one thousand.

4. **The statistics compiled.**—The returns on receipt were divided amongst the principal geographical divisions of the province and they were sorted in such a way as to preserve

these geographical divisions throughout. The statistics compiled from them are shown in 8 tables. These show :—

- Table A*—the number of married couples regarding whom returns were received by natural divisions and by age-groups at marriage of husband and wife ;
- Table B*—families according to the age of wife at marriage classified by natural divisions, sex of first born and average number of children born alive and surviving ,
- Table C*—families according to age of wife at marriage classified by natural divisions, by duration of marriage and by fertility ;
- Table D*—families according to occupation of husband classified by natural divisions and by average number of children born alive and surviving ;
- Table E*—families according to religion or caste and natural division classified (1) by number of children born alive and surviving and (2) by age-groups of wife at marriage ;
- Table F*—families according to religion or caste and natural division classified by duration of marriage and average number of children surviving ;
- Table G*—families classified by age of parents at marriage and age of wife at birth of first child ; and
- Table H*—families classified by age of parents at marriage and by frequency of births.

It was assumed that where the husband was dead or the wife's age was 45 or the duration of marriage was as much as 32 years the period of fertility of the marriage might be considered to be closed. Such returns total only 2,406 and for some of the tables the statistics extracted are confined to them. In others in addition to the figures for all returns received subsidiary figures have also been shown for the returns for completed fertility cases only. The returns dealing with a total of 6,419 only refer to those families to which children were born who all survived. In every case "duration of marriage" refers not to the date since the marriage ceremony but to the date obtained from line 5 of the questionnaire which represents in general the date at which conjugal relations were established.

5. **Age at marriage of husband and wife.**—Table A shows the distribution by ages at marriage of husband and wife of all the couples for whom returns were received. In the whole of Bengal amongst the returns received 42 per cent. of the women had been married before the age of 14, 77 per cent. before the age of 17 and 95 per cent. before the age of 24. Of their husbands 41 per cent. had been married between 17 and 23 years of age, 21 per cent. between 24 and 26 and 22 per cent. between 27 and 33. The most popular marriages were between grooms aged 17-23 and brides aged either less than 14 or between 14 and 16. Next in popularity came marriages between grooms aged 24-26 and brides aged 14-16 and between grooms aged 27-33 and brides aged 14-16 or 17-23. There was some considerable variation between the figures returned in each division. The variations are perhaps best illustrated in North Bengal which supplied the largest number of returns and East Bengal from which the number of returns received was only just less than from Central Bengal which supplied the next largest. In North Bengal the number of returns in which the wife had been married before the age of 14 was only 27 per cent. and in only 62 per cent. of the cases had she been married before the age of 17, but by the time the age of 24 was reached 92 per cent. had been married, a figure closely resembling that of the whole of Bengal. Amongst grooms also the popular age of marriage was slightly higher, 40 per cent. had been married between 17 and 23, 22 per cent. between 24 and 26 and 24 per cent. between 27 and 33. The most popular marriages were between grooms of 17-23 and brides of 14-16. The figures for East Bengal more closely resemble those for the whole of Bengal. Amongst the returns received in East Bengal the majority of the wives (58 per cent.) had been married before 14 and 87 per cent. before the age of 17 whilst only 18 per cent. and 19 per cent. respectively of the grooms had been married at the ages of 24-26 or 27-33. Here in the age-groups chosen by far the largest number of marriages occurred between grooms aged 17-23 and brides aged less than 14. But whereas in Eastern Bengal a larger number of marriages took place between grooms aged between 24 and 26 and brides below the age of 17, amongst the age-groups taken in Northern Bengal there were proportionately more marriages between grooms aged 27-33 and brides aged 17-23.

6. **Returns for marriages in which the age of the bride was less than 14.**—Statement No. IV-a in the text shows the distribution in single-year age-groups after the age of 6 of the 6,153 marriages which took place at or under the age of 13. Of these considerably less than one-half related to marriages in which the bride was under 12 years of age when the marriage was celebrated and a larger proportion of marriages took place when the bride was between 12 and 13 than at any other age period. The figures, if they are taken as typical, reflect the postponement of the age of marriage amongst girls which has been taking place during recent years. Amongst marriages in which the wife was of any age in this table the largest proportion had taken place between 7 and 13 years of age. For each age-group marriages contracted at this distance of time contributed anything up to a quarter or one-third of the total number for which slips were returned and in general the percentage contributed by marriages of a shorter duration increases regularly with an advancing age at marriage of the wife. The returns may be expected on general grounds to be unaffected by the increase of child marriages contracted before the Child Marriage Restraint Act became law since it is probable that parents or guardians concerned with such marriages would not volunteer to supply any information for the purposes of this enquiry.

STATEMENT No. IV-a.—Figures showing duration of marriage and age of wife at marriage for women married before the age of 14—All Bengal.

Serial		Age of wife at marriage	Duration of marriage in years.																				All period—		Number of wives aged and less at marriage.	
			0-3		4-6		7-13		14-16		17-23		24-26		27-32		33 & over									
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21			
1		All ages	244	4	498	8	1,778	29	767	13	1,108	18	351	6	843	10	764	12	6,153	100	20	21				
2		0-6	5	1	2	4	138	28	146	29	103	21	18	1	24	5	59	12	495	100	495	8				
3		7	2	1	5	2	19	12	30	19	52	33	11	17	27	17	18	11	159	100	624	11				
4		8	2	1	5	2	78	30	59	15	70	27	13	5	24	8	20	10	228	100	912	17				
5		9	2	1	5	2	78	30	59	15	68	18	15	7	15	5	10	10	228	100	1,151	19				
6		10	..	..	3	18	7	92	34	10	17	68	18	33	7	07	10	17	754	100	1,080	22		
7		11	..	..	15	24	3	186	25	113	15	130	18	53	7	07	10	17	754	100	2,039	45		
8		12	..	..	29	47	9	233	34	97	14	90	13	49	7	09	9	15	700	100	2,436	53		
9		13	..	..	60	4	135	9	446	28	148	9	298	19	82	5	109	11	2,468	100	1,230	69		
10		13	..	115	6	280	12	556	30	154	8	303	16	107	6	227	12	105	10	1,917	100	6,153	100			

7. Masculinity at birth, fecundity and survival compared with age of wife at marriage.—

Table B is designed to throw some light upon masculinity at birth, fecundity and survival as affected by the age of wife at marriage. For these purposes only completed fertility cases were sorted and the total number, 2,406, is probably too small to justify certain conclusions. For example, there are less than one hundred instances in all except four of the age-groups of wife at marriage chosen, and in no column in which percentages or averages are struck do the figures yield any progression which seems to be entirely regular. Thus the average number of sterile marriages is 3.3 per cent, and it would be expected on general grounds that they would be least numerous in marriages contracted at an early age. When the wife was aged at marriage 44 and over the percentage of sterile marriages is certainly highest, but it is somewhat surprisingly lowest amongst women married at the age of 37-43 and is relatively high when the marriage was contracted between the ages of 24-26. In both these last two cases, however, the number of instances taken is probably too small to justify any useful deductions. Similarly, expectation would suggest that masculinity at birth of the first child would be highest when the wife was married at an early age and would successively decline. In the three age-groups of wife at marriage in which the largest number of returns was received some such progression can be traced; for every 1,000 males first born there were 707 females born to marriages where the wife was aged 7-13 at marriage, 726 when she was aged 14-16 and 784 when she was aged 17-23. Thereafter the percentage shows a pronounced decline with the exception of marriages in which the bride was aged 34-36 where amongst the first born as many as 1,333 females appear for every 1,000 males, but this age-group is the one for which after the last age-group the smallest number of returns were received. The proportions, however, are widely discrepant from those discussed in chapter V. If the age-group 34-36 is omitted the highest number of females first born per 1,000 males first born is 853 which is very considerably smaller than the lowest (884) shown in the statement incorporated in diagram No. V—12 which gives proportions recorded in each division in each year, 1901-1930. The figures from the vital statistics are not accurate, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that those in table B are certainly less typical. The same uncertainty as to the validity of deductions pursues the enquirer into the average number of living births and the average number of survivors per family. It would be natural to assume that the number of living births would be greatest in those marriages in which the reproductive period was most prolonged, particularly as we are here dealing with couples having the highest survival value since (apart from widows) only those females are taken into consideration who have successfully survived the whole of their reproductive period. In general the expected progression appears to be displayed. For wives married at the age of 7-13 for instance, there are on an average 6.3 children born alive, and the smaller number born to females married at age 0-6 is shown by an inspection of the probable error not to be significantly different owing to the greater range in the returns received for marriages contracted at this age. From 7 to 13 the average numbers decline till the age-group 24-26 after which they unexpectedly rise in successive groups until the last is reached in which there is a decline. Only in one instance, however, does the difference between any group and the next appear to be significant, namely, that between ages 14-16 and 17-23, and the most noticeable variations between groups amounting to 50, 70, 90 or even 110 children per 100 mothers have a probable error so large that it would be unsafe to look upon them as indicating genuine differences. Very much the same features are shown by the figures given for the average number of surviving children per family. Here the number of survivors seems to be significantly less in groups 17-23 and 24-26 than in the next preceding group. The figures for the number of survivors per 1,000 born alive definitely seem to suggest a higher survival rate for children born to marriages in which the wife was less than 16 at marriage than to those in which her age was higher. The lowest percentages recorded occur where the wife was aged 44 and over, 24-26 and 37-43, but some hesitation will be felt in accepting conclusions from these figures because it is just in two of these three groups that unexpected discrepancies in the figures appear in every column of this table. The figures of survivors throughout this table include those who have died after attaining maturity in cases where the marriage has been of long duration and consequently allow for other mortality forces than those peculiar to infancy and childhood.

8. Variations by locality.—A comparison by localities based on table B shows that the returns received from Eastern Bengal contain a larger proportion of sterile marriages than those from any other natural division. The proportion is lowest in Central Bengal and next lowest in North Bengal. Judged also by the average number of living births per family Central Bengal appears to be significantly more fertile than any of the other three natural divisions.

On the other hand, the number of children surviving to the average family is no greater in Central than in West Bengal. It is higher than in North Bengal and the difference is here almost certainly significant and it is also higher than in East Bengal where the difference is probably significant. Compared with Central Bengal, therefore, West Bengal has a definitely lower average of living births per family together with an equal average number of surviving children per family and consequently a higher survival ratio shown in column "1." Similarly, compared with East Bengal there is a greater disparity between its significantly higher average number of births per family and its (probably) significantly higher number of survivals in each family, so that the survival ratio is actually greater in East Bengal. The survival ratio appears to be lowest in North Bengal. It is doubtful whether there are sufficient families within each division to invest with any value a comparison of the differences in the number of living births and survivors found on the average in families in different divisions in which the wife at marriage fell within the same age-group.

9 **Postponement of child birth as affected by age at marriage.**—Table C was designed to suggest conclusions as to the effect on the extent or duration of sterility of the age of the wife at marriage. From it the accompanying statement No. IV-b has been prepared. The figures show that no matter at what age the wife is married, the proportion of those married within the same age-group who have not yet borne children steadily decreases according to the duration of marriage and the only notable exceptions to this progression are those in which the wife at marriage is aged 17 to 26. These deductions are in conformity with the observations made in 1921 that child bearing continues an almost uninterrupted course until the normal end of a woman's period of reproductive fertility, but it is interesting to find that fertility, although in many cases considerably delayed, establishes itself even after the lapse of a considerable period in which no children have been born. The figures in the last column of statement No. IV-b are not

STATEMENT No. IV-b.

Percentage of families with no children during married life lasting.

Age of wife at marriage	0-3 years	4-9 years	10-13 years	14-23 years	24-32 years	33 years and over	All periods
All ages	41.3	13.0	4.4	3.3	3.0	3.3	7.0
0-4	100.0	50.0	11.6	7.2	7.1	5.7	5.7
5-13	51.0	29.6	7.0	3.8	4.0	4.4	7.6
14-16	35.7	6.9	3.7	2.7	2.4	2.1	6.0
17-23	37.0	9.1	1.7	2.1	3.7	2.4	6.9
24-26	30.0	12.2	5.4	1.9	8.3	10.3	10.3
27-33	18.1	10.3	1.7	5.4	8.8	6.7	6.7
34-36	12.5	0.0	0	5.3	30.0	11.8	11.8
37-43	8.7	0.0	0	0	0	0	0
44 and over	0	0	0	0	0	0	21.4

a fair index of the extent of absolute sterility in marriages in which the wife at marriage fell within each of the age-groups shown since they include in an increasing number in the younger age-groups of families in which the wife has not yet reached a full development of physical maturity. Similarly, it might be thought that the figures for sterility given for completed fertility cases in table B and reproduced in column "1" of table C would offer a means of estimating the risk of complete sterility in marriages undertaken when the bride was of any particular age-group. An examination of columns "c" to "h" of this table shows that all the cases of complete sterility in completed fertility cases refer to wives whose age may reasonably be taken to be more than 45, at which it can be assumed that the reproductive period of a woman's life is ended, so that we are not demonstrably dealing with any cases of young widows. On the other hand, to use these figures in this way would involve the assumption that all the cases of completed fertility referred to wives whose husbands had been alive until they reached the age of about 45 and since the returns were not confined to those women whose husbands were still living and there was no means for estimating the age of the wife when her husband died if she was a widow, such an assumption is clearly untenable.

10 **Fecundity and survival compared with occupation of husband.**—In table D groups are shown distinguished according to the occupation of the husband. The occupational classification adopted is a slight modification of that used for the purposes of imperial table X which is discussed in chapter VIII. The number of instances returned under some of the occupational categories adopted in column "a" of the table is too small to justify confident conclusions upon the average figures worked out. Thus those returned as engaged in jute and other textiles, in transport by water, in postal and telegraphic services and in letters, arts and sciences are clearly too few to be of any use for purposes of comparison. The figures shown in column "d" of the table suggest that sterility is relatively high amongst those employed as domestic servants, those employed as workers in skins and other hard animal products and those engaged in unproductive occupations or occupations insufficiently described, in cotton ginning and textiles, in building and in trade. Complete sterility is apparently least prevalent amongst persons professing the law and agriculturists, and it is very low amongst persons following the learned professions generally. The notable feature of the figures given in column "f" is the comparative absence, judged by the average number of living births per family, of any differential rate of fertility between different occupational strata of the population. Compared with the agricultural population differences in fertility which are certainly significant can be traced only in the families of those persons whose occupation is medicine or law. In every 100 mothers there will be on the average 120 more children born whose fathers are lawyers and 100 more whose fathers are medical men. There will be 70 more amongst those whose fathers are public servants and 60 more amongst those whose fathers are men of letters, but in these cases the range of variation in the individual families making up the total is so considerable that the averages do not reveal any significant difference. Amongst traders, on the other hand, with whom the percentage of complete sterility is high compared with agriculturists, there are for every 100

mothers 100 less children than amongst agriculturists, and this difference is many times its probable error and is in consequence significant. In contrast to this general absence of significant variation in the rate of productivity column "h" of the table reveals very considerable variations in the number of children who survive amongst those born to different classes. The average number of survivals per family is 4 and the average for agriculturists is 3.9. Taking in each group the surviving children of 100 mothers there are 20 more amongst those born to fathers following unspecified clerical occupations and 30 less born to those who are industrialists or artisans, but these differences are not sufficiently larger than their own probable error to be significant. On the other hand, amongst domestic servants although no significant difference in fertility is revealed, the chances of survival definitely seem to be worse than amongst agriculturists. Amongst the surviving children of each 100 mothers there will be 110 more amongst the agriculturists than amongst domestic servants. In contrast with the leisured classes, the professional classes, represented by those following as an occupation instruction, the law, public administration or medicine, provide conditions in which their children have a clearly higher chance of survival than amongst the agriculturists. Thus compared with those in the agricultural classes the surviving children of 100 mothers will contain 150 more whose fathers are employed under the head law, 140 more whose fathers are public servants, 120 more whose fathers follow the medicine in some capacity and 90 more whose fathers are connected with instruction and the differences in all of these cases are significant. Similarly, to every 100 mothers whose husbands live on their income the surviving children will number 80 more than those surviving to mothers in the agricultural classes and although the difference is not so many times its own probable error it exceeds it sufficiently to be probably significant. The interesting deduction appears from this table that in contrast with conditions in occidental countries, in Bengal up to the present there is no difference in fertility between those pursuing agriculture and the learned professions. A consideration of table E analysed below shows that amongst Baidyas and Brahmans if not amongst Kayasthas also there is a higher fertility than amongst the body of Hindus, and since these contribute principally to Government service and the learned professions it might have been expected that these professions would actually show a higher fertility rate than agriculturists. In any case it seems clear that whether their rate of fertility is higher or not the rate of increase is higher amongst the intelligentsia in Bengal, since their families show on the average significantly higher numbers amongst the children surviving.

11. **Fecundity and survival by religion or caste.**—Table E is intended to facilitate a comparison of the fertility of different castes and the chances of survival amongst the children born to each. The returns received have been separately sorted to distinguish Muslims, Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas, other Hindus and all others. Amongst the Baidyas and the last group the number of families actually concerned amounts only to 67 and 68 respectively and is perhaps too few on which to base very definite conclusions. Compared with the average, column "d" shows that the percentage of sterility is considerably lower in marriages amongst Brahmans and Kayasthas and very considerably higher in marriages amongst Muslims. The largest class is that of Hindus excluding Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas and it can conveniently be used as a measure to test differential fertility and survival values amongst the other groups. Incidentally it contributes on the average the lowest number of births in each family amongst the groups shown. For the whole the average is 6 per family but for other Hindus the average is only 5.8, and compared with them for every 100 mothers in each group there are 190 more children born to Baidyas, 50 more born to Brahmans, 30 more born to Kayasthas and 30 more born to Muslims. The variations within individual families are however so considerable that the difference is almost certainly not significant amongst Muslims and perhaps not significant amongst Kayasthas. If we turn to the number of children surviving and again take 100 mothers of each group the surviving children will be 200 more amongst Baidyas, 90 more amongst Brahmans and 60 more amongst Kayasthas and in each of these cases the difference compared with the figures for other Hindus is significant. Amongst the Muslims there will be only 10 more surviving children for every 100 mothers, and a calculation of the probable error of this difference shows that it is not significant. It is interesting and somewhat unexpected to find that the chances of survival are roughly proportionate to the prevalence of comparatively early marriage. Amongst the returns received more of the mothers are married under the age of 13 amongst the Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas and Muslims than amongst other Hindus. It is amongst the first three classes that the highest proportion of children survive in each average family. The ratio however is higher amongst other Hindus than amongst Muslims.

12. **Growth of families by divisions.**—Table F provides figures from which some estimates are made of the growth of the average family according to duration of marriage in each division and in each of the religions or caste groups chosen. On the average to every 100 marriages amongst the children born there have survived 90 children after the marriage has lasted 0—6 years, 210 after the marriage has lasted 7—13 years, 300 when it has lasted 14—16 years, 360 when it has lasted 17—26 years, 410 when it has lasted 27—32 years and 420 when it has lasted 33 years and over. In East Bengal, where the number of children surviving per marriage which has lasted 33 years is less than in other divisions, on the average a larger number of children have survived during the first 6 years of married life than in any other part of the province. In North Bengal, which together with Central Bengal, shows the largest figure of children surviving to marriages lasting 33 years and over a smaller number than in Eastern Bengal survives to any marriage which has lasted less than 33 years. Compared with East Bengal, West and North Bengal show a significantly smaller number surviving on

the average within the first 6 years of marriage and Central Bengal a significantly larger number surviving to marriages which have lasted 7 to 13 years. Figures for these comparisons are extracted from table F and given in the accompanying statement IV-c

STATEMENT No. IV-c.

Average number of children surviving to each family according to duration of marriage by divisions.

Duration of marriage	All Bengal	West Bengal	Central Bengal	North Bengal	East Bengal.
1	2	3	4	5	6
0-6 ..	0.9 ± 0.1	0.8 ± 0.1	0.9 ± 0.1	0.9 ± 0.1	1.0 ± 0.2
7-13 ..	2.1 ± 0.2	2.2 ± 0.1	2.3 ± 0.1	2.0 ± 0.1	2.1 ± 0.1
14-20 ..	3.0 ± 0.3	3.0 ± 0.1	3.0 ± 0.1	3.0 ± 0.1	3.0 ± 0.1
21-26 ..	3.6 ± 0.3	3.8 ± 0.3	3.8 ± 0.3	3.4 ± 0.3	3.7 ± 0.3
27-32 ..	4.1 ± 0.5	4.0 ± 0.4	4.1 ± 0.4	3.9 ± 0.4	4.0 ± 0.4
33 & over	4.2 ± 0.5	4.2 ± 0.4	4.3 ± 0.4	4.1 ± 0.4	4.1 ± 0.4

13. **Growth of families by religion or caste.**—A similar comparison for castes is also afforded by the same table from which the accompanying statement IV-d has been extracted. If the figures for other Hindus be taken as a standard of comparison and the last group in the table shown be omitted there is in general at each duration period chosen a larger number of children

surviving in every other caste group. The figures for marriages of the duration of 27 to 32 years amongst Muslims are the only exception to this general statement. The differences, however, in many cases do not appear to be significant. Where the marriage has lasted 0-6 and 7-13 years the range of entries for individual families is so considerable in each case that a significant difference in the number of surviving children can be detected only for marriages of Brahmans which have lasted 7-13 years. At this stage of married life the children surviving to 100 mothers will number 30 more than those surviving to an equal number of mothers amongst the group shown as other Hindus. When the marriage has lasted longer however, the differences, particularly

STATEMENT No. IV-d.

Average number of children surviving to each family according to duration of marriage by castes or other groups.

Duration of marriage	Total	Muslim.	Brahman	Baidya	Kayastha	Other Hindus.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-6 ..	0.9 ± 0.1	0.9 ± 0.1	0.9 ± 0.1	1.2 ± 0.2	1.0 ± 0.1	0.9 ± 0.1
7-13 ..	2.1 ± 0.2	2.3 ± 0.2	2.3 ± 0.2	2.5 ± 0.2	2.5 ± 0.2	2.0 ± 0.1
14-20 ..	3.0 ± 0.3	3.0 ± 0.3	3.1 ± 0.3	3.1 ± 0.3	3.1 ± 0.3	2.9 ± 0.3
21-26 ..	3.6 ± 0.3	3.3 ± 0.3	3.5 ± 0.3	4.1 ± 0.4	4.3 ± 0.4	3.4 ± 0.4
27-32 ..	4.1 ± 0.5	3.8 ± 0.5	4.3 ± 0.5	4.6 ± 0.5	4.6 ± 0.5	3.9 ± 0.5
33 & over	4.2 ± 0.5	4.0 ± 0.5	4.7 ± 0.5	5.0 ± 0.5	4.6 ± 0.5	4.0 ± 0.5

amongst the three upper classes of Hindus, become significant. The deduction appears to be that children of upper class families benefit progressively by improved conditions leading to an increase in the chances of survival as the duration of the marriage increases. Table E has however suggested grounds for believing that the fertility rate is higher at least amongst the Baidyas and Brahmans and that the survival rate is highest amongst all three of the upper classes. The figures here shown are not sufficiently detailed to justify a confident conclusion as to the extent to which in a marriage which has lasted for any given period a higher rate of fertility at certain periods and a higher chance of survival amongst the children born contribute respectively to the larger numbers of children surviving.

14. **Interval between successive births.**—Table G was designed with the object of bringing out any differences in the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child which might be due to differences in the age of the wife at marriage and disparity in the age of the parents. Only those families have been used in which all the children born survived. Amongst the returns received 34 per cent of the wives had become mothers before the age of 17 and 88 per cent. before the age of 24. Wives married before the age of 14 were mothers before the age of 17 in 49 per cent of the cases for which returns were received and all except 5 per cent. of the remainder had borne their first child before the age of 24. The proportion of women married at ages not above 13 whose first child was born before they were 17 years old was in general increasingly higher with an increase of the husband's age at marriage between 17 and 33 and then appears to decline although from the returns received four-fifths of the women married below the age of 14 to men aged 44 and over seem to have borne children before the age of 17. The same uniformity does not seem to be displayed in the case of wives married between the ages of 14 and 16. Here the percentage of marriages in which children were born before the mother was aged 17 is highest where the father at marriage was aged 14 to 16 or 37 to 43 and lowest when he was aged 27 to 33, in which case as many as 70 per cent. of the first children were born when the mother was aged between 17 and 23. Perhaps a more satisfactory method of arriving at conclusions of the same nature is rendered possible by the figures shown in table H, which shows for the same families as are treated in table G, the intervals between marriage and the birth of the first and each successive child up to 4. In two-thirds of the cases the first child was not born to wives married at an age of less than 14 until after the lapse of 4 years or more. With an increase in the age of wife at marriage the period between the marriage and the birth of the first child is successively reduced. Thus to unions at which the wife was aged at marriage 14 to 16 years the first child was born in the largest number of cases at an interval of two or three years, and in one-fifth of the cases the first child was born before two years. Where the wife was aged 17 to 23 at marriage a similar condition is revealed except that there is an increase in the proportion of first children born within two years of marriage. This proportion increases in successive groups, and to women aged 27 to 33 at marriage in 53 per cent. of the cases the first child was born within two years of marriage. Beyond this age-group the number of instances is perhaps insufficient to justify conclusions, but the method on which families were selected automatically excludes all unfruitful marriages and includes only those in which by hypothesis the parents were of the strongest physique since all their offspring born survive. There is probably, therefore, comparatively little likelihood of error in accepting the conclusions suggested by the figures that amongst

fruitful marriages in a majority of cases in which the bride is aged 27 or over children are born within two years of the marriage. The figures therefore show that there is clearly a decrease in the interval between marriage and the birth of the first child with the increase in the age of the mother at marriage. This is in very marked contrast with the figures for the interval between the births of subsequent children. The actual numbers of families to which two or more children were born where the mother was aged 34 years and after at marriage is so small that the statistics for them cannot be confidently relied upon for generalisations, but where the mother was aged less than 34, there is for every age-group chosen in almost the same proportion of cases an interval of two or three years between the birth of the first and the second, second and third, and third and fourth child. It is also significant that if those instances be omitted in which the actual number of families is small, there is remarkably little variation in the percentage of unions in which with any age of parents the second and subsequent children are born two or three years after the preceding child. The factors influencing the interval between births of successive children are obscure, but it is a common belief that conception takes place less readily during the period of lactation, and the prolonged period of suckling often given by Indian mothers may have an effect in determining the interval between the children. In any case the figures given in this table confirm the deduction on general grounds that, at least until the fourth child is born, no voluntary measures are taken to restrict the number of children or the intervals between them.

15. Effect of disparity in parents' ages on interval between marriage and birth of first child.—

In contrast with the uniformity in the interval between each birth and the next, observed in the case of children after the first in all marriages, irrespective of any disparity in the ages of the parents, there is a considerable difference dependent upon the disparity of the parents' ages in the case of the birth of the first child. The number of instances recorded in which the husband is younger than the wife are so few that they may be disregarded. Where the wife was aged less than 14 years at marriage, a larger interval before the birth of the first child occurs in cases in which the husband is most nearly of the same age, and as the disparity between the partners increases there is in general an increase in the proportion of marriages in which the first child is born in less than 4 or less than 2 years. On the whole, a similar condition is seen in cases where the wife was aged 14 to 16 at marriage. Where the husband is of the same age, the first child appears generally not less than 4 years after marriage, where the husband is on an average 5 years older, a rather larger percentage is born less than 4 years from the date of the marriage; where the husband is on the average about 10 years older than the wife, a still larger proportion of the children is born within 4 years of marriage and an increased proportion within the first two years; but whatever disparity exists between the husband and wife, in no case when the husband is 24 years or over is there a larger percentage of children born at any other interval than two to three years of marriage. Generally speaking, whatever the disparity between the parents, it appears to have comparatively little influence upon the percentage of children born within two years of marriage, but with increase in disparity there is an increase in the percentage born after 2 years or 3 years and a decrease of those born 4 years or more after the marriage took place. Where the wife was aged 17 to 23 at marriage the conditions are somewhat similar, though there is here an unexpectedly large percentage of cases in which the first child was not born, until at least 4 years after marriage amongst the group in which the husband was aged 24 to 26. As the disparity between the parents increases there is a tendency for the reduction in the percentage of children born not less than 4 years after marriage to be distributed more evenly between those born at least two years after marriage and those born earlier, but only in the age-group 37 to 43 is there a larger number born less than two years after marriage than at any other period, and when the husband is aged 44 and over at marriage and is, therefore, at least 21 years older than his wife, there is a tendency for child birth to be postponed 4 years or more in a larger proportion of cases.

(NOTE—The figures show completed rentals only.)

Serial No	Age of wife at marriage	Number of families	Steele marriages		Number of females first born	Number of males first born	Number of females first born per 1,000 males first born	Number of children per family with probable error.	Average living births per family with probable error.	Total number of children surviving.	Average survivors per family with probable error.	Number of survivors per 1,000 live births.
			Number	Percentage								
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
BENGAL.												
1	All ages	2,406	79	3.3	982	1,345	730	14,501	6.0 ± .05	9,531	4.0 ± .03	687
2	0-6	83	..	..	28	34	853	37	8.0 ± .27	287	4.1 ± .21	854
3	7-13	847	36	4.3	338	478	707	5,377	6.3 ± .08	3,542	4.2 ± .06	858
4	14-18	816	17	2.1	178	463	738	4,884	5.1 ± .10	3,445	4.2 ± .06	861
5	19-23	887	14	1.6	138	405	728	2,185	6.0 ± .10	1,530	4.3 ± .07	870
6	24-26	866	3	0.4	22	31	710	724	4.9 ± .23	189	2.8 ± .16	882
7	27-30	585	58	9.9	56	78	705	1,386	8.5 ± .16	1,336	3.6 ± .10	890
8	31-36	56	3	5.4	29	15	1,335	225	6.1 ± .40	134	3.6 ± .27	898
9	37-43	52	1	1.9	3	3	1,448	338	6.6 ± .26	188	3.8 ± .16	893
10	44 and over	14	3	21.4	3	8	376	8	0.0 ± .63	28	2.2 ± .43	895
WEST BENGAL.												
11	All ages	248	6	2.4	86	154	558	1,416	5.8 ± .14	1,034	4.2 ± .10	730
12	0-6	7	..	..	187	25	187	25	8.1 ± .87	35	3.6 ± .72	781
13	7-13	92	2	2.2	92	58	689	603	6.0 ± .27	414	4.3 ± .10	787
14	14-18	116	3	2.6	54	74	537	652	4.3 ± .18	483	4.0 ± .14	797
15	19-23	26	1	3.8	12	15	623	128	8.0 ± .39	98	3.2 ± .17	800
16	24-26	3	..	..	1	1	1,000	11	5.5 ± .01	10	3.0 ± .67	800
17	27-30	8	..	..	1	1	1,000	4	0.0 ± .67	4	2.0 ± .67	1,000
18	31-36	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	37-43	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20	44 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CENTRAL BENGAL.												
21	All ages	693	11	1.6	280	392	740	4,425	6.4 ± .09	2,894	4.2 ± .06	654
22	0-6	19	..	..	0	0	900	157	8.3 ± .40	108	5.7 ± .34	688
23	7-13	314	129	41.1	183	689	2,054	6.4 ± .13	1,318	4.4 ± .10	709	688
24	14-18	232	23	9.9	94	130	691	1,430	6.1 ± .14	1,070	4.2 ± .09	710
25	19-23	81	2	2.4	30	25	690	1,281	6.0 ± .10	909	4.3 ± .09	711
26	24-26	20	..	..	14	15	1,107	11	7.7 ± .87	184	3.8 ± .24	712
27	27-30	4	..	..	3	15	1,107	100	6.0 ± .47	97	3.7 ± .50	713
28	31-36	1	..	..	5.8	12	5,000	63	6.3 ± .85	66	4.6 ± .66	714
29	37-43	25	1	4.0	11	13	848	176	7.0 ± .42	112	4.4 ± .29	715
30	44 and over	..	..	..	1	3	353	83	8.8 ± .17	10	4.0 ± .99	885
NORTH BENGAL.												
31	All ages	858	17	2.0	354	487	727	5,102	5.9 ± .07	3,246	3.8 ± .05	638
32	0-6	17	..	..	9	9	839	78	4.6 ± .49	48	3.8 ± .39	878
33	7-13	185	4	2.4	160	92	750	1,091	6.0 ± .16	736	4.0 ± .12	877
34	14-18	283	4	1.8	123	157	783	1,818	6.1 ± .14	1,204	4.0 ± .12	878
35	19-23	283	4	1.4	100	130	769	1,807	5.5 ± .16	1,210	3.5 ± .09	880
36	24-26	79	9	11.4	25	49	590	577	6.2 ± .12	114	3.7 ± .17	882
37	27-30	23	..	..	10	19	612	900	4.6 ± .10	283	3.0 ± .11	884
38	31-36	3	..	..	6	6	857	60	6.0 ± .43	39	3.0 ± .25	885
39	37-43	17	..	..	3	14	214	95	4.4 ± .47	30	2.5 ± .25	886
40	44 and over	8	8	37.5	1	4	250	22	2.8 ± .88	10	1.8 ± .38	885
EAST BENGAL.												
41	All ages	609	45	7.4	252	312	808	3,558	5.8 ± .10	2,357	3.9 ± .07	663
42	0-6	29	..	..	10	9	1,222	100	5.5 ± .16	78	3.8 ± .38	871
43	7-13	270	23	9.1	119	149	788	1,650	6.0 ± .16	1,074	3.9 ± .13	872
44	14-18	183	7	3.8	89	93	838	1,197	5.1 ± .16	769	3.6 ± .12	873
45	19-23	254	7	2.8	81	86	801	877	5.1 ± .26	243	2.3 ± .17	874
46	24-26	74	11	15.0	10	16	810	810	6.0 ± .40	100	2.0 ± .17	875
47	27-30	59	3	10.5	1	10	625	188	5.8 ± .44	163	3.0 ± .26	876
48	31-36	10	1	25.0	2	1	1,000	13	3.8 ± .89	10	2.5 ± .80	877
49	37-43	4	..	..	1	6	807	8	0.0 ± .84	4	1.0 ± .41	878
50	44 and over	2	..	..	1	1	2,000	10	3.0 ± .70	6	3.0 ± .35	880

* The probable error is indeterminate.

(NOTE—The figures in italics are of completed fertility cases only.)

Age of wife at marriage.	Total number of families.	Number of families to which there have been born.																		
		No children during married life lasting					No living children during married life lasting.					Living children during married life lasting.								
		0-3 years.	4-6 years.	7-13 years.	14-23 years.	24-33 years.	33 years and over.	All periods.	0-3 years.	4-6 years.	7-13 years.	14-23 years.	24-33 years.	33 years and over.	All periods.	0-3 years.	4-6 years.	7-13 years.	14-23 years.	33 years and over.
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)	(u)
BENGAL.																				
All ages	14,586	368	211	183	146	65	47	1,020	77	130	158	98	44	28	535	445	1,278	3,775	4,129	2,943
0-6	2,405	5	3	5	21	47	70	..	..	..	..	1	6	11	23	40	1	58	187	372
7-13	1,882	122	102	82	52	29	31	428	24	36	69	33	27	16	264	83	356	1,443	1,621	900
14-16	1,847	107	61	47	36	20	31	306	23	59	44	26	10	9	171	266	548	1,141	838	589
17-23	2,110	83	34	30	16	10	12	177	23	56	44	26	10	9	171	266	548	1,141	838	589
24-26	3,009	14	5	5	5	2	1	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	11	11	32	86	190	22
27-33	3,114	13	3	2	2	1	1	21	4	4	4	7	2	1	18	10	22	108	104	23
34-46	2,181	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	7	1	15	17	3
47-48	31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	8	1	12	17	3
49 and over	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	24	31	1
	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	3	4	1

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE C.—Families according to age of wife at marriage classified by natural divisions, by duration of marriage and by fertility—concluded

(Note.—The figures in italics are of completed fertility cases only.)

Age of wife at marriage.	Total number of families	Number of families to which there have been born																											
		No children during married life lasting								No living children during married life lasting								Living children during married life lasting											
		0-3 years.		4-6 years.		7-13 years.		14-23 years.		24-32 years.		33 years and over.		All periods.		0-3 years.		4-6 years.		7-13 years.		14-23 years.		24-32 years.		33 years and over.		All periods.	
		(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)	(u)	(v)	(w)	(x)	(y)	(z)	(aa)	(ab)	(ac)	
WEST BENGAL.																													
All ages	1,197	33	25	20	15	7	4	104	2	8	13	3	1	27	17	77	237	328	225	182	1,066								
0-6	246	32	1		3	5	2	1	6									6	7	4	68	182							
7-13	526	17	11	7	6	1	2	47		1	10			11	8	31	100	151	107	74	489								
14-16	514	14	11	4	4		2	42	2	6	2	3				13	5	10	94	137	98	82							
17-23	101	1	3	1			1	6		1	1			3		6	20	30	15	15	92								
24-26	28							1									1	3	10	15	25								
27-33	8																	2		1	7								
34-36	2															1					1								
37-43	1																				1								
44 and over																													
CENTRAL BENGAL.																													
All ages	3,776	77	50	41	40	17	6	231	10	30	39	36	24	15	154	65	251	873	1,121	633	448	3,391							
0-6	653	134	8	1	1	1	3	6	11			3	2	4	13	21		38	18	130	7	418	601						
7-13	1,897	34	33	15	15	7	2	115	5	15	17	11	17	9	76	15	98	418	408	330	262	1,916							
14-16	1,422	84	11	10	9	8	2	72	5	13	14	12	6	55	40	138	307	108	235	157	1,284	1,616							
17-23	261	11	2	3	1	1	1	15	1	1	1	2	1	7	6	1	20	60	64	39	10	238							
24-26	39		1	1	1			3						1			8	10	10	4	22	19							
27-33	62									4	1			5		1	27	28	1		67								
34-36	22				1			3						1			5	10	1		22								
37-43	19				1			1						1				9	8	1	17								
44 and over	4							1						1			13	10			1	24							
NORTH BENGAL.																													
All ages	6,132	209	103	65	26	23	6	432	47	58	60	33	8	6	212	254	700	1,701	1,744	728	361	5,498							
0-6	575	134	1		2	1	2	27	8			2	2	6	11		1	12	104	319	361	837							
7-13	1,498	51	40	21	12	9	2	135	10	7	17	8	1	25	22	98	437	458	210	123	1,518	1,877							
14-16	2,162	59	29	16	7	7	1	122	12	21	19	6	2	3	63	99	309	504	568	284	1,553	1,977							
17-23	1,855	71	23	20	8	4	1	121	19	24	17	10	3	1	74	102	214	505	512	195	1,670								
24-26	217	12	4	4	3	1		24	4	2	1			1		10	27	58	69	16	224								
27-33	207	13	2	2				16	3	4	3				10	10	20	59	68	15	178								
34-36	79																1	5	7	1	26								
37-43	22	1	1					2								6	1	5	7	1	13								
44 and over	17		2	1				3			1				1	5		4	9	8	20								
EAST BENGAL.																													
All ages	3,481	49	33	57	65	18	31	253	18	34	48	26	11	7	142	109	250	964	936	463	364	3,086							
0-6	609			3	4	1	31	42			5	2	2	7	11		1	18	37	138	361	553							
7-13	1,815	20	18	36	20	1	21	131	10	13	25	11	9	4	72	43	131	525	450	249	200	1,612							
14-16	1,011	20	19	12	10		5	69	7	4	19	9	4	2	1	39	63	91	222	272	149	1,113							
17-23	357	5	4	6	15	4		36	3		6	5		1	15	7	24	90	112	43	24	272							
24-26	38				1	1		4		1	1			1	3	1	2	14	9	5	31								
27-33	47	1	1					6	1					1	1		1	10	8	5	7								
34-36	29							1	3					1	1		1	10	8	5	7								
37-43	11							1							1			7	7	4	28								
44 and over	10							1							1			7	2										

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE D.—Families according to occupation of husband classified by natural divisions and by average number of children born alive and surviving.

(NOTE.—The figures are for completed fertility cases only.)

Occupation of husband.	Number of families	Sterile marriages		Total number of children born alive	Average living births per family with probable error	Total number of children surviving	Average survivors per family with probable error	Number of survivors per 1,000 born alive.
		Number.	Percentage					
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
BENGAL.								
1 ALL OCCUPATIONS	2,406	79	3.3	14,501	6.0 ± .05	9,531 ± 0	± .03	657
2 Pasture and agriculture	1,208	22	1.8	7,379	6.1 ± .06	4,756	3.9 ± .04	644
3 Fishing and hunting	19	..	..	87	5.1 ± .41	64	3.4 ± .32	680
4 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	11	1	9.1	88	5.1 ± .34	38	3.3 ± .39	644
5 Jute pressing, spinning and weaving	2	..	..	10	8.0 ± .57	7	3.1 ± .34	700
6 Other textile industries	1	..	..	8	8.0 ± .*	4	4.0 ± .*	690
7 Workers in skins and other hard animal products	19	2	10.6	92	5.2 ± .49	54	2.2 ± .33	451
8 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	11	..	..	77	7.0 ± .38	44	4.0 ± .56	571
9 Workers in metals	15	1	..	104	6.2 ± .48	68	4.5 ± .33	654
10 Workers in building industries	13	1	7.7	80	6.2 ± .71	41	3.1 ± .37	622
11 Other industrialists and artisans	87	6	5.7	497	6.7 ± .25	309	3.1 ± .17	622
12 Transport by water	3	..	..	9	3.2 ± .35	3	1.0 ± .*	333
13 Transport by road	13	..	..	75	5.2 ± .50	38	2.3 ± .31	480
14 Transport by rail	16	..	..	98	6.1 ± .57	64	4.0 ± .40	653
15 Other transport, posts, telegraphs, and telephone service	7	..	..	48	6.2 ± .71	21	3.0 ± .69	438
16 Traders	281	22	7.8	1,438	5.1 ± .13	853	3.4 ± .09	662
17 Army, navy, air force, police	18	..	..	115	6.4 ± .51	74	4.1 ± .37	643
18 Public administration	38	1	2.6	257	6.5 ± .32	200	5.0 ± .29	778
19 Religion	44	1	2.3	287	6.1 ± .55	169	3.1 ± .25	633
20 Law	84	1	1.2	609	7.2 ± .30	450	6.4 ± .24	738
21 Medicine	84	1	1.6	453	7.1 ± .30	329	3.1 ± .23	728
22 Instruction	48	1	2.2	310	6.7 ± .33	222	4.1 ± .23	718
23 Letters, arts and sciences	6	..	..	31	6.3 ± .57	20	4.0 ± .69	839
24 Living on income	83	1	1.9	357	6.7 ± .32	247	7.1 ± .24	832
25 Domestic servants	27	3	11.1	143	6.5 ± .48	70	6.0 ± .34	531
26 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	281	11	4.2	1,555	6.0 ± .15	1,072	4.1 ± .11	689
27 Unclassified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	58	8	10.3	328	5.0 ± .29	204	3.1 ± .20	626
WEST BENGAL.								
28 ALL OCCUPATIONS	246	6	2.4	1,416	5.8 ± .14	1,034	4.2 ± .10	730
29 Pasture and agriculture	98	2	2.0	542	5.5 ± .21	395	4.0 ± .14	729
30 Fishing and hunting	1	..	..	2	2.0 ± .*	1	1.0 ± .*	500
31 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	1	..	..	8	5.0 ± .*	3	3.0 ± .*	600
32 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	1	..	..	8	5.0 ± .*	8	8.0 ± .*	1,000
33 Workers in metals	2	..	..	13	6.5 ± .38	6	3.0 ± .0	462
34 Other industrialists and artisans	7	1	14.3	93	4.7 ± .84	24	3.4 ± .59	727
35 Transport by rail	1	..	..	7	7.0 ± .*	4	4.0 ± .*	571
36 Traders	20	..	..	123	6.2 ± .48	83	4.2 ± .33	675
37 Army, navy, air force, police	8	..	..	17	6.7 ± .60	12	4.0 ± .39	706
38 Public administration	6	..	..	40	8.0 ± .42	36	7.2 ± .30	900
39 Religion	6	..	..	28	4.3 ± .64	18	3.0 ± .55	692
40 Law	11	..	..	60	5.5 ± .57	44	4.0 ± .50	793
41 Medicine	2	..	..	14	7.0 ± .35	11	5.0 ± .9	788
42 Instruction	12	..	..	98	7.3 ± .42	68	5.0 ± .34	731
43 Living on income	23	..	..	150	6.5 ± .32	106	4.7 ± .39	720
44 Domestic servants	1	..	..	8	8.0 ± .*	7	7.0 ± .*	875
45 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	49	..	..	241	6.7 ± .40	181	4.3 ± .28	751
46 Unclassified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	10	3	30.0	34	3.4 ± .77	25	2.5 ± .37	795
CENTRAL BENGAL.								
47 ALL OCCUPATIONS	693	11	1.6	4,425	6.4 ± .09	2,894	4.2 ± .06	654
48 Pasture and agriculture	345	4	1.6	1,559	6.4 ± .14	1,004	4.1 ± .11	644
49 Fishing and hunting	8	..	..	52	6.5 ± .64	34	4.3 ± .46	654
50 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	4	1	25.0	19	4.5 ± .29	10	2.0 ± .60	550
51 Other textile industries	1	..	..	8	8.0 ± .*	4	4.0 ± .*	600
52 Workers in skins and other hard animal products	2	..	..	15	7.5 ± 1.01	9	4.1 ± 1.01	600
53 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	1	..	..	8	8.0 ± .*	7	7.0 ± .*	875
54 Workers in metals	2	..	..	18	9.0 ± 2.70	10	5.0 ± .67	555
55 Workers in building industries	3	..	..	23	7.1 ± .39	13	4.0 ± .98	565
56 Other industrialists and artisans	23	1	4.5	139	6.1 ± .43	83	3.1 ± .33	632
57 Transport by road	6	..	..	25	4.4 ± .83	11	3.2 ± .59	509
58 Transport by rail	9	..	..	55	6.1 ± .53	33	3.7 ± .50	600
59 Other transport, posts, telegraphs, and telephone service	1	..	..	3	3.0 ± .*	2	2.0 ± .*	667
60 Traders	85	..	..	474	6.6 ± .23	326	3.8 ± .17	688
61 Army, navy, air force, police	1	..	..	4	4.0 ± .*	1	1.0 ± .*	250
62 Public administration	12	..	..	77	6.4 ± .44	59	4.0 ± .37	768
63 Religion	20	..	..	118	5.2 ± .58	64	3.2 ± .38	552
64 Law	46	..	..	328	7.1 ± .39	228	5.0 ± .32	695
65 Medicine	29	..	..	244	8.4 ± .39	189	5.0 ± .34	699
66 Instruction	10	..	..	105	6.6 ± .60	68	4.2 ± .32	848
67 Letters, arts and sciences	2	..	..	10	4.0 ± .0	6	3.0 ± .0	800
68 Living on income	21	1	4.8	140	6.7 ± .49	94	4.1 ± .49	671
69 Domestic servants	4	..	..	18	3.1 ± 1.11	7	1.1 ± .57	577
70 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	130	4	3.1	818	6.8 ± .20	548	4.1 ± .15	664
71 Unclassified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	21	..	..	176	7.3 ± .28	107	4.4 ± .29	606

* Probable error is indeterminate.

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE D.—Families according to occupation of husband classified by natural divisions and by average number of children born alive and surviving—concluded.

(Note.—The figures are for complete fertility cases only.)

(Occupation of husband)	Number of families	Sterile marriages		Total number of children born alive	Average living births per family with probable error	Total number of children surviving	Average survivors per family with probable error.	Number of survivors per 1,000 born alive	
		Number	Percentage.						
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	
NORTH BENGAL.									
72 ALL OCCUPATIONS	..	858	17	2 0	5,102	5.9±.07	3,246	3.8±.05	636
73 Pasture and agriculture	..	653	10	1 5	3,877	5.9±.08	2,387	3.7±.05	616
74 Fishing and hunting	..	8			40	5.0±.46	26	3.3±.52	650
75 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	..	2			10	5.0±.67	10	5.0±.67	1,000
76 Jute processing, spinning and weaving	..	2			10	5.0±.67	7	3.5±.51	700
77 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	..	3			36	7.2±.52	15	5.0±.98	417
78 Workers in metals	..	2			11	5.5±.61	7	3.5±.54	696
79 Workers in building industries	..	1			10	10.0±.*	2	2.0±.*	200
80 Other industrialists and artisans	..	19			96	5.1±.34	65	3.4±.30	677
81 Transport by rail	..	1			9	9.0±.*	8	8.0±.*	899
82 Other transport, posts, telegraphs, and telephone service	..	4			30	7.5±.80	17	4.3±.61	567
83 Traders	..	49	3	6 1	246	5.0±.29	164	3.3±.18	687
84 Army, navy, air force, police	..	6			41	6.8±.55	23	4.0±.56	610
85 Public administration	..	11	1	0 1	69	6.3±.43	56	5.1±.73	797
86 Religion	..	6			44	7.3±.77	31	5.2±.71	706
87 Law	..	6	1	15 7	55	9.2±.64	47	7.8±.76	855
88 Medicine	..	15			89	5.9±.50	71	4.7±.40	798
89 Instruction	..	2			19	9.5±.64	14	7.0±.67	787
90 Letters, arts and sciences	..	2			12	6.0±.69	11	5.5±.66	917
91 Living on income	..	1			5	5.0±.*	1	1.0±.*	800
92 Domestic servants	..	8			46	6.0±.65	23	2.9±.39	600
93 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	..	46			314	6.8±.43	230	5.0±.38	738
94 Un-classified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	..	9	2	22 2	83	9.7±.84	37	4.0±.50	818
EAST BENGAL.									
95 ALL OCCUPATIONS	..	609	45	7 4	3,558	5.8±.10	2,357	3.9±.07	662
96 Pasture and agriculture	..	219	6	2 8	1,401	6.6±.15	970	4.6±.11	622
97 Fishing and hunting	..	2			8	4.0±.34	8	4.5±.41	1,000
98 Cotton ginning, cleaning, pressing, spinning and weaving	..	4			20	6.0±.55	15	3.1±.58	677
99 Workers in skins and other hard animal products	..	17	2	11 8	89	4.9±.53	45	2.1±.35	540
100 Workers in wood, makers of furniture	..	4			25	6.3±.75	14	3.5±.54	692
101 Workers in metals	..	9			62	6.9±.46	45	5.0±.19	720
102 Workers in building industries	..	0	1	11 1	47	7.5±.59	28	2.0±.41	355
103 Other industrialists and artisans	..	39	3	7 7	229	5.5±.41	135	3.0±.27	690
104 Transport by water	..	3			9	4.0±.35	3	1.0±.0	399
105 Transport by road	..	3			53	6.6±.66	25	3.1±.43	472
106 Transport by rail	..	5			27	5.4±.66	19	3.6±.73	704
107 Other transport, posts, telegraphs, and telephone service	..	2			15	7.5±.69	2	1.0±.67	133
108 Traders	..	127	19	15 0	596	4.7±.20	380	3.0±.15	636
109 Army, navy, air force, police	..	8			53	6.0±.68	36	4.5±.68	679
110 Public administration	..	10			71	7.1±.59	50	5.0±.61	704
111 Religion	..	12	1	8 3	81	6.8±.69	56	4.7±.49	691
112 Law	..	21			166	7.9±.55	131	6.2±.34	789
113 Medicine	..	18	1	5 6	106	5.9±.67	78	4.3±.48	736
114 Instruction	..	16	1	6 3	93	5.5±.58	72	4.5±.47	774
115 Letters, arts and sciences	..	2			9	4.5±.34	9	4.5±.34	1,000
116 Living on income	..	5			62	7.8±.90	41	5.1±.63	861
117 Domestic servants	..	14	3	21 4	76	5.4±.60	39	2.8±.54	513
118 "Service" and unspecified clerical work	..	43	7	10 3	182	4.2±.33	118	2.7±.23	648
119 Un-classified, unproductive and other insufficiently described occupations	..	15	1	6 7	83	5.5±.69	45	3.0±.29	642

* Probable error is indeterminate

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE E.—Families according to religion or caste and natural divisions classified (i) by number of children born alive and surviving and (ii) by age groups of wife at marriage.

(NOTE.—These figures are for completed fertility cases only.)

Serial No.	Religion or caste	Number of families.	Sterile marriages		Total number of children born alive	Average living births per family with probable error	Total number of children surviving.	Average survivors per family with probable error	Number of survivors per 1,000 born alive	Number of families in which wife's age at marriage was												
										0-13		14-16		17-23		24 & over.						
			No.	%						No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)			
BENGAL.																						
1 All sects	..	2,406	79	3.3	14,501	6.0 ± .05	9,531	4.0 ± .03	657	910	38	816	34	385	16	295	12					
2 Muslims		528	28	5.5	3,242	6.1 ± .10	2,023	3.8 ± .07	624	240	45	162	31	68	13	87	11					
3 Brahmans		249	4	1.6	1,568	6.3 ± .15	1,140	4.6 ± .12	727	125	59	82	33	23	8	19	8					
4 Baidyas		87	6	6.5	518	7.2 ± .22	383	5.7 ± .17	739	31	46	31	48	3	5	1	1					
5 Kayasthas	..	261	6	2.5	1,578	6.2 ± .16	1,031	4.3 ± .13	687	159	46	104	43	19	8	3						
6 Other Hindus		1,533	39	3.0	7,586	5.9 ± .06	4,675	3.7 ± .04	662	392	31	417	34	252	29	192	15					
7 Others		68	2	2.9	408	6.6 ± .24	278	4.1 ± .17	684	12	18	10	28	19	28	18	28					
WEST BENGAL.																						
8 All sects	..	246	6	2.4	1,416	5.8 ± .11	1,034	4.2 ± .10	730	99	40	116	47	26	11	5	2					
9 Muslims		16			107	6.7 ± .52	80	4.9 ± .39	748	6	38	10	62									
10 Brahmans		13	1	2.3	260	7.2 ± .33	193	4.6 ± .24	742	1*	42	20	46									
11 Baidyas		45			249	5.5 ± .22	198	4.1 ± .28	705	14	31	23	51									
12 Kayasthas		124	3	4.0	686	6.5 ± .29	480	7.0 ± .13	700	55	44	54	44	14	11	1	1					
13 Other Hindus		18			114	6.6 ± .61	83	7.0 ± .40	728			4	30									
14 Others																						
CENTRAL BENGAL.																						
15 All sects	..	693	11	1.6	4,425	6.4 ± .09	2,894	4.2 ± .06	854	333	48	232	34	51	7	77	11					
16 Muslims		121	8	2.3	765	6.3 ± .31	438	3.8 ± .13	399	52	48	33	27	17	14	19	16					
17 Brahmans		126	2	1.6	790	6.6 ± .21	338	4.9 ± .16	651	67	33	33	28	9	7	13	12					
18 Baidyas		36			401	6.4 ± .29	295	5.7 ± .27	684	18	70	16	44									
19 Kayasthas	..	86	3	3.5	593	6.6 ± .27	360	4.6 ± .21	638	12	49	36	42									
20 Other Hindus		321	3	0.9	1,858	6.6 ± .12	1,289	4.9 ± .09	658	153	48	112	85	17	5	32	12					
21 Others		3			18	6.6 ± .17	14	4.7 ± .21	778	1	34											
NORTH BENGAL.																						
22 All sects	..	858	17	2.0	5,102	5.9 ± .07	3,246	3.8 ± .05	636	182	21	285	33	234	27	157	19					
23 Muslims		134	1	0.7	879	6.9 ± .17	584	4.4 ± .13	683	59	44	39	44	10	6	6	4					
24 Brahmans*		28	1	3.6	160	6.4 ± .67	140	6.6 ± .51	778	11	40	9	22	0	21	2	7					
25 Baidyas		18			120	6.2 ± .44	98	6.4 ± .37	817	6	39	10	60									
26 Kayasthas	..	34	1	2.9	217	6.4 ± .42	148	4.6 ± .42	682	17	50	12	35	4	12	1	8					
27 Other Hindus		615	13	2.0	3,549	6.3 ± .08	2,173	3.5 ± .06	612	88	14	102	31	296	39	135	28					
28 Others		20	2	0.9	157	4.4 ± .37	103	3.6 ± .28	636	1	3	10	12	42	13	45						
EAST BENGAL.																						
29 All sects	..	609	45	7.4	3,558	5.8 ± .10	2,357	3.9 ± .07	662	296	49	183	30	74	12	56	9					
30 Muslims		257	25	9.7	1,491	5.5 ± .11	901	3.5 ± .10	904	123	48	60	23	42	10	32	13					
31 Brahmans*		32			489	6.6 ± .29	358	6.5 ± .34	784	59	56	18	34									
32 Baidyas		19			97	7.7 ± .40	79	6.7 ± .42	814	7	54	6	49									
33 Kayasthas	..	76			420	6.7 ± .27	295	4.9 ± .19	702	37	49	33	48									
34 Other Hindus		193	18	9.3	1,092	5.7 ± .16	734	3.8 ± .13	672	96	30	69	30	21	11	17	4					
35 Others		18			119	6.6 ± .38	78	4.4 ± .26	684	4	22	7	59	3	17	4	23					

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE F.—Families according to religion or caste and natural

(NOTE—Figures in italics other than for probable)

Serial No.	Religion or caste.	Duration of marriage											
		0—6 years				7—13 years.				14—16 years.			
		Families.		Number of children surviving	Average number of surviving children with probable error.	Families.		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.	Families.		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.
		Number	Per cent.			Number.	Per cent.			Number.	Per cent.		
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	
BEN													
1	All sects	2,509	17	2,312	0.9 ± .01	4,116	28	8,757	2.1 ± .02	1,822	12	5,412	3.0 ± .03
2	Muslims	556	17	481	0.8 ± .02	1,008	30	2,225	2.2 ± .03	460	14	1,367	3.0 ± .06
3	Brahmans	148	12	134	0.9 ± .05	284	24	556	2.3 ± .06	164	14	550	3.4 ± .11
4	Baidyas	24	9	20	1.2 ± .11	49	18	137	2.8 ± .12	33	12	112	3.4 ± .23
5	Kayasthas	150	13	147	1.0 ± .05	241	22	593	2.5 ± .06	137	12	419	3.1 ± .11
6	Other Hindus	1,547	19	1,408	0.9 ± .01	2,439	29	4,956	2.0 ± .02	976	12	2,815	2.9 ± .04
7	Others	84	21	105	1.2 ± .07	94	24	180	2.0 ± .09	52	13	149	2.9 ± .14
8		1	1			2	3	8	4.0 ± .67	5	7	17	3.4 ± .46
WEST													
15	All sects	162	14	136	0.8 ± .04	270	23	586	2.2 ± .03	130	11	391	3.0 ± .11
16	Muslims	14	12	13	0.9 ± .16	33	27	76	2.3 ± .16	19	16	50	2.6 ± .25
17	Brahmans	29	14	24	0.8 ± .11	42	20	102	2.4 ± .16	28	12	75	2.9 ± .31
18	Baidyas	1	31	2	0.5 ± .19	2	15	4	2.0 ± .35				
19	Kayasthas	35	17	31	0.9 ± .11	38	19	87	2.3 ± .17	23	11	71	3.1 ± .20
20	Other Hindus	77	13	65	0.8 ± .06	145	24	298	2.1 ± .08	57	9	177	3.1 ± .17
21	Others	3	6	1	0.3 ± .21	10	19	19	1.9 ± .27	5	10	18	3.6 ± .40
22													
CENTRAL													
29	All sects	483	13	455	0.9 ± .03	953	25	2,216	2.3 ± .03	553	15	1,660	3.0 ± .06
30	Muslims	126	15	111	0.9 ± .06	230	29	516	2.2 ± .04	147	18	440	3.0 ± .10
31	Brahmans	81	14	74	0.9 ± .07	136	23	300	2.3 ± .09	92	15	310	3.4 ± .14
32	Baidyas	10	7	12	1.2 ± .20	31	21	90	2.9 ± .15	18	13	58	3.2 ± .27
33	Kayasthas	65	14	57	0.9 ± .08	110	24	268	2.4 ± .08	47	10	141	3.0 ± .19
34	Other Hindus	197	12	192	1.0 ± .04	431	25	1,012	2.3 ± .05	247	14	705	2.9 ± .08
35	Others	4	15	0	2.2 ± .17	9	34	21	2.3 ± .33	2	7	6	3.0 ± .0
36													
NORTH													
43	All sects	1,371	22	1,248	0.9 ± .01	1,826	30	3,692	2.0 ± .02	664	11	1,955	2.9 ± .04
44	Muslims	131	19	110	0.8 ± .04	192	28	443	2.3 ± .07	78	11	240	3.1 ± .13
45	Brahmans	24	12	23	1.0 ± .07	65	33	161	2.5 ± .11	19	10	64	3.4 ± .25
46	Baidyas	6	11	8	1.3 ± .14	8	14	25	3.1 ± .35	6	11	20	3.3 ± .57
47	Kayasthas	25	14	38	1.3 ± .11	41	23	122	3.0 ± .16	30	16	120	4.0 ± .28
48	Other Hindus	1,122	23	1,001	0.9 ± .02	1,459	30	2,822	1.9 ± .02	507	11	1,449	2.9 ± .04
49	Others	63	28	73	1.2 ± .09	61	27	119	2.0 ± .11	24	10	62	2.6 ± .17
50		1	3			1	3	3	3.0 ± .*	3	11	7	2.3 ± .22
EAST													
57	All sects	493	14	473	1.0 ± .02	1,067	31	2,263	2.1 ± .03	475	14	1,406	3.0 ± .06
58	Muslims	285	17	257	0.9 ± .03	548	32	1,190	2.2 ± .04	216	13	637	2.9 ± .09
59	Brahmans	14	7	13	0.9 ± .15	41	21	84	2.1 ± .13	27	14	101	3.7 ± .32
60	Baidyas	4	7	7	1.7 ± .17	8	14	18	2.2 ± .21	9	16	34	3.8 ± .56
61	Kayasthas	25	9	26	1.0 ± .07	52	20	110	2.2 ± .12	37	14	87	2.4 ± .17
62	Other Hindus	151	18	148	1.0 ± .04	404	34	824	2.0 ± .05	165	14	484	2.9 ± .10
63	Others	14	16	22	1.0 ± .14	14	18	31	2.2 ± .20	21	23	63	3.0 ± .28
64						1	6	5	5.0 ± .*	2	11	10	5.0 ± .0

*Probable error

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE.

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division classified by duration of marriage and average number of children surviving.

error are of completed fertility cases)

Duration of marriage.													Serial No.
17-26 years				27-32 years.				33 years and over					
Families		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.	Families.		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.	Families.		Number of children surviving.	Average number of surviving children with probable error.		
Number.	Per cent.			Number	Per cent.			Number.	Per cent.				
(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)	(u)	(v)	(w)	(x)	(y)		
GAL.													
3,429	24	12,242	3.6±.03	1,282	9	5,229	4.1±.05	1,428	10	6,019	4.2±.05	1	
231	10	690	3.0±.08	620	26	2,343	3.8±.06	1,428	59	6,019	4.2±.05	2	
721	21	2,521	3.5±.05	260	8	835	3.6±.09	329	10	1,330	4.0±.09	3	
47	9	135	2.9±.20	118	22	419	3.6±.15	329	62	1,330	4.0±.09	4	
276	23	1,134	4.1±.09	153	13	662	4.3±.13	173	14	812	4.7±.15	5	
14	0	57	4.1±.44	53	21	229	4.3±.21	173	69	812	4.7±.15	6	
77	28	340	4.4±.17	41	15	265	6.5±.28	48	18	285	5.9±.20	7	
3	3	9	4.5±.36	17	25	89	5.2±.30	48	72	285	5.9±.20	8	
286	26	1,240	4.3±.09	119	11	553	4.6±.18	178	16	788	4.5±.14	9	
6	3	22	4.1±.83	52	22	196	3.8±.20	179	74	798	4.5±.14	10	
1,956	24	6,582	3.4±.03	686	8	2,696	3.9±.06	670	8	2,682	4.0±.06	11	
147	11	414	2.8±.09	365	29	1,346	3.7±.08	670	54	2,682	4.0±.06	12	
113	29	425	3.5±.13	23	6	109	4.7±.29	29	7	432	4.0±.27	13	
16	21	53	3.3±.27	15	22	69	4.6±.37	29	43	432	4.0±.27	14	
BENGAL.													
325	27	1,244	3.8±.08	126	10	580	4.6±.16	184	15	777	4.2±.12	15	
2	1	9	4.5±.36	59	24	245	4.2±.18	184	75	777	4.2±.12	16	
30	25	100	3.3±.26	9	9	36	4.0±.51	15	12	70	5.1±.42	17	
59	28	234	4.0±.20	23	13	116	4.1±.34	28	13	130	4.6±.33	18	
6	46	15	2.7±.85	1	35	63	4.2±.39	28	65	130	4.6±.33	19	
60	29	248	4.2±.18	16	8	10	10.0±.	..	..	..	..	20
2	5	9	4.5±.36	10	22	90	5.6±.55	..	..	..	..	21
158	20	580	3.3±.12	63	11	288	4.6±.21	32	16	145	4.5±.36	22	
15	29	61	4.1±.30	24	19	97	4.0±.31	100	17	383	3.8±.14	23	
..	..	..	..	9	18	40	4.4±.46	100	31	383	3.8±.14	24
..	..	..	..	9	50	40	4.4±.46	9	18	43	4.8±.66	25
..	..	..	..	9	50	40	4.4±.46	9	50	43	4.8±.66	26
BENGAL.													
909	24	3,457	3.8±.05	409	11	1,665	4.1±.08	469	12	2,010	4.3±.08	29	
31	4	99	3.2±.24	136	20	528	3.9±.13	469	63	2,010	4.3±.08	30	
174	21	604	3.5±.10	68	8	247	3.6±.20	70	9	284	4.3±.08	31	
7	6	19	2.7±.38	29	24	87	3.0±.25	70	57	284	4.3±.08	32	
127	21	496	3.9±.13	77	13	339	4.4±.18	66	14	368	4.3±.20	33	
9	7	34	3.8±.51	23	18	97	4.2±.30	66	68	368	4.3±.20	34	
98	26	168	4.4±.26	17	12	122	7.2±.45	31	21	184	5.9±.25	35	
1	3	1	1.0±.	4	11	21	5.2±.64	31	86	184	5.9±.25	36	
181	28	588	4.5±.13	40	9	178	4.4±.30	67	15	313	4.7±.25	37	
492	25	1,679	3.7±.07	18	19	66	4.1±.40	87	78	313	4.7±.25	38	
13	4	38	2.9±.31	204	12	763	3.7±.11	213	12	854	4.0±.11	39	
7	26	22	3.1±.66	64	20	267	4.0±.20	213	66	854	4.0±.11	40	
1	33	7	7.0±.	3	11	16	5.3±1.25	2	7	7	3.5±.34	41	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	67	7	3.5±.34	42
BENGAL.													
1,434	23	4,737	3.3±.03	464	8	1,831	3.9±.07	373	6	1,593	4.3±.08	43	
139	16	408	2.9±.09	309	36	1,137	3.7±.08	373	43	1,593	4.3±.08	44	
142	20	546	3.5±.11	71	10	297	4.2±.17	82	12	355	4.3±.18	45	
3	3	13	4.3±.23	45	34	200	4.1±.21	82	62	355	4.3±.18	46	
42	22	163	3.9±.22	23	12	103	4.7±.41	21	11	111	5.3±.63	47	
2	7	6	3.0±1.35	4	15	20	5.0±1.40	21	75	111	5.3±.63	48	
14	24	77	5.5±.34	16	28	87	5.4±.36	7	12	41	5.9±.40	49	
1	6	8	8.0±.	10	55	49	4.9±.37	7	39	41	5.9±.40	50	
44	24	196	4.5±.23	19	10	101	5.3±.49	23	13	109	4.7±.42	51	
2	6	10	5.0±.67	8	24	28	3.5±.58	23	67	109	4.7±.42	52	
1,129	24	3,538	3.1±.04	326	7	1,196	3.7±.08	239	5	943	4.0±.09	53	
120	19	341	2.8±.10	236	38	311	3.4±.09	233	39	913	4.0±.09	54	
63	28	217	3.4±.16	9	4	42	4.7±.42	7	3	34	4.9±.40	55	
11	38	30	2.7±.28	6	21	29	4.8±.64	7	24	34	4.9±.40	56	
BENGAL.													
761	22	2,804	3.7±.05	283	8	1,144	4.0±.10	402	11	1,639	4.1±.09	57	
59	10	174	2.9±.19	118	19	438	3.8±.15	402	66	1,639	4.1±.09	58	
375	22	1,271	3.4±.07	112	7	855	3.2±.13	162	9	615	3.8±.13	59	
37	14	103	2.8±.25	43	17	128	3.0±.18	162	63	615	3.8±.13	60	
48	25	239	5.0±.21	25	13	99	4.0±.27	38	20	203	5.3±.31	61	
3	6	17	5.7±1.12	11	21	49	4.5±.35	38	73	203	5.3±.31	62	
19	33	82	4.3±.25	7	12	46	6.0±.69	10	18	60	6.0±.69	63	
52	20	208	4.0±.20	3	23	19	6.3±.98	10	77	60	6.0±.69	64	
1	1	3	3.0±.	44	16	184	4.2±.27	67	21	231	4.1±.22	65	
239	20	879	3.7±.09	18	24	61	3.4±.38	67	75	231	4.1±.22	66	
14	7	35	2.5±.28	93	8	449	4.8±.19	124	11	482	3.9±.16	67	
28	31	125	4.5±.29	41	21	181	4.4±.33	124	64	482	3.9±.16	68	
4	22	16	4.0±.28	2	2	11	5.6±1.01	11	12	48	4.4±.42	69	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	61	48	4.4±.42	70

Indeterminate.

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE G.—Families classified by ages of parents at marriage and by age of wife at birth of first child.

(NOTE.—The figures are for those families only in which all children born have survived.)

Age of wife at marriage.	Age of husband at marriage.	Total number of families	Number of wives aged at birth of first child							
			0—13		14—16		17—23		24 and over.	
			Number	Percent-age	Number	Percent-age	Number	Percent-age	Number	Percent-age.
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)
All ages	All ages	6,419	260	4	1,949	30	3,426	54	784	12
	0—13	227	32	11	110	33	131	46	14	5
	14—16	234	31	11	105	37	134	47	14	5
	17—23	2,733	132	5	989	35	1,440	53	183	7
	24—26	1,237	33	2	396	30	705	57	143	11
	27—33	1,312	25	2	281	21	750	57	255	20
	34—36	183	1	1	87	50	95	52	50	27
	37—43	137	5	2	37	19	74	33	81	41
	44 & over	88	1	1	14	16	28	33	43	50
0—13	All ages	2,720	260	10	1,343	49	1,012	37	105	4
	0—13	282	32	11	110	39	129	46	11	4
	14—16	255	31	12	95	37	110	47	10	4
	17—23	1,411	132	9	712	51	508	30	59	4
	24—26	391	33	8	212	54	140	36	6	2
	27—33	303	25	8	171	57	92	30	15	5
	34—36	29	1	3	16	55	11	38	1	4
	37—43	39	5	13	20	51	11	28	3	8
	44 & over	10	1	10	7	70	2	20		
14—16	All ages	2,335	..	..	606	26	1,578	68	151	6
	0—13	3	..	..	..	..	2	67	1	33
	14—16	26	..	..	10	39	12	40	4	15
	17—23	1,019	..	..	257	26	698	69	64	6
	24—26	659	..	..	184	28	437	66	85	6
	27—33	483	..	..	110	23	339	70	34	7
	34—36	77	..	..	21	27	48	62	8	11
	37—43	46	..	..	17	37	28	61	1	2
	44 & over	22	..	..	7	32	14	63	1	4
17—23	All ages	1,133	..	..	..	..	836	74	297	26
	0—13	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	100
	14—16	3	..	..	..	..	24	100	..	..
	17—23	292	..	..	..	..	83	49	17	17
	24—26	273	..	..	..	..	188	69	85	31
	27—33	444	..	..	..	..	819	72	125	28
	34—36	44	..	..	..	..	86	62	8	18
	37—43	53	..	..	..	..	95	66	13	31
	44 & over	23	..	..	..	..	12	62	11	48
24—26	All ages	119	..	..	..	..	..	..	119	100
	0—13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	14—16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	17—23	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	100
	24—26	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	100
	27—33	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	52	100
	34—36	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	100
	37—43	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	100
	44 & over	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	100
27—33	All ages	89	..	..	..	..	..	..	89	100
	0—13	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100
	14—16	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	100
	17—23	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	100
	24—26	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	100
	27—33	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	100
	34—36	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	29	100
	37—43	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	100
	44 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34—36	All ages	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	100
	0—13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	14—16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	17—23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	24—26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	27—33	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	100
	34—36	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	100
	37—43	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	100
	44 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37—43	All ages	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	100
	0—13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	14—16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	17—23	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100
	24—26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	27—33	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100
	34—36	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	100
	37—43	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	100
	44 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
44 & over	All ages	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100
	0—13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	14—16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	17—23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	24—26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	27—33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	34—36	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	37—43	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	44 & over	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE H.—Families classified by ages of parents at marriage and by frequency of births.

(NOTE.—The figures are for those families only in which all children born have survived.)

Age of wife at marriage.	Age of husband at marriage.	Total No. of families.	Number of families with an interval (in years shown) between dates of																								
			marriage and birth of 1st child						birth of 1st and 2nd child						birth of 2nd and 3rd child						birth of 3rd and 4th child.						
			0-1 yr		2-3 yrs		4 yrs. & over.		0-1 yr		2-3 yrs.		4 yrs. & over		0-1 yr		2-3 yrs.		4 yrs. & over		0-1 yr		2-3 yrs.		4 yrs. & over.		
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)	(u)	(v)	(w)	(x)	(y)	(z)	(aa)	
0-13	ALL AGES	2,720	186	7	731	27	1,803	66	87	5,102	69	455	26	73	7	724	66	301	27	59	9	421	66	156	25	156	
0-13	..	282	..	..	3	1	279	99	8	8	69	68	25	24	3	7	24	36	16	37	2	76	11	55	7	55
14-16	..	256	4	2	19	7	282	91	10	7	105	71	39	22	24	9	50	63	32	23	1	9	25	55	14	55	
17-23	..	1,411	87	6	443	31	881	63	35	4	663	70	250	26	39	6	416	67	167	27	35	9	258	68	26	68	
24-26	..	391	51	13	118	30	232	57	16	6	192	69	60	23	14	8	125	65	45	24	11	12	50	62	24	62	
27-33	..	303	35	12	117	36	151	59	14	7	133	63	66	30	8	6	86	63	42	31	5	7	47	54	21	29	
34-36	..	29	6	17	9	31	15	52	2	11	12	63	5	26	1	11	6	67	2	32	5	12	2	51	2	51	
37-43	..	39	4	10	17	41	18	46	2	9	15	65	56	1	5	12	67	5	33	1	7	10	17	7	25	25	
44 & over	..	10	..	..	5	50	5	50	..	..	6	36	1	14	..	..	5	71	2	29	1	17	6	83	..	..
14-16	ALL AGES	2,335	456	20	976	42	903	38	73	5,071	68	477	29	58	5	723	68	281	27	37	6	442	66	189	28	189	
0-13	..	3	..	..	2	67	1	35	..	..	3	100	..	1	34	1	33	1	33	..	..	2	100	..	..	..
14-16	..	28	6	23	5	19	15	68	..	..	10	45	12	56	..	8	53	7	47	1	10	7	70	2	29	29
17-23	..	1,019	187	18	414	41	418	41	28	4	484	70	175	26	28	6	302	70	101	24	14	5	177	68	68	68	
24-26	..	659	158	24	279	43	232	54	21	6	306	68	121	27	10	4	198	72	67	34	7	4	159	70	49	49	
27-33	..	483	75	16	210	42	198	41	28	6	200	38	137	36	15	3	170	66	75	29	12	4	94	59	52	52	
34-36	..	77	10	31	35	45	26	54	1	2	31	67	23	44	4	9	27	60	11	31	1	3	21	66	10	37	
37-43	..	46	11	24	21	16	14	30	..	..	20	68	16	44	2	5	13	52	10	40	2	18	5	53	5	53
44 & over	..	22	3	14	10	45	9	41	..	..	8	67	4	53	..	..	4	40	6	60	4	37	8	34	4	34
17-23	ALL AGES	1,133	334	29	471	42	328	29	54	7	522	68	195	25	27	6	337	73	99	21	23	8	204	71	60	21	60
0-13	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14-16	..	3	..	..	2	67	1	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17-23	..	292	83	25	121	42	88	30	10	9	119	66	46	23	7	7	75	71	23	22	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-26	..	273	78	29	108	39	97	42	17	9	131	70	88	31	8	3	73	72	20	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
27-33	..	444	136	31	182	47	136	43	14	4	217	69	85	27	11	6	146	74	39	20	9	7	92	72	27	27	
34-36	..	44	15	27	24	35	8	18	4	12	23	70	6	15	..	..	16	73	5	23	..	..	..	..	..	..
37-43	..	53	23	43	21	40	9	17	1	3	25	64	14	35	..	..	21	68	10	32	..	..	..	..	..	..
44 & over	..	23	2	9	13	56	8	35	2	16	6	46	5	39	..	..	5	83	1	17	..	..	1	33	2	67
24-26	ALL AGES	119	46	39	54	45	19	16	7	8	58	70	18	22	9	16	38	69	8	15	..	..	27	79	7	21
0-13	
14-16	
17-23	..	6	2	33	3	50	1	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-26	..	8	2	25	4	80	2	65	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27-33	..	52	21	42	20	39	10	19	3	8	22	59	12	33	3	12	18	69	5	19	..	..	12	86	2	14
34-36	..	20	6	30	10	60	4	20	..	..	12	75	4	25	1	11	6	67	2	32	..	..	4	57	8	43
37-43	..	23	7	30	14	61	2	39	1	7	12	86	1	7	4	44	5	86	..	..	..	..	4	67	2	33
44 & over	..	10	7	70	3	30	..	..	3	37	4	50	1	13	..	..	6	100	..	..	..	..	4	100	..	..
27-33	ALL AGES	89	47	53	29	33	13	14	3	5	40	70	14	25	4	12	21	64	8	24	2	10	14	70	4	20	
0-13	..	1	1	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14-16	
17-23	..	4	2	50	..	..	2	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-26	..	6	3	50	2	33	1	17	..	..	3	75	1	25	..	..	3	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27-33	..	27	11	41	13	48	8	11	1	5	16	64	2	11	2	23	6	67	1	11	..	..	3	75	1	25
34-36	..	13	7	54	4	31	2	15	..	..	2	33	4	27	..	..	1	25	3	75	..	..	2	67	1	33
37-43	..	28	10	65	8	28	5	17	2	10	14	74	3	16	1	8	10	84	1	8	2	29	6	60	2	30	
44 & over	..	9	7	78	2	23	..	..	..	..	5	71	2	29	1	17	2	33	3	50	..	..	3	100	..	..
34-36	ALL AGES	12	11	92	1	8	..	..	3	50	2	33	1	17	1	20	4	80	..	..	2	40	3	60	..	..
0-13	
14-16	
17-23	
24-26	
27-33	..	2	1	50	1	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34-36	..	4	4	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37-43	..	6	6	100	..	..	..	..	3	100	..	..	..	..	1	33	2	67	..	..	2	67	1	33	..	..
37-43	ALL AGES	10	6	60	2	20	2	20	3	37	4	50	1	13	2	50	2	50	..	..	..	..	2	100	..	..
0-13	
14-16	
17-23	
24-26	
27-33	
34-36	
37-43	
44 & over																		

MARRIAGE FERTILITY TABLE I.—Statistical constants.

NOTE.—If x = the value of an individual item in an array; \bar{x} = the mean of the array; f = the number of items of the same value, and Σ = sum of all quantities likethen the standard deviation (S.D.) = $\sqrt{S(x-\bar{x})^2}$

$$\text{and the probable error} = \frac{0.6745}{\sqrt{S(\bar{x})-1}} \times S.D.$$

Table B.						Table D											
Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns.		Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns.	
	f	k		f	h		f	h		f	h		f	h			
1	3.25	2.41	26	1.70	2.03	1	3.25	2.41	26	3.47	2.62	51	0	0	76	1.00	0.50
2	3.15	2.45	27	3.02	1.93	2	3.07	2.23	27	3.30	2.22	52	1.50	1.50	77	1.72	0.90
3	3.20	2.63	28	3.28	2.81	3	2.69	2.03	28	3.26	2.36	53	0	0	78	1.50	0.50
4	2.15	2.42	29	3.13	2.04	4	2.53	1.83	29	3.09	2.08	54	4.00	1.00	79	0	0
5	2.91	2.07	30	2.86	2.55	5	1.00	0.50	30	0	0	55	1.24	2.05	80	2.19	1.90
6	2.70	1.77	31	2.96	2.23	6	0	0	31	0	0	56	3.57	2.28	81	0	0
7	2.75	1.79	32	2.87	1.88	7	3.10	2.08	32	0	0	57	2.45	1.17	82	2.06	2.59
8	3.50	2.44	33	3.10	2.48	8	1.70	2.13	33	3.50	0	58	3.48	2.11	83	2.24	1.80
9	3.17	1.90	34	3.39	2.48	9	2.67	1.82	34	3.08	2.13	59	0	0	84	4.14	2.48
10	3.66	2.28	35	2.78	1.57	10	3.64	1.87	35	0	0	60	3.08	2.27	85	3.89	3.44
11	3.26	2.30	36	2.50	1.53	11	3.40	2.27	36	3.10	2.24	61	0	0	86	2.56	2.84
12	3.15	2.61	37	2.01	1.46	12	2.83	0	37	1.25	0.82	62	2.18	1.80	87	0.09	5.84
13	3.87	2.66	38	2.81	1.62	13	2.38	1.38	38	1.26	1.47	63	3.78	2.32	88	2.79	2.21
14	2.83	2.21	39	2.17	1.47	14	3.20	2.29	39	2.18	1.82	64	3.88	3.15	89	0.60	1.00
15	2.22	2.26	40	2.28	1.48	15	2.59	2.51	40	2.67	2.33	65	3.09	2.68	90	0.00	3.50
16	1.70	1.00	41	3.48	2.52	16	3.21	2.33	41	2.00	2.50	66	3.43	1.85	91	0	0
17	1.00	0	42	2.78	2.29	17	3.09	2.26	42	2.05	1.65	67	0	0	92	2.17	1.20
18	0	0	43	3.54	2.62	18	2.67	2.58	43	3.01	2.68	68	3.24	2.58	93	3.28	2.77
19	0	0	44	3.28	2.49	19	3.44	2.48	44	0	0	69	2.86	2.49	94	2.28	2.11
20	0	0	45	3.18	2.21	20	3.90	3.28	45	3.77	2.49	70	3.33	2.55	95	3.48	2.52
21	3.25	2.51	46	3.02	2.22	21	3.54	2.72	46	3.41	2.54	71	1.99	2.00	96	3.23	2.82
22	2.53	2.47	47	2.24	2.22	22	3.16	2.33	47	3.32	2.21	72	2.98	2.23	97	0.50	0.50
23	3.15	2.61	48	2.25	2.23	23	1.87	2.22	48	3.30	2.48	73	2.89	2.04	98	1.50	1.49
24	3.13	2.41	49	3.32	1.80	24	3.45	2.50	49	2.50	1.79	74	1.80	2.05	99	3.12	2.06
25	3.19	2.37	50	4.00	2.00	25	3.62	2.35	50	3.17	2.06	75	1.00	1.00	100	1.92	0.87

Table E						Table F																				
Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns		Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns							Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns							Serial	Standard deviation of averages in columns						
	f	h		e	i	m	q	u	y	e		i	m	q	u	y	e	i		m	q	u	y			
1	3.25	2.41	1	0.79	1.35	1.78	2.06	2.44	2.62	36								36								
2	3.42	2.37	2	1.06	2.10	2.01	1.84	2.20	2.52	37	0.92	1.25	1.91	2.11	2.78	3.02		37	0.92	1.25	1.91	2.11	2.78	3.02		
3	3.48	2.38	3	0.81	1.44	1.83	2.04	2.21	2.52	38								38								
4	2.65	2.05	4	0	1.77	1.83	2.06	2.05	2.52	39	0.75	1.57	1.91	2.12	2.32	2.88		39	0.75	1.57	1.91	2.12	2.32	2.88		
5	3.69	2.09	5	0.87	1.47	2.06	2.22	2.40	2.90	40								40								
6	3.10	2.22	6	3.20	1.46	2.35	2.19	2.89		41	0.44	1.40	0	2.41	2.63	0.50		41	0.44	1.40	0	2.41	2.63	0.50		
7	2.97	1.94	7	0.77	1.28	1.92	2.21	2.37	2.00	42								42								
8	3.55	2.36	8	0.85	1.35	1.92	2.12	2.86	3.84	43	0.78	1.30	1.56	1.87	2.07	2.87		43	0.78	1.30	1.56	1.87	2.07	2.87		
9	3.40	2.10	9	0	1.00	2.32	2.17	2.83		44	1.30	1.46	1.96	1.85	2.13	2.40		44	1.30	1.46	1.96	1.85	2.13	2.40		
10			10							45	0.75	1.42	1.74	1.87	2.16	2.40		45	0.75	1.42	1.74	1.87	2.16	2.40		
11			11	0.75	1.29	1.68	1.97	2.35	2.27	46								46								
12	4.10	2.71	12	1.22	2.14	2.30	1.59	2.25	2.27	47	0.47	1.25	1.56	2.13	3.87	4.17		47	0.47	1.25	1.56	2.13	3.87	4.17		
13	3.21	2.12	13	1.00	1.28	1.52	2.01	1.98	2.13	48								48								
14	3.71	2.41	14	1.09	1.36	1.57	2.03	2.13		49	0.45	1.36	1.88	1.84	2.06	1.47		49	0.45	1.36	1.88	1.84	2.06	1.47		
15	3.52	2.51	15	0.83	0.78	1.87	2.20	2.60	2.44	50								50								
16	3.38	2.41	16				0	3.50	2.01	51	0.79	1.41	2.25	2.20	3.10	2.88		51	0.79	1.41	2.25	2.20	3.10	2.88		
17	3.44	2.81	17	0.86	1.33	1.50	2.05	2.16	2.32	52								52								
18	2.44	2.31	18					2.32		53	0.74	1.12	1.47	1.79	2.13	2.04		53	0.74	1.12	1.47	1.79	2.13	2.04		
19	3.63	2.86	19	0.85	1.53	2.20		2.64	2.51	54	1.41	1.40	1.73	1.59	2.04	2.04		54	1.41	1.40	1.73	1.59	2.04	2.04		
20	4.16	2.34	20					2.17	2.51	55	1.03	1.30	1.22	1.81	1.78	1.46		55	1.03	1.30	1.22	1.81	1.78	1.46		
21	2.45	1.70	21	0.50	2.00			2.81	0	56								56								
22	3.90	2.23	22							57	0.75	1.40	1.89	2.15	2.45	2.58		57	0.75	1.40	1.89	2.15	2.45	2.58		
23	2.87	2.26	23	0.93	1.60	1.41	2.09	3.10	2.99	58								58								
24	4.41	1.90	24				0	3.50	1.90	59	0.73	1.42	1.87	2.10	2.02	2.53		59	0.73	1.42	1.87	2.10	2.02	2.53		
25	2.60	2.00	25	0.73	1.35	1.92	2.23	2.40	2.10	60								60								
26	3.55	2.74	26					2.21	2.10	61	0.81	1.23	2.41	2.17	1.93	2.79		61	0.81	1.23	2.41	2.17	1.93	2.79		
27	2.82	2.01	27	0.43	1.22	1.20	1.60	1.95	3.78	62								62								
28	2.83	1.32	28					1.95	2.73	63	0.44	0.88	2.35	1.56	2.55	2.19		63	0.44	0.88	2.35	1.56	2.55	2.19		
29	3.48	2.32	29	0.68	1.51	1.90	2.15	2.50	2.61	64								64								
30	4.45	2.35	30					2.23	2.61	65	0.58	1.28	1.55	2.15	2.60	2.42		65	0.58	1.28	1.55	2.15	2.60	2.42		
31	3.64	2.50	31	1.08	1.45	1.35	2.01	2.42	2.80	66								66								
32	2.82	2.16	32					2.60		67	0.77	1.43	1.80	2.13	2.74	2.55		67	0.77	1.43	1.80	2.13	2.74	2.55		
33	3.51	2.30	33	0.93	1.50	1.03	2.30	2.27	2.79	68								68								
34	2.63	2.44	34					2.08	2.79	69	0.73	1.09	1.85	2.22	1.50	1.97		69	0.73	1.09	1.85	2.22	1.50	1.97		
35	2.29	1.60	35	0.87	1.22	1.05	2.34	2.06	2.04	70																

CHAPTER V

Sex

170. **The statistics shown.**—The statistics of the sexes at this and previous enumerations are given in imperial table II. Sex also enters as a basis of classification into almost every table and amongst those in addition to table II in which it is significant the most important is perhaps No. VII (age and marital condition). Details for selected castes appear both in the caste table (table XVII) and according to age for selected castes in table VIII. Subsidiary tables appended to this chapter show—

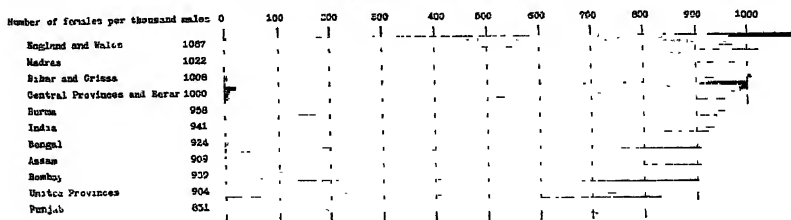
- I—the number of females per 1,000 males in the population of natural divisions, districts and states, 1872 to 1931;
- II—the number of females per 1,000 males of the same age group in the main religions, all Bengal, 1911, 1921 and 1931;
- III—the number of females per 1,000 males of the same age group in the main religions of each natural division;
- IV—the number of females per 1,000 males of the same age in selected castes or other groups, 1931;
- V—the actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex (i) annually during the decades 1901-1910, 1911-1920 and 1921-1930 and (ii) in natural divisions, 1921-1930; and
- VI—the number of deaths annually reported for each sex at age-groups, 1921-1930.

171. **Source of the figures.**—The statistics of sex were taken from column 5 of the schedule providing for the entry of male or female in each case. The only point upon which the instructions were elaborated was a direction for the inclusion as males of eunuchs and hermaphrodites which is understood to be at variance with the practice in the United Kingdom. Omissions in the schedule were made good by deducing the sex from the name or occupation of the person concerned and from the relation entered to the head of the family.

172. **General comparison with other provinces and countries.**—Of the 51,087,338 persons enumerated, 26,557,860 were males and 24,529,478 were females. There are thus 2,028,382 males more than females in Bengal. There is a preponderance of males also in Sikkim where out of a total population of 109,808 the males number 55,825 and the females 53,983 or 1,842 less

DIAGRAM No. V-1.

Number of females per 1,000 males, England and Wales and major provinces of India, 1931.

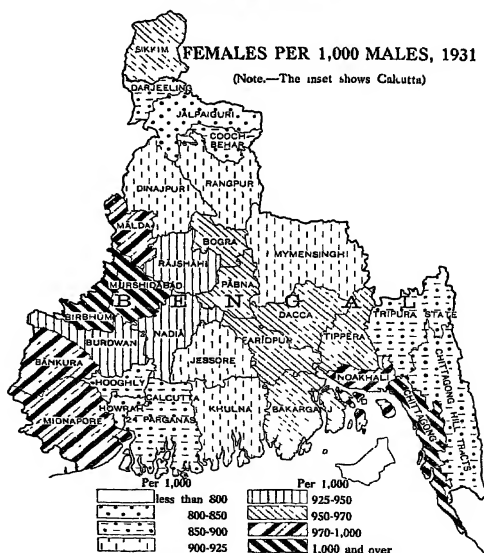


than the males. In every 100 of the total population of Bengal, therefore, there are 52 males and 48 females or over 108 males for every 100 females. The sex ratios however are generally expressed to show the number of females per 1,000 males. In Bengal there are 924 females for every 1,000 males, a ratio smaller than that for the whole of India which is 941, but larger

than those for Bombay (909), the United Provinces (904) and the Punjab (831). Burma, where the ratio is 958, the Central Provinces and Berar, where it is 1,000, Bihar and Orissa, where it is 1,008, and Madras, where it is 1,022, all have more females per 1,000 males than is the average throughout India. But none of these areas has a female ratio as high as England and Wales, where it is 1,087, and in European countries generally the ratio is more than 1,000 rising as high in the census of Portugal in 1920 as to 1,113. It is however no longer necessary to defend the accuracy of the figures merely because there is a marked preponderance of males. There were more males than females even in Europe, in Bulgaria and the Irish Free States in 1926 and in Luxembourg in 1927. Similarly females were fewer than males in Canada and Australia in 1921, in South Africa (White) and New Zealand in 1926, in the Argentine in 1914, Cuba in 1919 and Brazil in 1920, and in the United States of America in 1930. In Soviet Russia in 1926 there was a preponderance of males but it was confined to European territory and in Asiatic Russia females were in the majority. Some of the figures referred to in this paragraph are shown and illustrated in diagram No. V-1.

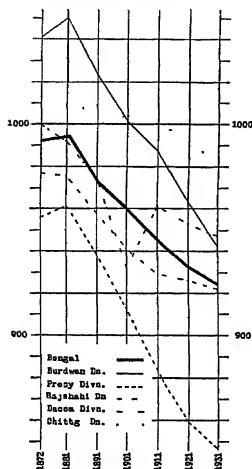
173. Sex proportions by divisions and districts, 1931.—On the average the sexes are most nearly equal in the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions. Here the ratios are 983 and 947, respectively, giving for Eastern Bengal, which includes these two divisions and also Tripura State, a ratio of 957 per 1,000. The ratio is smallest in the Presidency Division where it is no more than 846. The sex ratios by districts shown in subsidiary table I are illustrated in diagram No. V-2. The highest proportion of females to males is found in Chittagong, Murshidabad and Birbhum. These are the only three districts in which it rises above 1,000 to every 1,000 males. But it approaches this figure closely also in Malda, Bankura, Noakhali and Midnapore, in none of which districts is the ratio less than 970 per 1,000 males. The tongue of land stretching north-west from Noakhali and Chittagong and comprising the districts of Bakarganj, Tippera, Dacca, Faridpur, Pabna and Bogra, has a ratio of between 950 and 970 per 1,000, a figure not reached elsewhere in Bengal but found in Sikkim where the proportion is 967 to every 1,000 males. Calcutta with its large immigrant population has the fewest females per 1,000 males, namely, 468, and the district of Howrah has the next smallest proportion although here the figure, 834, is very considerably in excess of that in Calcutta. Hooghly and 24-Parganas containing most of the other industrial areas have a ratio of between 850 and 900 to the 1,000. In Jalpaiguri the ratio, 842, is scarcely higher than in the industrial district of Howrah, and the adjoining districts of Darjeeling and Cooch Behar as well as Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts also have a low female sex ratio running between 850 and 900 per 1,000. In Dinajpur, Rangpur and Mymensingh and again in Jessore and Khulna the proportion is between 900 and 925 and in the remaining districts, Burdwan, Nadia and Rajshahi, the proportion is between 925 and 950.

DIAGRAM No. V-2.



174. General variations in sex proportions, 1872-1931.—In Bengal at each successive census since 1881 there has been a lower female ratio although a slight increase was recorded between 1872 and 1881. In 1881 there

DIAGRAM No. V-3.
Females per 1,000 males by
divisions, 1872-1931.



were 994 females for every 1,000 males but there has been a fairly regular decrease most marked in the first subsequent decade when the proportion fell by 21 to 973 but uninterrupted until the present figure 924 was reached. Migration affects the sex ratios as revealed at the census and since Bengal receives more immigrants than it sends out emigrants and there is a marked predominance of males amongst immigrants the result of migration is to increase the discrepancy in the sex ratios. In the natural population also, i.e., the total numbers born in Bengal wherever enumerated, there has, however, been a marked continuous decline in the number of females per 1,000 males. It was 1,013 in 1881, but fell in successive years to 995, 982, 970, 954 and is now 942. There has been a corresponding uninterrupted decrease in the female ratio in the Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions and in the case of the Chittagong Division the decade 1891 to 1901 only marked a slight increase in the proportion from 1,000 to 1,004. In the Tripura State the sex proportion has been stationary on each of the last three occasions and the ratio, 885, represents an increase in the proportion of females over the figure, 874, recorded in 1901. In this state successive decades from 1872 to 1911 showed alternate decreases and increases in the female ratio. In the Cooch Behar State a continuous decrease in the ratio from 1881 to 1911 has been followed by two increases to 877 in 1921 and 886 in 1931. The figures for divisions here referred to are illustrated in diagram No. V-3.

continuous decrease in the ratio from 1881 to 1911 has been followed by two increases to 877 in 1921 and 886 in 1931. The figures for divisions here referred to are illustrated in diagram No. V-3.

175. Variations in the sex proportions by districts, 1872-1931.—The three districts in which there are more females than males on the present occasion have had a similar preponderance at every census since 1872. But both Birbhum and Murshidabad have at every successive census recorded a decrease in the female ratio and since 1881 when there were 1,130 females for every 1,000 males in Chittagong the decrease in the proportion has been interrupted only between 1891 and 1901 when it rose from 1,095 to 1,110. Bankura had 1,002 females per 1,000 males in 1921 and both Bankura and Midnapore as well as Dacca and Noakhali had over 1,000 at the census of 1911. In 1881 as well as in 1872 every district in Western Bengal had a larger number of females than males, but at each subsequent census one extra district has fallen below parity in the proportions. In the Presidency Division up to 1891 not only Murshidabad but also Nadia and Jessore had more than 1,000 females for every 1,000 males, but Jessore dropped below the thousand mark in 1901 and Nadia followed suit in 1911. Up to 1901 Pabna and up to 1891 Rajshahi also had more than 1,000 females for every 1,000 males, but in this Division Darjeeling has always been characterised by a low female ratio which has actually increased since 1881 at every decade with two exceptions; between 1901 and 1911 it fell from 873 to 869 and in the last decade it fell from 896 to 879. The proportion in Jalpaiguri has decreased considerably since 1881 when it was 904 and is now 842 but it is still higher than it was in 1911, 841. Up to 1911 the proportion in Noakhali had advanced from 973 in 1872 to 1,016 in 1911 but there has been a decrease during each of the two subsequent decades. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, on the other hand, there has been a continuous increase from 703 in 1872 to 864 on the present occasion broken only by a slight setback between 1911 when it was 860 and 1921 when it was 857. In Sikkim the decrease is only 3 in every 1,000 males and the proportion, 967, is higher than at any census since 1891.

176. **Sex proportions by religions with variations, 1872-1931.**—Figures for the main religious groups are given in statement No. V-1 and illustrated in diagram No. V-4. At every census Christians have shown the smallest proportion of females to males. The proportions were as low as 802 in 1872 and for every 1,000 Christian males there are still in 1931, 42 less Christian females than amongst the total population of all religions taken together. Hindus returned, in 1872, 1,003, females for every 1,000 males, but this is the only instance in which a larger

STATEMENT No. V-1.

Females per 1,000 males in each principal religion, 1872-1931.

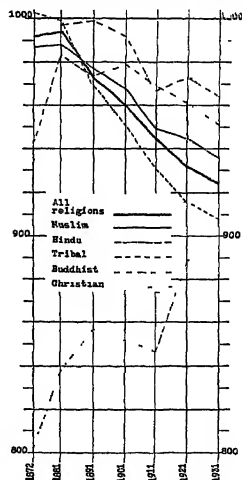
	All religions	Muslim	Hindu	Tribal	Buddhist	Christian
1872*	892	987	1,003	943	802	802
1881	904	988	999	943	836	836
1891	973	977	960	974	837	837
1901	980	968	951	979	852	852
1911	945	949	931	967	847	847
1921	932	945	916	973	861	869
1931	924	946	908	964	951	882

*Excluding Tripura State for which figures by sexes are not on record.

number of the population has been females in any religion at any census and since the census of 1891 there have been fewer females to every 1,000 males amongst Hindus than in any other religion except Christians. With the exception of Hindus in 1881 and Buddhists in 1911 at every census the sex proportions have been most equal amongst those of tribal religions and the female proportion is now 964 per 1,000 or 13 higher than amongst the Buddhists where the proportion is next highest. Since 1872 both Muslims and Hindus have recorded an uninterrupted decline in the proportions which is most marked amongst the Muslims between the years 1901 and 1911 and amongst the Hindus between 1881 and 1891, and during the last decade the decrease has been somewhat accelerated amongst the Muslims but retarded amongst the Hindus. Compared with other provinces the number of females per thousand males amongst Hindus is lower than in Madras (1,025), Bihar and Orissa (1,005), the Central Provinces (1,002) or Bombay (937), but is higher than in the United Provinces (905), Assam (891), the Punjab (835) or the North West Frontier Province (695). The proportion amongst Muslims is higher than in any province except Madras and Bihar and Orissa (1,018), it is as low as 807 in Bombay, 839 in the Punjab and 862 in the North West Frontier Province and is no more than 899 in the United Provinces, 902 in Assam and 905 in the Central Provinces.

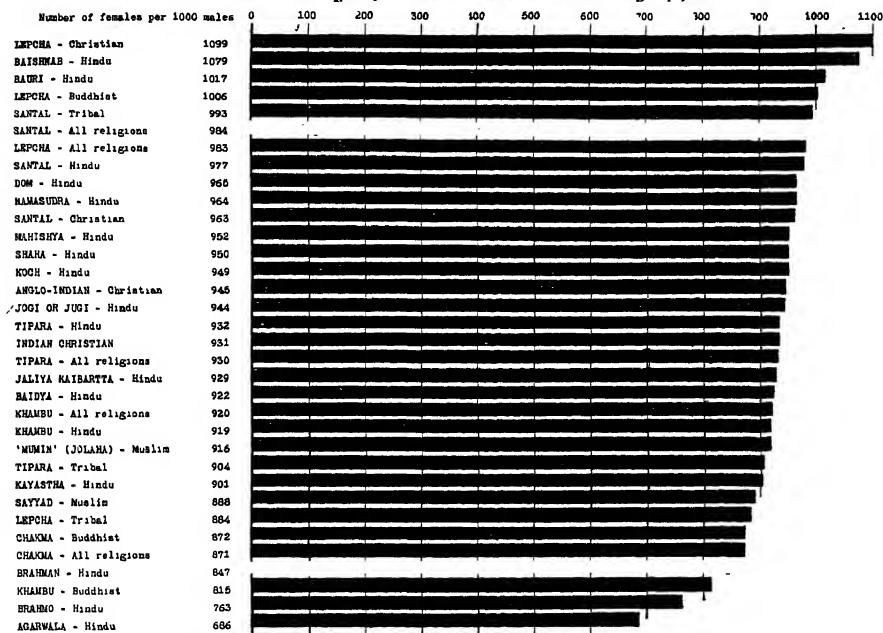
177. **Sex proportions by caste.**—The sex proportions for the caste and other groups selected for imperial table VIII are worked out and shown in subsidiary table IV. Amongst the groups chosen only four have a preponderance of women: they are Christian Lepchas, Buddhists, Baishnabs and Bauris. Amongst the Lepchas, who are Christian converts, the fact that there are more females than males may be only an indication that proselytism is more successful amongst the women than amongst the men. The high proportion of females amongst the Baishnabs is also explained partly by the fact that Baishnabs draw their recruits from all classes of society and that their numbers are swollen by the accession of women who are prevented in their own group from remarrying as well as by numbers who are no longer accepted in their original caste. But neither of these explanations accounts for the very high proportion of women amongst the Bauris. The Santals of all religions also have a proportion of females well in excess of the average for the whole population and there is a relatively high proportion of women amongst the Doms, Namasudras, Mahishyas and Kochhes. Amongst the groups chosen it is interesting that the higher castes (Baidyas, Kayasthas, Brahmans and Brahmos) have all considerably fewer females per 1,000 males than the average in all Bengal. Amongst

DIAGRAM No. V-4.
Females per 1,000 males in each principal religion, 1872-1931.



the Agarwalas the proportion is lower than in any of the other 23 groups chosen and an examination of the proportions at each age-group given in subsidiary table IV shows that the discrepancy is due to the fact that members of this caste are immigrants whose wives are not with them. There are, for instance, less than 4 married women in this caste for every 6 married men and the inference is that the wives of the remainder are in other parts of India. At the earlier ages, namely, up to the age-group 14-16, the sex proportions very closely resemble those for the other groups indigenous to Bengal, since they represent the children born to those of this caste whose womenfolk are resident with them in Bengal. A comparison of this table, illustrated in diagram No. V-5, with the table included in and illustrated

DIAGRAM No. V-5.
Number of females per 1,000 males in selected caste and other groups, 1931.



by diagram No. VI-9 shows that amongst the groups chosen it is not the deficiency of females which leads to the most notable prevalence of infant marriage. Thus the groups amongst which infant marriage is most common are Doms, "Mumin" (Jolahas), Baishnabs, Mahishyas, Namasudras, Jalia Kaibarttas, Bauris and Jogis. Of these groups, only the "Mumin" (Jolahas) have a smaller proportion of women than is the average on the total population. The remaining seven have a larger proportion of females to males than the average and the Baishnabs and Bauris have an actual preponderance of females over males. If Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and aboriginal groups like the Lepchas, Santals and Tiparas are left out of account, these seven groups indeed with the exception of the Shahas and Kochhes are the only ones amongst those chosen with a higher proportion of females per 1,000 males than the average. On the other hand, taking Hindu groups indigenous to Bengal it is the Baidyas, Kayasthas, Brahmans and Brahmos amongst whom are found combined a considerable preponderance of males over females together with an increasing tendency to delay marriage till a later age and the Brahmos with the smallest proportion of females to males also have the smallest proportion of infant marriages.

It appears not improbable, however, that there has been some difference in the sectarian returns of males and females amongst Brahmos since there are amongst them proportions of married men and women almost identical with those found amongst Agarwalas, viz., 6 married men for 4 married women, and the same consideration cannot be called into account for this discrepancy as in the case of the Agarwalas. What appears to have happened is that amongst some couples the husband has returned himself as a Brahmo and the wife as a Hindu.

178. Sex proportions at age-groups.—The sex proportions at age-groups for each different religion are shown for 1911 to 1931 in subsidiary table II. In this table decennial age-groups are used from 30 onwards with a final group of 60 and over. These figures are expanded in statement No. V-2 and illustrated in diagram No. V-6. In comparing the figures with those of 1911 account must be taken of the effect caused by the adjustment of age-groups made in presenting the statistics on the present occasion. As has already been mentioned in any age-group those shown on the present occasion include a certain number who on previous occasions would have been shown in the next higher group and exclude a certain number now shown in the next lower group who previously would have been included within it. The result expected would be an increase in the proportions aged 0-5 owing to the

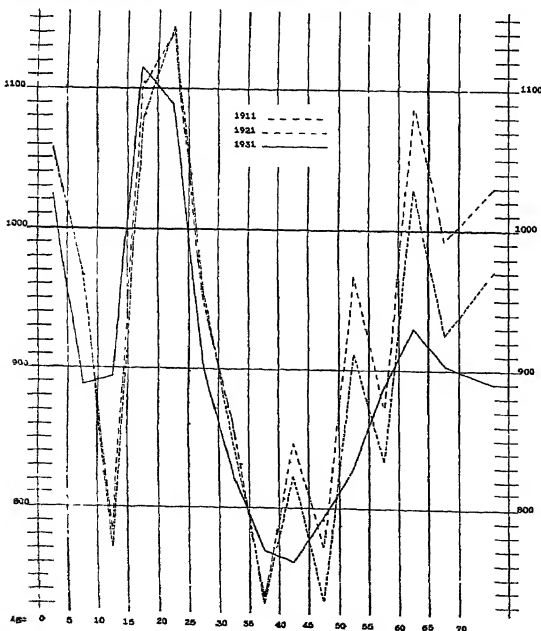
STATEMENT No. V-2.

Females per 1,000 males of the same age-group, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

Age-group	1911.	1921.	1931.
0-5	1,058	1,057	1,024
5-10	980	970	888
10-15	783	771	894
15-20	1,102	1,079	1,115
20-25	1,141	1,144	1,089
25-30	949	951	901
30-35	859	864	822
35-40	731	736	769
40-45	847	823	761
45-50	772	735	703
50-55	907	921	829
55-60	873	835	888
60-65	1,083	1,029	880
65-70	825	825	903
70 & over	1,031	971	890

DIAGRAM No. V-6.

Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age, 1911, 1921 and 1931.



inclusion of some who gave their age as 5 and would have been included in the group 5-10 on previous occasions but are now shown in the group 0-5, and in each subsequent group a somewhat smaller diminution of the numbers included, because taking, for instance, the group 20-25 the numbers of those whose age was returned as 20 and who would have been included on previous occasions in the group 20-25 but are now allocated to the group 15-20, would naturally exceed the numbers of those allocated to the group 20-25 amongst persons whose age was returned as 25 and would on previous occasions have been included in the group 25-30. These considerations, however, affect the proportionate age distribution within each sex, but not, or to a much less extent, the numbers of females to males at each age-group. The proportionate distribution of the sexes by age-groups was very much alike in 1911 and 1921 up to the age-group 35-40 but thereafter there was at every successive age-group a larger proportion of females to males in 1911 than in 1921, though in both years the proportion showed

in alternate quinquennial periods an increase and a decrease over those recorded in the period preceding. On the present occasion the curve, whilst following comparatively close-by that for 1911 and 1921 up to the age-group 35-40, is thereafter very much more regular than in either of those two years. At every quinquennial group the proportion of females to males

STATEMENT No. V-3.

Females per 1,000 males of the same age-groups by natural divisions.

Age-group	Bengal	Burdwan	Presidency	*Rajshahi	Dacca.	†Chittagong
0-5	1,024	1,021	1,004	1,035	1,037	1,010
5-10	888	874	862	881	908	904
10-15	894	875	851	895	922	914
15-20	1,115	1,065	945	1,176	1,175	1,237
20-25	1,089	1,076	900	1,125	1,144	1,581
25-30	901	937	777	883	931	1,048
30-35	822	864	729	799	843	936
35-40	769	804	680	739	800	856
40-45	701	802	703	736	778	828
45-50	783	878	884	776	770	803
50-55	829	941	810	810	789	802
55-60	888	1,071	897	856	824	806
60-65	930	1,137	950	886	853	840
65-70	903	1,176	959	846	809	783
70 & over	890	1,203	951	806	823	779

*With Cooch Behar

†With Tripura State

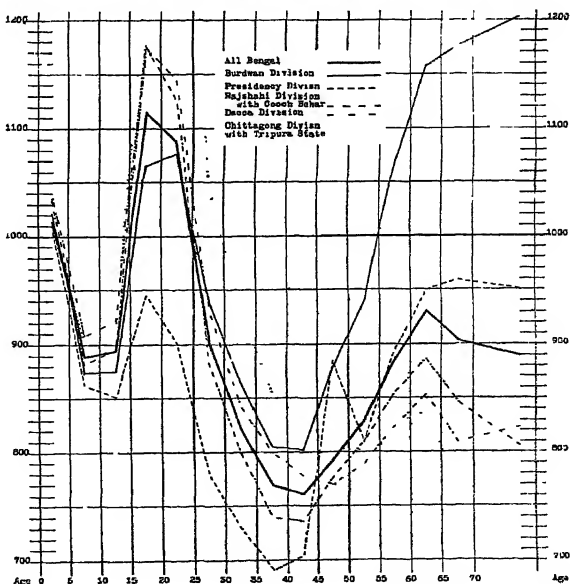
every 10 males. In 1911 and 1921 there was also an excess of females between the age-group 60 and 65 and there was an excess also in 1911 in the age-group 70 and over, neither of which are reproduced on the present occasion, whilst the principal excess of females which occurred between the age-groups 20 and 25 in 1911 and 1921 now occurs in the next earlier age-group 15 to 20. The lowest proportions occur in 1911 to 1921 between the ages of 10 to 15 and again in the age-groups 35 to 40 and 45 to 50. The curve for 1931 shows somewhat similar depressions but there is a lower proportion at the age-group 5 to 10 on the present occasion than in the age-group 10 to 15 and the increase in the proportion shown at the age-group 40 to 45 in the years 1911 and 1921 is absent in the curve for 1931 in which the lowest proportion at any age-group occurs in the age-group 40 to 45.

179. Sex proportions at age-groups by divisions.

Figures similar to those discussed in the preceding paragraph are shown in subsidiary table III for natural divisions and, as in statement No. V-2, the figures there given are expanded for the ages 30 and over in statement No. V-3 above. The curves for each division, shown in the above diagram No. V-7, follow approximately the same contours as the average for all Bengal. At the later ages, from 50

DIAGRAM No. V-7.

Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age in each division 1931.



to 55 onwards, in general the proportion of females at each age-group is highest in the Burdwan Division and declines in the order in which the divisions are shown throughout the tables, namely, after Burdwan follow the Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. Up to the age-group 40-45 in every quinquennium the proportion of females to males is less in the Presidency Division than elsewhere and up to the age-group 25-30 it is next lowest in the Burdwan Division. Speaking generally between the ages of 15 and 30 the proportions are in the reverse order from that shown after the age-group 50 to 55: the Chittagong Division in the age-group 20 to 25 has as many as 158 women to every 100 men and retains the highest proportions at every group between 15 and 45.

180. **Sex proportions at age-groups by religions.**—Figures for religions similar to those already given in the preceding paragraphs for previous years

STATEMENT No. V-4.

Females per 1,000 males of the same age-groups by religions.

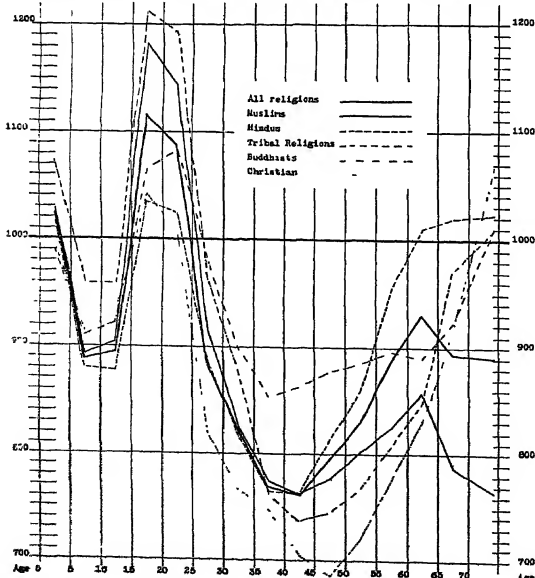
Age-group	All religions	Muslim.	Hindu	Tribal	Buddhist.	Christian.
0-5	1,024	1,028	1,017	1,074	990	994
5-10	988	892	880	959	910	911
10-15	894	904	877	959	921	932
15-20	1,115	1,188	1,035	1,212	1,065	1,042
20-25	1,089	1,144	1,024	1,193	1,084	1,006
25-30	801	915	854	963	978	820
30-35	822	825	818	878	900	786
35-40	789	774	765	782	853	747
40-45	761	762	703	737	808	704
45-50	793	770	813	740	877	686
50-55	829	802	857	768	884	721
55-60	888	825	955	809	895	779
60-65	930	857	1,011	845	889	829
65-70	893	788	1,020	970	922	915
70 & over	896	765	1,022	1,009	1,010	1,067

and for divisions are included in statement No. V-4 and illustrated by diagram No. V-8. The curves for each religion also follow the same lines as those for the total population with very small variations. The largest proportion of females to males occurs in every religion in the age-group 15 to 20 except amongst the Buddhists where it is reached in the subsequent quinquennial group and amongst the Christians where it is reached in the age-group

70 and over. The lowest proportion is in the age-group 40 to 45 except amongst the Buddhists where it occurs in the previous and amongst the Christians where it occurs in the subsequent quinquennial group. At every

DIAGRAM No. V-8.

Females per 1,000 males at age-groups in each main religion.



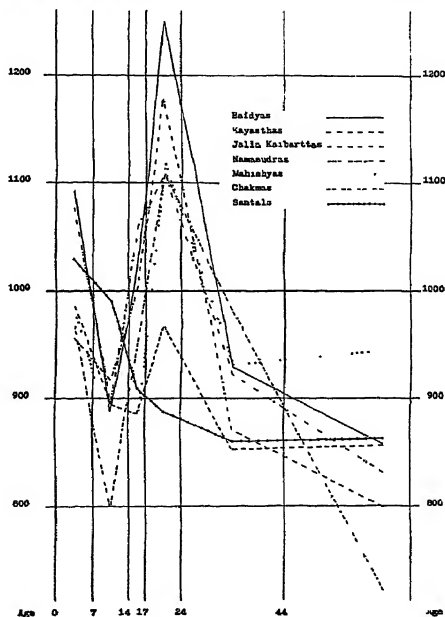
age up to 25 there is a larger proportion of females to males amongst those of tribal religions than in any other religion. From this age to the age of 50-55 the largest proportions in each age-group are amongst the Buddhists. At all the ages between 20 and 65 there is in each quinquennial group a smaller proportion of females amongst the Christians than amongst those of other religions. But from this age onwards the proportion rapidly increases and at the age of 70 and over there are more females to males amongst Christians than in any other religion. Between the ages 5 and 20 the smallest proportion of females occurs amongst the Hindus. Compared with other religions the proportions amongst the Muslims are high up to about 25 or 30 years of age but then decline, and from the age of 65 onwards there are fewer females to every thousand

males than in any other religion. Here again a comparison with the figures for marital condition shows that the frequency of early marriage amongst females is not entirely conditioned by a deficit in the number of females at what in Western countries would be considered marriageable ages, since it is just in the age-groups 15 to 20 and 20 to 25 that there are proportionately more females to males than at any other period. The excess is actually greatest amongst the Muslims with whom the early marriage of females is particularly prevalent but in all religions it amounts to an actual numerical excess of females over males of these ages. This question is discussed in Chapter VI.

181. Sex proportions at age-groups in selected castes.—The sex proportions at age-groups in selected castes are illustrated by diagram No. V-9 based upon subsidiary table IV. These show considerable divergences in the sex proportions. Seven groups are illustrated and the age-groups shown differ from the usual quinquennial groups illustrated in previous diagrams. The difference of grouping conceals the divergences in smaller groups beyond the age of 24 for which in diagram No. V-9 and subsidiary table IV there are only two age-groups shown. Of the seven groups all except the Kayasthas and the Baidyas show at the ages of 17 to 23 a preponderance of females over males of the same age and there is a similar preponderance amongst the Jaliya Kaibarttas, Namasudras and the Santals also at ages 14 to 16. This diagram and the table on which it is based are probably not so instructive as diagrams and statements prepared in quinquennial groups and no figures have been worked out and presented showing for comparison the proportions in the same age-groups amongst the total population and the main religions. Detailed comment, therefore, is not likely to be very illuminating. A distribution of the seven castes shown according to social position also does not reveal as large a measure of similarity in the proportions as might be expected. At all the age-groups shown except at 17 to 23 there is amongst the Kayasthas a very considerably smaller proportion of females than amongst the Baidyas. Indeed the proportion is higher amongst the Baidyas and (with the exception of Santals of ages 17 to 23) lower amongst the Kayasthas than among any of the castes shown. There is a rather larger measure of agreement particularly at ages 17 to 23 between the Jaliya Kaibarttas, Namasudras and Mahishyas but they show considerable and increasing divergences at and after the age of 24. The relatively high proportion of females amongst the Santals illustrated in diagram No. V-5 is seen on a comparison of this table and diagram to be due to relatively high proportions in the ages before 14, for at ages 17 to 23 the proportion of females is smaller than amongst any group shown and at ages 24 to 43 the proportions are again smaller than in any other group except the Kayasthas. On the other hand, however, by the time the group 44 and over is reached

DIAGRAM No. V-9.

Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age in selected castes, 1931. (Ages are to the nearest birthday.)



the proportion of females to males amongst the Santals has risen, or rather the proportion amongst every other group except the Mahishyas has fallen so far that with the sole exception of the Mahishyas any other group shown has a larger proportion of females to males.

182. Sex proportions at birth by districts, 1921-1930.—The number of female births reported for every thousand male births reported in each district during the decade 1921 to 1930 is shown in statement No. V-5 and illustrated in diagram No. V-10. The average for the decade is 922. The areas in which masculinity at birth is lowest are all concentrated in a fringe running down the western boundary of the province. A straight line drawn from the trijunction of Midnapore, Howrah and the 24-Parganas to that of Rangpur and Mymensingh with Assam would include on the north and west all the districts where there are as many as 925 girl babies born to every 1,000 boys and no districts except Hooghly and Howrah where the proportion is less. In Rajshahi and Birbhum the proportions are as high as 951 and 954 respectively, and in Murshidabad between these two districts as well as in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri at the extreme north and Bankura and Midnapore at the extreme south-west of the province the proportion of females born to males born is 95 or over in every 100. In addition to these seven districts the proportion of females born per 1,000 males reaches as many as 930 to 940 only in the districts of Burdwan, Nadia and Dinajpur and it is as much as 925 only in Rangpur, Malda and Bogra. It

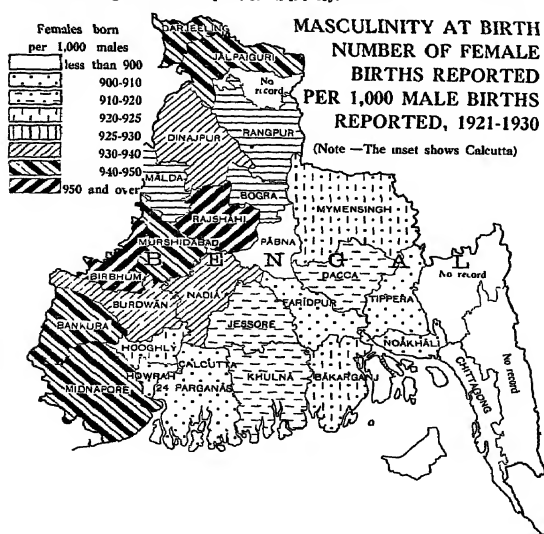
STATEMENT No. V-5.

Masculinity at birth : number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported by districts during the decade 1921-1930.

Burdwan	930
Birbhum	954
Bankura	944
Midnapore	940
Hooghly	915
Howrah	900
24-Parganas	882
Calcutta	882
Nadia	938
Murshidabad	940
Jessore	923
Khulna	921
Rajshahi	951
Dinajpur	937
Jalpaiguri	944
Darjeeling	945
Rangpur	927
Bogra	925
Pabna	939
Malda	926
Dacca	921
Mymensingh	916
Fardpur	908
Bakarganj	917
Tripura	900
Nikhah	901
Chittagong	895

DIAGRAM No. V-10.

NOTE.—The hatchings for groups 910-920, 920-925 and 925-930 appear in the map at right angles to their disposition in the key.



is lowest in Calcutta where there are only 882 births of girls reported for every thousand reported births of boys, and in Pabna and Chittagong also the proportion of female to male births is less than 900 to every thousand. In Dacca, Jessore and Khulna the proportion is between 920 and 925, but it is as much as 910 only in Mymensingh, Hooghly and Bakarganj amongst the other districts and is between 900 and 910 in every other district in which records are kept.

183. Sex proportions at birth by divisions, 1921-1930.—The number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported annually from 1921 to 1930 is shown for each division in statement No. V-6 and illustrated in diagram No. V-11. Figures for Bengal are also given in column 11 of subsidiary table V, part i, where differences of calculation result in a variation of one unit in the years 1922, 1925, 1926 and 1929. In these years the Bengal figure in the statement is one greater

than in table V except in the year 1926; but in each case the variation is too slight to affect the general trend of the figures. The average for the preceding decade (1911-1920) was 933 girls to every 1,000 boys born. In the last decade it had fallen to 922 and although the ratio in 1930 was higher than this and was higher in 1921, 1923, 1924 and 1926, the general trend is downward. The figures for each administrative division show considerable variations. The average is highest in the Burdwan and

STATEMENT No. V-6.

Female births reported per 1,000 male births reported annually in each administrative division, 1921-1930.

	Bengal	Burdwan	Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	*Chittagong		
Average	-922±0	738	937±0	906	918±0	911±1-265	902±1	480
1921	928	931	925	944	922	908		
1922	920	931	912	932	916	898		
1923	926	940	921	936	920	911		
1924	927	942	924	929	926	911		
1925	923	935	919	931	907	899		
1926	923	940	923	931	916	898		
1927	920	937	920	930	910	893		
1928	917	931	920	925	909	895		
1929	917	942	920	922	913	895		
1930	923	938	912	930	921	910		

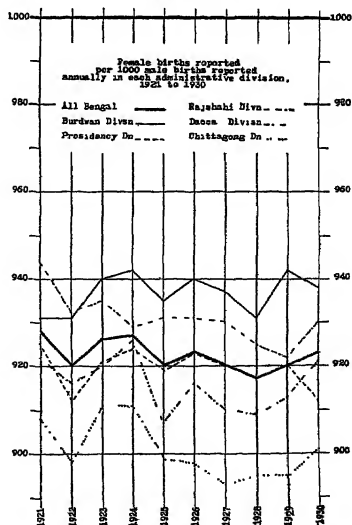
*Excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts

in any division was a proportion of 944 in Rajshahi in 1921; but only in Burdwan Division and only on four occasions, viz., in 1923, 1924, 1926 and 1929 was a ratio so high as 940 reported. Compared with other figures for the same area the ratio was low in 1922 in all divisions, in 1925 in all divisions except Rajshahi, and in 1928 particularly in the Burdwan Division.

184. **Trend of sex proportions at birth, 1901-1930.**—The trend of the sex proportions at birth is even more strikingly illustrated in the statement incorporated in and illustrated by diagram No. V-12. In this diagram figures similar to those illustrated in diagram No. V-11 are given for each division from the year 1901 to 1930. In the Presidency, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions figures available for the last decade are not on record in the earlier years for Calcutta, Malda and Noakhali districts and those illustrated in this diagram therefore exclude these three districts as well as the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In some instances there are discrepancies between the figures for the Burdwan and the Dacca Divisions which should be identical with those given in statement No. V-6. They are considerable however only in the case of Burdwan Division in 1922 and 1930 and in using diagram No. V-12 the reader should for these years prefer the figures given in statement No. V-6. Such discrepancies as there are, moreover, do not affect the general trend. In 1901 for all Bengal the number of girls born for every thousand boys was 945—a figure higher than was reached in any subsequent year except 1925 when it was 948 and 1906 when it was 945; and with such variations as are natural there has been since 1901 a steady decrease which is clearly illustrated in the diagram. In every year the proportion has been lowest in the Chittagong Division. In the Burdwan Division the ratio in 1930 was very little less than it had been in 1900 and in spite of variations reflected in the curve there has been in this division only no evident trend in a downward direction over the

DIAGRAM No. V-11.

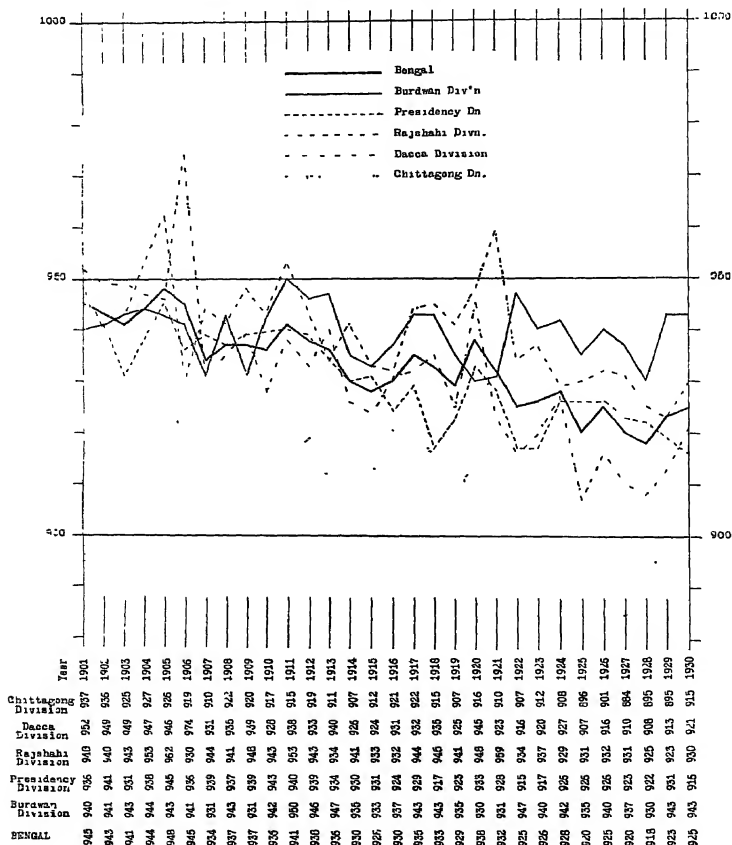
Number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported, by divisions, 1921-1930.



whole period of 30 years. The Rajshahi Division has shown, perhaps the most notable variations between 1901 and 1931. On four occasions (in 1904, 1905, 1911 and 1921) the proportion has been over 950, but after the year 1921 the tendency has apparently been towards a marked decline

DIAGRAM No. V-12.

Number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported in each administrative division, 1901-1930.



in the ratio. Only in the Dacca Division in 1906 when a ratio of 974 was reported has any other district returned a ratio comparable with the four highest in the Rajshahi Division and it is in the Dacca Division that the greatest variation in the proportions is seen from 974 in 1906 to 907 in 1925 and 908 in 1928. In other divisions except the Presidency, however, the figures since 1928 suggest that there may be some increase in the proportions, but it is unlikely that these will prove to be more than temporary tendencies in view of the trend during the whole of the last 30 years. The decline in the proportion of females to males at every recorded census since 1881 has thus clearly been partly due to the differential rate of birth.

185. **Sex proportions at death by divisions, 1921-1930.**—The sex ratios in the deaths reported annually in each division from 1921 to 1930 are shown

in statement No. V-7 and illustrated in diagram No. V-13. Female deaths formed the lowest proportion of male deaths in the year 1924 when in the whole of Bengal there were only 858 females reported dead for every 1,000 males. After this date the proportion rose until 1929 when it was 951 females to every 1,000 males, but in the next year it had again shown a decrease to 936. On the average Burdwan showed the highest proportion of female deaths to male deaths followed in order by Chittagong, Dacca, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions. In the Presidency Division the average ratio in the decade was 889 females to every 1,000 males ; it was 900 in Rajshahi, 904 in Dacca and 929 in Chittagong. During the decade the annual fluctuations with small variations were similar in all divisions. The main variations occurred in 1923 when the ratio rose in the Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions but fell in every other division and in 1928 when the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions showed a decrease in the ratio compared with the previous year whilst every other division showed an increase. The sex ratios both of births and of deaths show the greatest range of variation in the Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, and the extent of their proportionate range is reflected in the figures of probable error printed with the averages in statements Nos. V-6 and V-7. The figures illustrated in this and similar diagrams do not immediately represent the incidence between the sexes of the death rate, since the death rate itself is dependent upon not only the number of deaths in each sex but also the numbers living, and where males preponderate in the population a larger number of male deaths may represent a lower death rate whilst a low figure in statement No. V-7 is not incompatible with actually a higher death rate amongst females than amongst males. If the incidence of the death rate were equal in each sex, the average figures shown at the head of statement No. V-6 should be graded in the same order as the proportions of females to males in of this statement with column 3 of each division. A comparison subsidiary table I shows that here preserved. The exception is Burdwan Division which has a smaller proportion of females to males than either the Chittagong or Dacca Divisions and should consequently come third in order, if the incidence of mortality were equal between the sexes, or if the differential incidence of mortality between the sexes were similar in all three divisions, whereas actually it takes the first place in statement No. V-7. In an equal number of each sex more women die for every male death in Burdwan than in Chittagong or Dacca Divisions, and this accounts for its taking the first place in statement No. V-7. On the other hand in the Presidency Division where, in equal numbers

STATEMENT No. V-7.

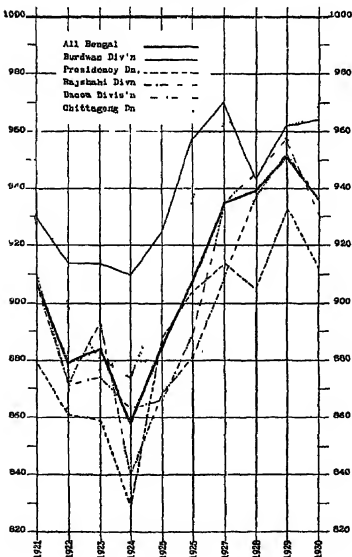
Female deaths per 1,000 male deaths annually by divisions, 1921-1930.

	*Bengal	Burdwan.	Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca.	*Chittagong.
Average	908 ± 6	935 ± 4	889 ± 6	900 ± 7	904 ± 7	929 ± 7
1921	907	930	880	905	910	946
1922	879	914	861	872	871	898
1923	883	914	869	898	874	881
1924	858	910	829	840	868	874
1925	888	925	888	898	886	900
1926	907	957	904	881	889	898
1927	936	936	914	919	935	943
1928	939	943	905	937	945	964
1929	951	963	938	952	957	982
1930	936	964	912	885	950	965

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts

DIAGRAM No. V-13.

Number of female deaths reported per 1,000 male deaths reported in each division annually, 1921-1930.



each division. A comparison subsidiary table I shows that with one exception the same order is here preserved. The exception is Burdwan Division which has a smaller proportion of females to males than either the Chittagong or Dacca Divisions and should consequently come third in order, if the incidence of mortality were equal between the sexes, or if the differential incidence of mortality between the sexes were similar in all three divisions, whereas actually it takes the first place in statement No. V-7. In an equal number of each sex more women die for every male death in Burdwan than in Chittagong or Dacca Divisions, and this accounts for its taking the first place in statement No. V-7. On the other hand in the Presidency Division where, in equal numbers

of each sex not only do more women die for every man than in Rajshahi, but the death rate is actually higher amongst females, the discrepancy in the sex figures is so great that the differential incidence of mortality does not result in raising the female ratio above that in the Rajshahi Division.

186. **Sex proportions at death by religions, 1921-1930.**—Figures similar to the above for the principal religions are shown in statement No. V-8 and illustrated in diagram No. V-14. In the diagram the curve for all religions

STATEMENT No. V-8.

Female deaths per 1,000 male deaths annually by religions, 1921-1930.

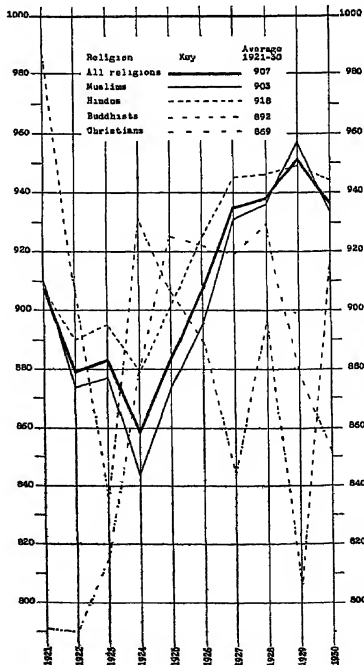
	Muslim	Hindu	Buddhist	Christian
Average	903 \pm 7.272	918 \pm 5.411	892 \pm 10.959	869 \pm 11.042
1921	919	907	987	791
1922	874	899	906	790
1923	877	895	830	816
1924	844	879	931	880
1925	874	901	906	925
1926	896	925	889	913
1927	911	945	844	919
1928	946	940	898	929
1929	957	949	805	878
1930	933	944	916	852

is naturally the same as in diagram No. V-13 although the average of the decade incorporated in the diagram varies by one unit from that given in statement No. V-7. The closest approximation to the average incidence is naturally shown amongst the Muslims who form a majority of the population. In every year except 1929 there were fewer females died amongst Muslims for every 1,000 males than in the population as a whole. Amongst Hindus, on the contrary, in every year except 1929 there were more females died per 1,000 males than in the average for the total population. The other religions shown, viz., Buddhists and Christians, display a very much greater variation. Amongst the Buddhists the numbers were almost equal in the year 1921 but in 1929 the proportion was lower than in any other religion during the whole decade with the exception of Christians in 1921 and 1922. Here again, as in the case of divisions the order of the ratio shown in statement No. V-8 might be expected to be the same as the order of the ratio of females to males. Christians, indeed, with the lowest number of females to males show also the lowest number of female deaths to male deaths on the average during the decade but whereas Muslims maintain the same relative position in both the lists Hindus and Buddhists exchange places; and although Hindus have fewer females for every 1,000 males than Buddhists, the number of females dying per 1,000 male deaths is higher amongst them than amongst either the Muslims or the Buddhists. These facts suggest that compared with other religions the inequality in the incidence of the death rate tells most heavily against the females amongst the Hindus, but a very considerable fluctuation in the ratio amongst Buddhists makes it desirable to draw such a conclusion with caution and a discussion of the sex specific death rates themselves is more satisfactory.

187. **Sex proportions in the seasonal incidence of births and deaths.**—The sex proportions in the seasonal incidence of vital occurrences are discussed in this and subsequent paragraphs. No statistics have been obtained showing the monthly numbers of births by sexes within the two principal religions, Muslim and Hindu. Figures, however, have been

DIAGRAM No. V-14.

Number of female deaths reported per 1,000 male deaths reported annually, each main religion, 1921 to 1930.



worked out for the proportion of females to males born each month over the period 1901 to 1930. These are included and illustrated in diagram No. V-15.

STATEMENT No. V.-9.

Monthly average number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths, all religions, Muslim and Hindu, 1921-1930.

	All religions.	Muslim	Hindu
Average all months	909	901	920
January	848	918	938
February	896	890	909
March	888	835	875
April	852	830	881
May	858	837	886
June	857	833	818
July	863	813	880
August	906	847	905
September	900	887	920
October	944	930	954
November	994	990	995
December	995	998	997

figures may be compared with those in statement No. V-9 illustrated in diagram No. V-16. Here are shown for Muslims and Hindus the monthly average proportions of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths. The period taken is one decade only, since separate monthly figures for the Muslims and Hindus are not on record over the whole period 1901 to 1930. The proportion of females to males dying is highest during the months of October, November, December and January, the period including three of the months in which the proportion of girls born is highest compared with boys. A comparatively large proportion of females die for every 1,000 males in the months of March, April, May and June, a period which again includes the other three months in which the proportions of girls to boys born is highest. The curves for sex ratios in the deaths of Muslims and Hindus display no considerable variations from the average except a very marked decrease in the proportions in the month of June amongst Hindus. In this month the proportion is as low as 818, a figure less than is reached in any month by the Muslims. On the other hand, although with this exception the curve for Hindus follows the same form as that for Muslims having its peak in October, November, December and January and its depression in March, April, May and June, both on the average and also in each month except June, to which a reference has already been made, and December, the proportion of females dying to males amongst the Hindus is higher than amongst the Muslims. On the average the reported deaths show 920 Hindu females for every 1,000 Hindu males compared with 901 Muslim females for every 1,000 Muslim males and the seasonal variations in the proportions are amongst the Hindus, with the exception of

DIAGRAM No. V-15.

Monthly average number of female births reported per 1,000 male births reported, 1901-1930.

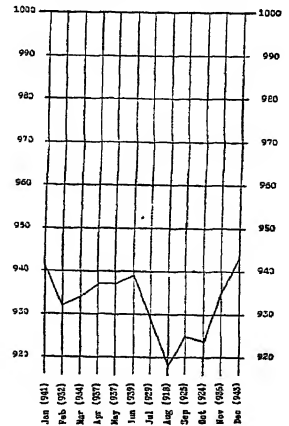
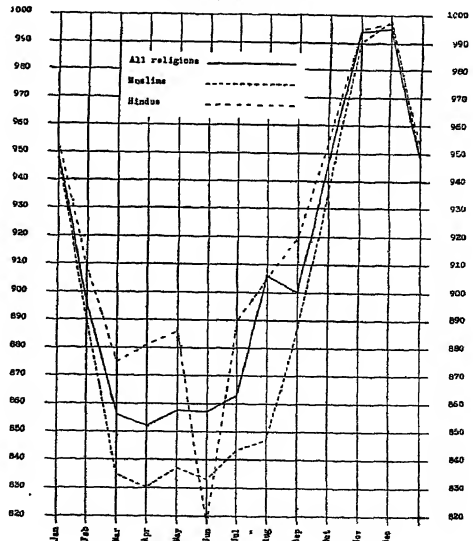


DIAGRAM No. V-16.

Monthly average number of female deaths reported per 1,000 male deaths reported, all religions, Muslim, and Hindu, 1921-1930.



the month of June, in general rather less extensive in range than the average whilst they are more extended in the case of Muslims. The deductions above are suggested by an acceptance of the returns of vital statistics without criticism of their value. But the reader must bear in mind what has been indicated in Chapters I and IV, namely, that the accuracy of the returns cannot be accepted as very high. The discrepancy between the population enumerated at the census and estimated on the basis of the returns of births and deaths differs in different divisions and it is quite possible that there is also a difference in the accuracy of the figures returned between the different communities. For instance, in Burdwan Division where the discrepancy is smallest yet where outside the Presidency Division there is the largest immigrant element the population is mainly Hindu; and it is always to be borne in mind that the figures may more nearly approach accuracy in the case of Hindus than of Muslims. Such considerations would apply particularly to the aggregate figures for both sexes but the possibility that there may be differences in the degree of accuracy with which vital occurrences for each sex are returned amongst different communities is also to be taken into account and deductions as to the cause of observed discrepancies must naturally be made with the greatest possible caution.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Number of females per 1,000 males in the population of natural divisions, districts and states, 1872-1931.

Natural and administrative division, district and state	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL	924	932	945	960	973	994	992
West Bengal	942	963	987	1,001	1,023	1,050	1,041
BURDWAN DIVISION	942	963	987	1,001	1,023	1,050	1,041
Burdwan	934	965	997	1,004	1,038	1,083	1,044
Birbhum	1,005	1,004	1,017	1,029	1,048	1,082	1,090
Baakura	966	1,002	1,024	1,032	1,034	1,054	1,016
Midnapore	975	991	1,000	1,006	1,012	1,023	1,021
Hoochly	882	921	961	986	1,031	1,071	1,069
Hovrah	834	864	892	935	984	1,011	1,038
Central Bengal	846	859	883	912	938	961	958
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	846	859	883	912	938	961	958
24 Parganas	852	837	804	802	813	842	869
Calcutta	468	470	475	507	526	556	552
Nadia	839	854	891	1,015	1,050	1,054	1,058
Mirshidabad	1,006	1,008	1,023	1,041	1,065	1,082	1,083
Jessore	918	927	951	954	1,007	1,032	1,027
Khulna	909	918	926	915	906	900	867
North Bengal	921	923	925	938	955	973	973
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	922	928	929	941	958	976	977
Rajshahi	928	941	961	972	1,001	1,026	1,014
Dinajpur	900	902	897	902	915	933	931
Jalpaiguri	842	890	841	882	868	904	930
Darjeeling	879	896	889	873	815	742	789
Rangpur	918	904	901	915	945	963	964
Bogra	950	946	957	954	952	968	981
Pabna	856	866	874	1,002	1,010	1,023	1,011
Malda	998	1,000	1,014	1,020	1,038	1,047	1,049
COOCH BEHAR STATE	886	877	873	881	914	933	912
East Bengal	957	963	972	980	981	998	1,000
DAKKA DIVISION	947	953	961	932	874	892	1,000
Dacca	969	988	1,003	1,019	1,017	1,048	1,047
Mymensingh	923	927	936	943	941	963	978
Faridpur	958	960	974	997	1,012	1,024	1,038
Bakarganj	952	953	951	949	950	952	956
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	983	990	1,002	1,004	1,000	1,015	1,002
Tippera	951	951	955	950	955	970	959
Noakhali	937	994	1,018	1,007	985	977	973
Chittagong	1,059	1,072	1,087	1,110	1,085	1,130	1,108
Chittagong Hill Tracts	864	887	850	828	801	796	703
TRIPURA STATE	885	885	885	874	920	859	931
SIKKIM	967	970	951	916	935		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age-group in the main religions, all Bengal, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

Age at last birthday	All religions			Muslim.			Hindu.			Tribal.			Buddhist.			Christian.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
All ages	924	932	945	936	945	958	909	916	931	964	973	967	951	960	969	882	888	847
0-30	977	991	989	997	1,001	1,011	951	953	961	1,045	1,063	1,056	982	990	995	951	967	895
0-5	1,024	1,067	1,068	1,028	1,001	1,059	1,017	1,053	1,057	1,074	1,060	1,070	990	999	979	994	1,023	1,009
0-1	1,004	1,011	1,017	1,003	1,009	1,013	1,005	1,015	1,035	1,065	999	1,002	990	977	940	986	973	1,011
1-2	1,058	1,037	1,076	1,063	1,044	1,099	1,051	1,027	1,038	1,181	1,012	1,049	996	940	977	992	1,023	969
2-3	1,073	1,037	1,093	1,074	1,059	1,091	1,070	1,056	1,074	1,126	1,093	1,077	1,013	1,011	1,014	990	1,032	962
3-4	1,024	1,113	1,088	1,028	1,109	1,097	1,017	1,118	1,101	1,090	1,115	1,117	993	1,037	988	1,036	1,074	1,076
4-5	970	1,033	1,023	989	1,045	1,028	951	1,014	1,014	1,016	1,035	1,061	938	1,010	964	979	995	1,002
5-10	888	970	909	892	869	906	840	909	908	959	993	988	910	1,012	983	911	1,032	857
10-15	894	771	783	904	778	785	877	760	776	969	959	870	821	875	800	832	910	886
15-20	1,115	1,079	1,102	1,138	1,125	1,153	1,038	1,026	1,049	1,212	1,185	1,204	1,045	1,037	1,034	1,042	974	1,049
20-25	1,080	1,144	1,141	1,144	1,239	1,251	1,024	1,044	1,034	1,193	1,237	1,247	1,084	1,043	1,115	1,006	947	906
25-30	901	951	949	916	990	964	884	906	900	962	1,070	1,084	978	1,014	1,042	820	902	717
30 and over	812	838	859	795	824	844	830	851	877	803	895	782	886	900	914	753	752	756
30-40	790	805	800	803	813	807	794	795	793	824	872	827	880	871	880	788	702	710
40-50	775	787	818	768	787	812	783	791	827	738	698	692	809	802	892	697	650	722
50-60	851	894	937	811	882	903	895	933	976	784	752	751	888	870	944	743	750	738
60 and over	911	993	1,054	810	898	907	1,016	1,095	1,144	1,037	900	942	935	1,036	1,044	925	932	1,007

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age-group in the main religions of each natural division.

Age at last birthday		West Bengal (Burdwan Division)				Central Bengal (Presidency Division)				North Bengal (Rajshahi Division and Cooh Behar State).				East Bengal (Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with Tripura State)							
		All religions	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	All religions	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	All religions	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.	A. religions	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal.	Buddhist.		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
All ages			942	920	944	997	846	870	826	899	921	935	896	947	932	957	959	952	962	965	
0—30			970	962	968	1,031	893	920	867	1,018	988	1,000	960	1,067	924	1,616	1,023	1,006	1,082	1,009	
0—5			1,021	1,023	1,010	1,093	1,001	1,004	1,006	1,027	1,032	1,037	1,028	1,081	954	1,028	1,031	1,016	988	1,002	
5—10			1,023	992	1,025	1,083	991	987	988	943	1,014	1,015	1,009	1,053	944	999	1,003	987	1,040	1,012	
10—15			1,019	1,006	1,076	1,126	1,047	1,051	1,016	1,086	1,076	1,086	1,080	1,018	960	1,032	1,057	1,042	1,007	1,009	
15—20			1,009	1,062	1,076	1,112	1,011	1,052	1,059	1,087	1,089	1,085	1,076	1,145	977	1,009	1,071	1,060	998	1,022	
20—25			1,016	1,027	1,012	1,091	999	995	1,003	1,041	1,044	1,039	1,030	1,151	966	1,031	1,085	1,024	977	1,000	
25—30			941	968	951	1,032	940	940	931	1,021	973	973	973	1,002	910	991	997	972	993	967	
30—40			874	879	872	917	862	867	854	1,082	881	874	890	977	888	908	908	907	930	918	
40—50			875	871	873	890	851	863	847	1,109	895	896	886	999	908	919	923	908	974	890	
50—60			1,063	1,075	1,061	1,185	945	1,006	895	1,114	1,170	1,237	1,041	1,265	954	1,195	1,229	1,131	1,206	1,121	
60 and over			1,070	1,061	1,070	1,204	900	904	890	1,019	1,125	1,174	1,049	1,234	934	1,181	1,202	1,131	1,317	1,168	
30 and over			937	892	943	1,010	777	823	743	740	888	901	854	969	903	868	961	887	1,020	1,068	
30—40			881	843	899	930	759	771	753	665	781	758	778	702	949	821	803	859	784	866	
40—50			847	802	842	917	712	739	691	655	773	753	768	760	799	837	840	849	871	831	911
50—60			833	806	838	844	725	741	717	603	752	768	784	652	886	738	775	813	745	848	
60 and over			980	934	1,002	844	844	846	801	828	829	834	882	1,027	803	869	858	882	902	894	
60 and over			1,170	1,024	1,201	1,217	952	896	997	899	895	839	801	896	654	1,181	823	769	925	707	894

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age in selected castes or other groups, 1931.

Caste, tribe, race and religion		Locality in which chiefly found	Number of females per 1,000 males aged in years to nearest birthday.						
			All ages	0—6	7—13	14—19	17—23	24—45	46 and over.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 AGARWALA	Hindu	Calcutta	888	973	927	829	651	592	507
2 BAIDYA	Hindu	Bengal	922	1,089	990	909	888	880	868
3 BAKSHNAB	Hindu	Bengal	1,079	1,005	883	1,028	1,209	1,137	1,132
4 BARTI	Hindu	West Bengal	1,017	990	904	1,083	1,265	996	1,078
5 BRAHMAN	Hindu	Bengal	847	980	908	862	863	747	821
6 BRAHMO	Hindu	Bengal	783	1,454	915	849	810	678	751
7 CHAKMA	All religions	Chittagong Hill Tracts	871	908	798	954	1,108	812	721
	Buddhist	Hindu	250	300	100	100	100	444	145
	Buddhist	Hindu	772	966	798	855	1,109	812	721
8 DOM	Hindu	Bengal	868	998	850	1,005	1,182	920	965
9 JALIYA KAL-BARTA	Hindu	West Bengal	928	965	917	1,004	1,178	871	799
10 JOGI OR JUGI	Hindu	Bengal	844	1,022	879	994	1,119	905	885
11 KAVANISHA	Hindu	Bengal	901	865	896	886	907	852	856
12 KHAMDU	All religions	Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri	920	899	794	1,008	1,127	815	1,110
	Hindu	Hindu	919	897	703	1,007	1,133	816	1,109
	Buddhist	Hindu	313	7,000	1,113	1,550	878	444	1,333
13 KOCH	Hindu	North Bengal	949	1,047	804	899	1,206	882	834
14 LEPCHA	All religions	Darjeeling	883	899	811	1,421	1,549	955	779
	Hindu	Hindu	33	223	33	33	67	81	81
	Tribal	Hindu	384	598	590	837	1,027	630	1,324
	Buddhist	Hindu	1,008	899	731	1,732	1,813	894	735
	Christian	Hindu	1,099	995	1,261	868	1,858	1,080	1,077
15 MAHISHYA	Hindu	West Bengal	652	980	869	877	1,117	931	944
16 NAMASUDRA	Hindu	Bengal	884	1,070	898	1,060	1,105	922	881
17 SANTAL	All religions	West Bengal and North Bengal	884	1,091	889	1,021	1,250	929	867
	Hindu	Hindu	977	1,130	869	1,006	1,205	648	824
	Tribal	Hindu	593	1,070	907	1,030	1,308	514	904
	Christian	Hindu	563	1,012	1,032	1,073	1,279	875	715
18 SHAHA	Hindu	Bengal	850	1,037	840	1,013	1,109	926	870
19 TIPARA	All religions	East Bengal and Tripura State	830	908	878	1,106	1,841	800	810
	Hindu	Hindu	932	1,002	880	1,122	1,344	703	809
	Tribal	Hindu	904	733	824	812	1,286	1,005	855
20 ANGLO-INDIAN	Christian	Calcutta, Towns	845	881	926	1,077	1,013	906	882
21 INDIAN	Christian	Bengal	831	868	919	1,055	1,139	882	866
22 "MULIN" (JOLAH)	Muslim	Bengal	816	966	850	1,147	1,196	816	784
23 SATTYAD	Muslim	Bengal	888	966	848	980	1,088	802	798

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V (part i).—Actual number of births and deaths annually reported for each sex during the decades 1901-1910, 1911-1920 and 1921-1930.

Year	Number of births			Number of deaths.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of female births over male births.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of female deaths over male deaths.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of births over deaths, both sexes.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths
	Both sexes.	Males	Females	Both sexes.	Males	Females.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total 1901-1910	15,797,344	8,139,925	7,657,419	13,728,296	7,246,191	6,482,105	- 482,508	- 764,086	+ 2,069,048	841	895
1901	1,567,585	806,527	761,058	1,261,402	674,637	586,765	- 45,469	- 87,872	+ 306,183	944	870
1902	1,632,133	839,706	792,427	1,468,656	779,357	687,239	- 47,279	- 92,118	+ 165,477	944	882
1903	1,529,269	787,868	741,401	1,346,237	710,264	635,973	- 46,467	- 74,291	+ 138,032	941	896
1904	1,704,798	877,116	827,682	1,394,157	726,990	657,187	- 49,434	- 69,823	+ 320,641	944	904
1905	1,574,935	810,318	764,617	1,324,012	708,748	625,269	- 45,701	- 78,474	+ 50,923	944	906
1906	1,478,636	764,143	714,493	1,389,916	733,002	656,914	- 49,650	- 76,083	+ 88,720	935	896
1907	1,600,984	771,320	729,764	1,404,263	737,786	666,477	- 41,456	- 71,309	+ 66,721	946	903
1908	1,586,811	819,474	767,337	1,331,121	708,296	624,625	- 52,137	- 81,471	+ 255,090	936	885
1909	1,646,389	849,575	796,814	1,308,373	690,156	616,217	- 52,761	- 73,939	+ 340,010	938	893
1910	1,575,804	818,978	756,826	1,314,159	688,930	625,229	- 52,152	- 83,701	+ 281,645	936	898
Total 1911-1920	14,860,258	7,667,280	7,172,978	14,101,667	7,387,044	6,714,823	- 514,301	- 672,421	+ 758,591	933	909
1911	1,585,188	816,742	768,446	1,221,580	640,323	581,252	- 48,296	- 59,076	+ 363,608	941	908
1912	1,690,335	826,051	774,284	1,349,779	708,649	643,130	- 51,827	- 63,519	+ 250,556	937	910
1913	1,529,921	790,289	739,632	1,331,895	685,389	608,579	- 50,657	- 54,710	+ 198,035	936	921
1914	1,535,281	793,337	741,944	1,431,293	742,218	659,071	- 55,429	- 59,147	+ 103,992	930	928
1915	1,441,623	747,159	694,469	1,483,567	770,244	712,323	- 52,690	- 63,921	+ 46,939	932	918
1916	1,445,592	749,247	696,345	1,241,021	656,177	584,844	- 52,902	- 71,333	+ 204,571	929	891
1917	1,627,673	845,029	782,644	1,197,509	622,509	565,000	- 50,155	- 57,509	+ 440,084	933	906
1918	1,469,135	771,313	717,822	1,727,331	912,933	814,493	- 53,491	- 98,945	+ 238,196	941	892
1919	1,245,392	646,397	598,995	1,641,111	880,930	780,161	- 47,409	- 80,789	+ 385,719	927	906
1920	1,358,913	702,606	656,307	1,481,612	775,842	705,770	- 45,419	- 70,072	+ 121,690	935	910
Total 1921-1930	13,255,369	6,895,486	6,359,883	11,791,885	6,183,493	5,608,402	- 535,603	- 575,081	+ 1,463,484	922	907
1921	1,301,001	674,791	626,210	1,403,930	735,638	607,992	- 43,581	- 68,246	+ 102,029	928	907
1922	1,275,614	664,400	611,145	1,173,246	624,290	548,947	- 53,224	- 73,362	+ 102,368	919	879
1923	1,383,411	728,508	654,903	1,185,797	629,662	556,159	- 58,005	- 78,473	+ 207,320	926	883
1924	1,370,114	710,993	659,121	1,233,244	647,403	555,341	- 51,752	- 91,562	+ 187,307	927	888
1925	1,377,097	717,330	659,767	1,158,473	614,736	543,787	- 57,563	- 70,999	+ 128,624	919	884
1926	1,276,380	668,588	607,792	1,151,197	603,602	517,593	- 50,796	- 50,007	+ 125,183	924	907
1927	1,288,863	670,231	618,612	1,189,370	614,635	571,685	- 38,639	- 40,000	+ 97,493	920	935
1928	1,375,880	717,586	658,294	1,189,015	613,394	575,621	- 69,492	- 37,773	+ 180,065	917	938
1929	1,361,278	709,145	652,133	1,094,283	590,834	533,429	- 57,012	- 37,405	+ 267,015	919	931
1930	1,237,331	643,855	593,476	1,044,255	539,200	494,996	- 49,839	- 84,204	+ 193,075	923	896

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V (part ii).—Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex according to natural divisions during the decade 1921-1930.

Natural division	Number of births			Number of deaths			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of female births over male births.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of female deaths over male deaths.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of births over deaths, both sexes.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Both sexes.	Males	Females	Both sexes.	Males	Females.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
All divisions	13,255,369	6,895,486	6,359,883	11,791,885	6,183,493	5,608,402	- 535,603	- 575,081	+ 1,463,484	922	907
West Bengal (Burdwan Division)	2,416,255	1,247,587	1,168,668	2,067,558	1,060,009	1,001,549	- 78,879	- 84,460	+ 348,997	937	940
Central Bengal (Presidency Division).	2,668,935	1,390,377	1,278,558	2,023,451	1,092,094	1,236,357	+ 111,919	+ 155,737	+ 40,884	919	888
North Bengal (Rajshahi Division) *	3,092,903	1,601,526	1,491,377	2,976,239	1,667,686	1,408,578	- 110,149	- 159,093	+ 116,664	931	898
Dacca Division	3,502,564	1,828,127	1,674,437	2,919,735	1,534,579	1,385,157	- 153,390	- 149,422	+ 583,126	916	903
Chittagong Division†	1,574,512	827,889	746,623	1,199,901	623,135	676,766	+ 81,266	+ 46,369	+ 374,611	902	925

*Cooch Behar State is not included.

†Chittagong Hill Tracts are not included.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Number of deaths annually reported for each sex at age-groups, 1921-1930.**MALES.**

Age	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1921-30.	Male deaths per 1,000 (males) deaths, average, 1921-30.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	735,038	824,289	820,632	847,463	814,736	805,602	814,885	813,384	806,834	839,260	8,183,483	1102.5
0-5	232,415	204,004	214,365	212,000	212,706	215,731	207,176	213,099	210,167	201,030	2,124,478	1105.1
0-1	122,657	139,147	132,453	138,046	123,212	124,123	121,963	121,453	121,000	124,912	1,350,166	1168.9
Under 1 month	6,171	70,295	79,397	73,640	71,609	60,769	74,493	76,696	76,696	70,611	763,763	1202.9
1 to 6 months	31,187	35,810	35,415	32,925	36,611	32,004	34,616	33,471	38,470	33,666	329,666	1212.3
6 to 12 months	15,775	32,318	30,338	27,651	30,104	23,190	23,342	21,573	20,731	22,510	170,731	1107.2
1-5 years	89,778	77,417	78,968	76,963	79,635	81,395	83,213	82,470	78,843	76,827	804,310	1046.7
5-10	63,245	52,030	54,534	62,890	51,004	47,472	46,968	40,269	37,870	40,618	490,618	1108.6
10-15	45,017	35,603	34,369	36,213	31,773	28,618	29,314	27,987	22,173	21,008	309,647	1387.8
15-20	47,709	32,304	32,408	45,752	30,675	28,066	29,658	28,239	33,448	22,821	300,941	1765.2
20-30	80,938	66,263	63,023	70,445	68,300	69,743	68,235	62,561	51,787	49,745	662,240	803.3
30-40	81,197	97,177	64,140	68,004	62,508	60,797	68,818	64,014	56,699	62,841	641,186	1187.2
40-50	68,660	58,034	62,923	65,635	51,127	50,065	52,980	53,707	48,821	47,960	554,878	1404.5
50-60	54,620	44,805	43,731	45,092	42,367	43,379	44,534	44,922	41,902	41,536	445,308	1274.4
60 and over	81,906	85,937	97,639	70,614	65,651	70,114	73,614	70,489	67,478	65,680	706,591	1176.8

FEMALES.

Age	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1921-30.	Female deaths per 1,000 (males) deaths, average, 1921-30.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	667,392	648,847	556,159	555,841	543,737	547,598	574,685	575,421	533,429	564,068	5,606,402	907.0
0-5	213,444	181,220	195,176	188,324	193,737	194,285	190,294	193,087	190,817	151,980	1,922,861	904.0
0-1	123,325	120,004	118,241	116,391	116,369	116,661	107,118	113,499	113,653	107,060	1,145,173	897.4
Under 1 month	3,252	28,446	33,212	60,436	60,436	60,674	60,809	61,193	63,578	69,343	162,591	1631.4
1 to 6 months	27,965	30,446	30,616	30,739	31,109	32,632	30,143	29,630	30,019	19,636	192,506	1662.3
6 to 12 months	31,991	29,310	27,461	26,012	24,819	22,183	21,658	20,097	19,510	12,822	162,589	1631.4
1-5 years	87,018	71,115	79,335	75,864	77,688	77,634	64,179	70,495	71,169	74,490	777,869	986.4
5-10	52,147	42,060	44,664	42,028	42,255	39,687	42,813	40,454	35,014	38,145	414,199	884.2
10-15	37,090	23,763	23,979	24,118	22,510	21,908	23,209	22,763	18,002	17,401	224,330	747.3
15-20	49,483	36,031	39,768	40,713	37,447	37,623	40,740	40,095	35,211	31,646	387,712	1298.3
20-30	93,454	77,043	76,818	80,060	78,277	78,560	83,820	85,023	74,640	67,787	788,020	1216.4
30-40	67,005	81,296	61,390	58,876	50,488	51,210	55,698	57,584	51,190	46,802	540,016	842.2
40-50	48,521	38,444	38,747	37,187	35,148	34,069	35,852	39,008	36,000	34,758	380,071	715.4
50-60	44,508	27,394	33,890	34,435	31,009	33,406	35,008	36,623	38,080	38,085	340,481	784.8
60 and over	73,404	67,740	59,715	50,528	67,420	60,158	63,144	60,288	59,575	58,020	669,691	850.2

*Complete figures not available.
 †Excluding figures for 1921 which are not available

CHAPTER VI

Marital condition

188. **The statistics shown.**—The statistics of marital condition are displayed in imperial table VII. Imperial table VIII also gives similar statistics for selected castes. In imperial table VII quinquennial age-groups have been adopted in detail for Bengal, Tripura, Cooch Behar and Sikkim. Quinquennial age-groups are also shown for districts and cities up to 20 and decennial groups thereafter. In imperial table VIII and statistics calculated from it the age-groups adopted show the age to the nearest birthday and after 0-6 are alternate septenary and ternary groups up to the age of 23 with two groups thereafter from 24 to 43 and from 43 onwards. Where the ordinary quinquennial groups are given figures under them have been obtained by an adjustment of groups similar to those shown in imperial table VIII and shown in detail in statement No. IV-1 in chapter IV. Subsidiary tables attached to this chapter show—

- I—the distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in each religion, 1931, 1921 and 1911 ;
- II—the distribution according to marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in each natural division by principal religions, 1931 ;
- III—the distribution by main age-periods and marital condition of 10,000 of each sex in the principal religions, 1931 ;
- IV—the number of females per 1,000 males of the same age-group and marital condition in each natural division by principal religions, 1931 ; and
- V—the distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in selected castes or other groups, 1931.

189. **Origin of the figures.**—The statistics of marital condition are compiled from column 7 of the general schedule. The instructions to enumerators provided for entry in this column of all persons of whatever age as being either married, unmarried or widowed and laid down that divorced persons should be entered as widowed. They were elaborated by instructions that a woman who had never been married should be shown as unmarried even though she may be a prostitute or concubine, but that persons who are recognised by custom as married should be entered as such even though they may not have gone through the full marriage ceremony. Where the column in the schedule was blank directions were given that during compilation except in the case of Europeans, Armenians and Anglo-Indians, it should be assumed that males under 16 are unmarried, those between 16 and 50 are married and those over 50 are widowed ; and that for females similar assumptions should be made with the substitution of 14 for 16 and 40 for 50 years. In the case of Europeans, Armenians and Anglo-Indians also similar assumptions were made, but the ages adopted were 30 and 55 for males and 22 and 50 for females. The provision was made during slip-copying that where other entries in the schedule (for instance in the case of prostitutes) made it doubtful whether such an assumption could be made with confidence the slips for the individuals concerned should be distinguished in order that they might be included amongst those whose marital condition was not returned ; but in practice it transpired that no slips without entry of marital condition defied reasonable classification in the manner indicated above.

190. **Accuracy of the returns.**—There is no reason to believe that the returns of marital condition made were to any considerable extent inaccurate. The inclusion of divorced persons as widowed is a practice identical with that in many other countries and though it was varied in England and Wales in the census of 1921 the results were found to be probably misleading and the divorced were retained as a separate class only in tables devoted to age and marital conditions and were included in all other sections with widowed. It

is only in comparatively few cases and practically only in Northern Bengal that practices exist of entering into associations which are something less than a formal marriage but are not attended by the social disapproval given to irregular unions. Amongst the Koch and Ranjbangshi groups in Northern Bengal such practices exist and are briefly referred to in chapter XII. Persons who have contracted such alliances receive in general social recognition ; they suffer from no stigma or disability except where reforming elements are powerful and sociologically their inclusion amongst the married is appropriate. One test of the formal accuracy of the statistics is the equivalence between males and females returned as married. There are some 600 thousand more males married in Bengal than females but the difference is almost certainly accounted for by the fact that there are upwards of 745 thousand more males born outside Bengal than females and that very many of the immigrant population are married men whose wives and females have been left behind in their native country. In Sikkim also similarly, although there are 1,275 more married males than married females, there is almost an equal number (1,189) of males born outside Sikkim in excess of females. This calculation is not particularly satisfactory because in the first place it omits consideration of those of each sex married who are enumerated outside Bengal but whose partners were enumerated in Bengal and in the second place it leaves out of consideration the marital distribution of the immigrants into Bengal. But in the absence of figures of marital condition for these two groups it is the best test which can be applied and furnishes a not entirely unsatisfactory rough check upon the formal agreement of the figures for marital condition.

191. Accuracy of statistics compiled from the returns.—The accuracy of the statistics of each marital condition by age, however, has been to some extent affected by the method in which groups shown were computed. The quinquennial groups shown for each marital condition were reached by the same method as was adopted in the computation of similar groups for the total population of each sex and the method has been described in chapter IV. For the total population this method results in showing figures in which allowance has been made both for the tendency to return ages at nearest birthday and for the definite preference for certain digits in returning ages. Its effect on age-groups by marital condition, however, is not so simple. In the first place, mis-statements of age are very certainly influenced by sex and marital condition : for a Hindu girl aged 15, her age is more likely to be understated if she is unmarried and overstated if she is married especially if she has children ; for a boy aged 16 or 17 it is likely that his age will be overstated in any case, since he is just entering manhood ; bachelors and spinsters alike will tend to understate their ages as they reach the age at which they are no longer likely to get married. In some age-groups the effect of such tendencies will probably be considerable and not necessarily in the same direction or of the same strength in each sex. These tendencies have existed at every census and might be expected to be constant from one to another. There is however a more important consideration. Stated generally it is : " For presenting figures of marital condition in quinary groups the conversion of alternate ternary and septenary groups by the same formula as yields increased accuracy in the case of the total population of all marital conditions is unsatisfactory because within the ternary and septenary groups of persons of different marital conditions the distribution by single-year or smaller age periods is not proportionately the same."

192. Nature of error introduced by conversion of sorters' groups.—This proposition may be illustrated by examples. The age-groups 5-10 and 10-15 are those principally affected in the case of females. Amongst females the largest number of marriages takes place in Bengal between the ages of 12 and 13½. In arriving at the figures of married females aged 5-10 one half of those returned as aged at nearest birthday 7-13 have been included although it is clear that in the sorters' group 7-13 a larger proportion will be found aged 10-15 than under 10. The result has been probably some exaggeration of the numbers of married females in the age-group 5-10. A similar distortion must have occurred in the quinary age-group for males containing the age at which the majority of boys become bridegrooms.

Similar distortions must occur also at the later ages when, with each successive year of age, a larger proportion of the survivors are widowed. At these ages it would be expected that, in any sorters' group chosen, amongst the married there would be a larger number less than the central age of the group and amongst the widowed a larger number older than the central age of the group, and that a distribution by two equal halves will consequently cause some dislocation of the figures. It is, however, difficult to estimate in general terms the extent or even the nature of the errors thus introduced. If there is any age at which on the average a larger number than in other ages change their marital condition in any sex the extent to which the quinary groups are distorted will depend upon the position of this "critical" age in the sorters' group. Perhaps the nearest approach to a general statement is that where at any particular age compared with other ages in the same sorters' group there is a markedly larger number who pass from marital condition (a) to marital condition (b) then the quinary group including the "critical" age will show a smaller number in condition (b) than it does actually contain. The number which it loses will tend to create an excess in the next lower group if the "critical" age falls in the lower half of the sorters' group and in the next higher group if it falls in the upper half of the sorters' group. The net effect in any group will be the resultant of the dislocation in its numbers contributed from groups both below and above it.

193. **Extent of error.**—It is perhaps easy to exaggerate the effect of this error particularly in groups not containing what has been described in the last

STATEMENT No. VI-1.

Numbers, unmarried, married and widowed, all religions, Muslims and Hindus, by age-groups to nearest birthday, 1931.

Age	All marital conditions				Unmarried.				Married.				Widowed.			
	Both sexes	Males	Females		Both sexes	Males	Females		Both sexes	Males	Females		Both sexes	Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
ALL RELIGIONS.																
All ages	51,097,338	26,557,860	24,539,478	20,064,843	15,463,363	7,601,480	25,822,817	13,228,335	12,606,482	5,193,678	866,162	4,327,810				
0	1,586,003	822,006	764,437	137,137	572,968	354,143	191,777	9,183	10,044	289						
1	1,082,117	529,653	552,464	1,065,185	523,719	64,446	18,813	8,807	10,700	439						
2	1,538,841	798,467	820,174	1,582,241	798,967	798,974	35,233	10,177	23,036	567						
3	1,720,471	828,365	892,106	1,665,483	834,155	855,328	52,539	13,965	37,554	1,429						
4-6	4,788,448	2,431,305	2,356,144	4,502,139	2,380,121	2,142,018	277,083	10,861	207,222	10,227						
7-13	8,931,491	4,838,289	4,093,102	6,793,813	4,402,653	2,801,250	2,094,591	427,214	1,067,878	43,087						
14-16	3,103,639	1,518,778	1,584,180	1,269,817	1,100,803	162,674	1,777,648	307,747	1,868,902	38,613						
17-23	6,731,617	3,130,863	3,600,634	1,405,648	1,890,081	53,668	5,069,018	1,770,129	5,299,590	242,949						
24-26	3,570,887	1,801,277	1,769,580	307,735	286,601	21,074	3,025,213	1,477,089	1,548,124	237,698						
27-33	5,843,447	2,993,748	2,849,698	212,111	190,445	21,666	4,738,488	2,708,817	2,029,652	581,287						
34-36	2,516,513	1,243,279	1,028,234	48,311	38,681	7,630	2,377,681	1,336,953	1,740,726	481,521						
37-43	3,576,141	2,176,157	1,561,984	47,917	40,639	7,278	2,701,689	1,623,961	849,408	826,265						
44-46	1,822,309	878,487	642,852	16,115	12,881	3,234	1,086,053	795,129	270,924	440,141						
47-53	2,204,885	1,198,367	1,005,498	16,213	14,741	8,472	1,388,009	1,052,711	308,208	380,663						
54-56	735,465	318,975	335,480	6,415	4,977	1,438	438,231	337,899	30,289	310,819						
57-63	1,197,291	614,451	582,840	6,268	5,627	743	597,985	302,863	93,120	683,037						
64 and over	1,093,102	578,111	514,991	8,443	6,007	1,830	488,913	427,419	61,491	595,748						
M U S L I M .																
All ages	27,810,100	14,366,787	13,443,313	10,963,554	8,720,017	4,273,537	14,615,897	7,327,524	7,298,373	2,202,485	319,216	1,883,433				
0	847,635	326,414	321,221	635,108	320,753	314,855	12,237	5,650	6,722	195						
1	638,367	313,223	325,634	627,672	309,658	316,214	1,109	3,009	8,391	185						
2	840,541	422,883	417,658	912,586	446,364	460,944	27,330	6,497	20,833	353						
3	1,017,289	490,973	526,298	976,304	479,890	495,408	41,350	10,973	30,375	616						
4-6	2,820,741	1,423,425	1,397,316	2,068,758	1,375,182	1,293,576	206,196	47,493	138,703	5,787						
7-13	5,743,737	3,124,232	2,619,505	3,791,627	2,308,720	2,108,292	316,185	71,818	1,043,092	378,925						
14-16	1,744,821	830,561	914,280	628,296	530,452	75,754	1,085,400	378,430	818,065	23,885						
17-23	3,645,077	1,638,339	2,006,748	896,988	503,008	33,380	2,961,312	1,056,095	1,905,217	86,777						
24-26	1,821,748	887,721	904,028	113,689	105,364	8,324	1,722,618	833,483	889,135	85						
27-33	2,686,867	1,337,761	1,349,106	64,564	55,022	8,542	2,631,845	1,441,003	1,194,783	226,558						
34-36	1,232,089	756,059	573,010	12,224	10,080	3,144	1,142,982	721,063	421,029	173,153						
37-43	1,772,053	892,641	779,562	12,586	9,398	3,188	1,356,464	942,065	454,881	353,003						
44-46	764,593	447,155	317,408	4,486	3,092	1,394	553,106	421,087	132,019	197,007						
47-53	1,080,378	592,168	488,210	7,714	6,158	1,556	700,362	477,887	162,476	378,902						
54-56	356,347	205,585	150,782	1,480	1,058	424	224,294	187,111	37,183	130,673						
57-63	583,885	308,661	274,404	1,762	1,290	482	318,306	272,260	46,047	288,797						
64 and over	514,530	286,590	223,540	2,446	1,848	590	233,191	234,000	28,492	246,893						
H I N D U .																
All ages	22,212,069	11,638,285	10,573,784	8,560,994	5,458,803	3,102,191	10,736,124	5,852,188	5,063,936	2,914,951	526,284	2,366,687				
0	468,812	244,102	241,510	479,097	240,715	236,292	8,455	2,342	3,113	150						
1	416,987	204,097	212,870	412,382	201,907	210,445	4,443	3,141	2,272	202						
2	414,173	208,673	215,410	805,282	395,263	310,659	3,663	4,468	2,666	288						
3	683,463	316,668	365,204	851,418	418,527	437,061	11,576	7,751	6,844	770						
4-6	1,862,511	954,717	908,004	1,750,295	932,079	887,277	88,229	21,188	47,106	4,266						
7-13	3,672,531	1,936,925	1,637,008	2,831,340	1,627,049	1,004,299	720,485	107,063	618,402	21,718						
14-16	1,295,005	637,071	636,434	558,660	558,581	70,079	892,555	126,411	536,788	37,902						
17-23	2,858,725	1,401,721	1,225,004	768,114	728,510	30,101	2,028,225	690,571	1,385,654	162,266						
24-26	1,576,377	808,863	770,514	183,534	173,382	10,209	1,248,563	617,831	628,750	149,280						
27-33	2,567,983	1,392,979	1,176,084	138,582	128,025	10,627	2,071,769	1,214,265	867,504	352,642						
34-36	1,140,476	647,193	483,282	30,688	27,061	5,627	813,277	501,848	288,721	167,001						
37-43	1,727,685	948,684	779,002	124,868	104,747	20,121	1,241,181	670,681	570,560	453,064						
44-46	727,165	414,709	312,450	10,374	9,141	1,233	479,381	356,419	120,982	237,404						
47-53	1,078,615	580,517	498,123	12,923	10,693	2,296	621,187	481,419	139,788	144,580						
54-56	383,187	205,715	177,472	4,152	3,367	785	188,410	90,798	175,540	30,663						
57-63	587,811	318,902	268,908	6,004	4,071	433	264,607	210,101	45,406	318,000						
64 and over	554,330	275,224	278,106	5,255	4,485	820	214,350	184,009	30,841	334,726						

paragraph as a "critical" age. So long as returns of age are as vague as they are at present, considerable distortions are in any case inevitable. For comparison of any figures in India compiled from the present census returns any error introduced is negligible since it is probably the same in kind and proportion throughout, except where there are marked differences in what has been referred to as the "critical" age at which marital condition is changed. Such differences, particularly as regards those married, are bound to occur in different sexes and in different religious communities, since they are principally dependent on the most popular age of marriage within the community. In using the figures for comparison either with those of other countries at any time or with those of India at previous census enumerations it will be necessary, in estimating significant variations, to make such allowance as seems reasonable for each particular age-group. To effect such an adjustment with any hope of accuracy, it would be necessary to know the relative incidence in the changes of marital condition from one year of age to another in each sex of each religious community or group with characteristic marriage customs and this information is not to be had in full detail. For all religions, Muslims and Hindus, however, the constitution of the original sorters' groups has been reconstructed and is shown in statement No. VI-1 prepage, and a similar reconstruction can be carried out for any other population for which the figures (reached by the method adopted on the present occasion) include the age-group 4-5. The original sorters' groups may at least be presumed to be very tolerably accurate and compared with the quinary groups shown in previous years are comparatively free from the errors due to a tendency to return the age at nearest birthday and a preference for particular digits in returning age.

194. Effect of the Child Marriage Restraint Act.—During the decade under review the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) came into force on the 1st April 1930. Under this Act child marriages (i.e., marriages in which either of the contracting parties was, if a male under 18 and if a female under 14 years of age) were rendered illegal. Before it became law the mass of opinion was against the Bill in Bengal. Opposition was encountered from both Muslims and Hindus. The bill was unpopular on account of its novelty and was represented as an interference with social and religious custom. Parents apprehended that they would have their daughters longer on their hands and would no longer be able to get them married before there was any chance of their getting into trouble. They would have to be kept out of mischief and education as a means of securing this meant increased expense. Parents liked to get the anxiety of marrying their girls over as early as possible, and feared that the postponement of marriage would accentuate the difficulties already felt in some classes in finding matches for their daughters. It was feared for instance that an element of personal attraction would be introduced which would make it increasingly difficult to dispose of unattractive girls. It cannot be said, however, that there was any serious agitation although there were protest meetings in various parts of the province. Actually what happened was that there was a great rush to get children of tender age married before the Act came into force. The census figures naturally reflect this anxiety in the vast increase in the numbers of both sexes returned as married at early ages, which cannot be entirely explained by the considerations discussed in the last few paragraphs. Compared with 1921 throughout the whole province there are more than seven times as many boys and eight times as many girls married at the age-group 0-5 years and more than six times as many boys and four times as many girls married at the age-group 5-10. Amongst the Muslims the proportions are higher still. Amongst those aged 0-5 years nearly eight times as many boys and more than nine times as many girls and amongst those aged 5-10 years nine times as many boys and five times as many girls are now married as in 1921. Amongst the Hindus the greatest increase has been in the earliest age-group 0-5. In this group almost seven times as many boys and five times as many girls are now married as in 1921 and in the next age-group, 5-10, there are five times more married boys and twice as many married girls as then. In the age-group 10-15 in the whole province there are nearly three

STATEMENT No. VI-2.

Number of minor marriages registered monthly by Muhammadan marriage-registrars.

District.	January	February.	March	April	May	June	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Burdwan	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	2 06±0 36 2	4 77±0 53 28	14 0±0 60 64	12 88±1 78 38	12 22±0 97 19	11 66±1 30 23
Birbhum	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	0 44±0 10 5	2 53±0 30 30	18 38±1 29 19	3 22±0 71 11	3 11±0 72 19	1 77±0 57 23
Bankura	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	0 11±0 07 5	0 55±0 23 30	0 77±0 19 16	0 77±0 21 10	0 77±0 25 5	1 55±0 36 23
Midnapore	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	13 22±0 73 78	17 06±1 95 86	11 44±1 80 86	18 77±2 16 112	11 55±1 15 115	10 55±0 89 75
Hooghly	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	4 77±0 63 2	4 06±0 62 1	6 89±0 60 167	9 22±1 65 1	11 55±1 04 3	10 22±0 89 1
Howrah	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	9 33±2 16 17	7 11±1 27 9	7 44±1 17 83	9 88±1 31 74	4 88±0 80 3	5 55±1 30 1
24-Parganas	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	45 0±0 74 48	22 55±1 50 12	87 44±2 32 80	28 55±1 42 35	26 53±0 59 32	31 22±1 69 33
Calcutta	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	10 77±1 80 11	11 44±1 74 10	9 66±1 65 102	11 22±2 10 10	7 77±1 11 10	9 88±1 39 10
Nadia	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	4 11±0 67 14	5 22±0 93 19	6 55±0 65 125	4 77±0 63 13	7 22±1 14 6	3 66±0 46 7
Murshidabad	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	2 39±0 45 9	11 44±1 26 9	15 06±0 38 178	10 22±1 64 19	14 0±0 81 19	10 88±1 34 19
Jessore	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	18 06±2 64 24	17 06±3 78 41	15 77±1 93 277	14 33±1 78 33	18 44±2 89 1	11 33±1 01 1
Khulna	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	20 44±0 76 48	23 77±2 32 72	30 66±1 55 616	24 22±0 92 110	31 0±1 97 20	28 55±0 87 30
Rajshahi	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	4 06±0 80 11	18 06±6 95 85	28 55±2 37 40	25 0±0 66 40	9 22±0 83 40	9 55±1 13 40
Dinajpur	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	4 06±0 68 14	4 88±0 73 14	6 22±1 09 122	5 11±1 53 53	12 58±1 54 10	21 53±2 16 10
Jalpaiguri	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	3 41±0 53 3	3 11±0 59 6	4 06±0 59 112	5 11±0 89 80	6 06±0 62 2	14 0±0 93 2
Darjeeling	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	0 38±0 10 1	0 11±0 07 1	0 22±0 15 11	0 38±0 11 11	0 44±0 23 11	0 33±0 11 11
Rangpur	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	14 0±1 58 3	32 33±3 17 64	30 22±1 27 130	10 38±1 06 17	10 77±1 43 17	10 0±0 24 17
Bogra	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	0 88±1 63 60	0 88±1 63 83	18 44±0 72 138	12 33±0 54 110	4 77±0 45 110	1 88±0 59 110
Pabna	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	132 22±1 17 112	129 11±1 90 112	157 44±15 32 112	74 77±0 74 112	103 77±1 33 112	68 06±10 87 112
Malda	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	3 33±1 73 23	10 0±1 13 23	2 11±0 37 198	4 55±2 74 5	3 77±1 31 5	3 55±1 10 5
Dacca	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	317 44±32 77 614	823 0±32 70 858	327 22±33 99 1,581	31 06±5 31 518	804 44±35 03 388	238 83±39 35 388
Mymensingh	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	2,002 0±128 61 5,062	2,607 88±123 78 7,797	22 110 11 2,181	915 55±70 18 35	523 44±3 17 35	320 83±21 96 35
Fardpur	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	482 11±28 80 5,012	484 0±32 64 2,694	416 0±51 76 5,761	340 22±24 21 303	340 0±27 39 67	335 06±22 76 67
Bakarganj	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	165 88±1 53 419	382 11±21 37 1,320	493 55±22 71 5,782	360 88±12 03 4,452	745 11±55 49 54	650 22±33 07 54
Tippera	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	74 88±5 78 183	108 55±6 94 118	131 22±6 71 2,604	86 88±4 23 2,562	54 88±2 90 41	50 11±1 82 41
Noakhali	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	225 77±1 80 452	382 55±1 78 309	423 0±20 55 3,810	357 88±12 59 3,810	371 11±1 78 3,810	362 11±1 78 3,810
Chittagong	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	233 55±23 46 340	238 88±10 22 319	238 06±7 06 2,566	271 83±14 17 481	501 66±7 73 314	440 11±20 84 105

District	July	August.	September	October.	November.	December.	Average.	
1	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
Burdwan	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	8 33±1 22 2	2 65±0 50 27	1 06±0 24 35	0 77±0 22 35	1 06±0 41 35	1 33±0 20 46	6 21±0 39 46
Birbhum	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	1 33±0 30 1	0 22±0 15 10	0 88±0 31 10	0 11±0 07 10	0 33±0 22 10	0 11±0 07 10	2 29±0 27 10
Bankura	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	0 33±0 11 1	0 22±0 10 10	0 0±0 00 10	0 22±0 12 10	0 33±0 12 10	0 11±0 07 10	0 48±0 06 10
Midnapore	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	16 06±1 84 19	11 44±1 45 40	8 22±1 05 45	8 88±0 94 88	13 22±2 51 85	13 44±0 83 85	13 09±0 47 85
Hooghly	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	4 33±0 63 19	4 77±1 01 22	0 68±0 26 22	3 44±0 58 22	3 22±0 55 22	4 44±0 60 22	5 66±0 31 22
Howrah	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	7 83±1 67 19	7 06±1 22 20	4 77±0 66 21	4 33±0 63 21	5 04±0 75 21	8 04±1 20 21	7 08±0 26 21
24-Parganas	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	25 53±4 11 48	18 88±0 80 27	15 53±1 31 35	20 06±1 53 35	29 06±1 41 35	21 22±0 28 35	31 08±1 33 35
Calcutta	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	5 44±0 93 5	4 06±0 63 5	3 44±0 67 10	7 33±1 18 7	8 11±0 79 6	13 00±2 42 8	8 56±0 45 8
Nadia	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	6 55±0 70 5	5 22±1 00 5	1 33±0 22 10	2 06±0 10 7	2 22±0 57 6	3 22±0 24 8	4 40±0 29 8
Murshidabad	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	5 66±0 78 5	2 22±0 33 3	0 77±0 25 10	2 11±0 35 7	1 11±0 31 6	1 66±0 39 8	6 61±0 39 8
Jessore	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	12 44±1 25 19	9 11±1 19 4	6 0±1 12 3	10 06±0 31 3	13 77±0 59 3	15 0±1 09 3	13 77±0 67 3
Khulna	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	22 0±1 53 21	17 77±0 66 20	16 33±1 01 21	12 88±0 80 26	18 22±1 17 26	29 0±1 07 18	22 41±0 55 18
Rajshahi	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	8 11±0 68 19	4 44±0 23 4	2 11±0 36 3	1 55±0 36 3	2 77±0 43 3	4 11±0 43 3	9 00±0 63 3
Dinajpur	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	21 88±2 25 19	11 22±1 41 4	4 55±0 63 3	1 22±0 55 3	2 22±0 35 3	4 22±0 60 3	3 39±0 55 3
Jalpaiguri	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	6 44±1 27 1	3 55±0 70 1	2 11±0 47 1	1 88±0 43 1	3 33±0 43 1	5 11±0 56 1	4 95±0 29 1
Darjeeling	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	0 33±0 11 1	0 11±0 07 1	0 11±0 07 1	0 11±0 07 1	0 22±0 16 1	0 22±0 16 1	0 26±0 04 1
Rangpur	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	8 44±0 73 3	5 33±0 33 3	3 88±0 20 2	0 0±0 00 2	7 44±0 96 3	13 44±0 83 6	12 99±0 08 6
Bogra	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	0 11±0 07 1	0 0±0 00 1	0 06±0 16 1	0 88±0 18 1	1 0±0 11 1	0 55±0 16 1	5 81±0 52 1
Pabna	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	52 77±6 04 48	78 55±6 29 48	58 44±10 33 48	65 06±10 32 48	68 66±10 32 48	65 06±10 32 48	85 42±8 31 48
Malda	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	0 88±0 20 22	0 55±0 25 22	0 22±0 15 22	0 33±0 11 22	0 33±0 22 22	0 22±0 10 22	2 49±0 48 22
Dacca	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	255 44±40 80 182	249 55±39 93 182	241 93±11 03 182	225 06±46 46 182	257 77±39 38 182	247 06±41 70 182	276 83±12 48 182
Mymensingh	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	221 55±12 62 48	178 33±10 33 48	190 66±12 86 48	352 77±18 01 48	477 77±23 55 48	636 55±33 54 48	910 01±06 88 48
Fardpur	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	327 88±18 29 48	326 06±18 87 48	313 11±18 89 48	385 55±33 13 48	388 66±36 11 48	447 44±41 81 48	377 70±8 22 48
Bakarganj	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	301 0±11 56 24	101 88±2 57 5	64 33±6 70 8	105 33±6 50 8	144 06±0 9 8	237 65±17 07 8	304 88±14 66 8
Tippera	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	46 33±7 37 19	21 11±2 64 4	28 44±2 70 3	54 33±6 75 3	47 33±3 65 3	50 44±3 07 3	61 88±1 00 3
Noakhali	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	297 88±10 38 48	117 88±4 83 48	119 66±7 20 48	177 88±10 38 48	167 55±6 06 48	268 44±8 20 48	288 44±8 20 48
Chittagong	Av. 1921-29 Ac. 1930	417 22±22 04 108	240 88±13 73 35	214 33±9 63 35	259 55±9 82 35	289 44±14 72 35	258 55±14 84 35	300 7±7 39 35

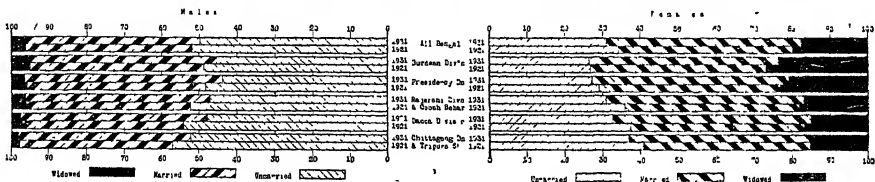
times as many boys married as in 1921 the proportionate increase being greatest in the case of Muslims ; and amongst girls there are now 15 married for every 12 married at the same age-group at the previous census. There can be no doubt that the enormous increase was brought about to a very considerable extent by early marriages to avoid the forthcoming restrictive legislation. Marriages are not compulsorily registered but there is a provision for the registration of marriages by Muslims for which there are special Muhammadan marriage registrars. Statement No. VI-2 prepage shows for all districts of Bengal except the Chittagong Hill Tracts the monthly number of minor marriages registered by Muhammadan marriage registrars (a) on the average between 1921 and 1929 and (b) in each month of 1930. It is of course possible that a larger proportion of marriages solemnised was registered immediately before the passing of the Act in order that evidence might be available, if necessary, to show that marriages had been contracted before the Act came into force and amounted to no infringement of its provisions, but the effect of this consideration is probably comparatively slight and for practical purposes it may be considered that the motive with which these marriages were registered was the same throughout the whole of the decade. Upon this assumption it is clear that during the months immediately preceding the date on which the Act came into force there was a great increase in the number of marriages registered and consequently by inference in the total number of marriages contracted amongst the Muslims it is safe to assume that there was a similar increase also amongst the Hindus. In very nearly all districts the number of marriages registered after the Act became law is practically negligible, but during the months of January to April 1930 there was a great and in some districts an enormous increase in the number of child marriages registered. The figures of Bakarganj illustrate this. The monthly average of minor marriages registered during 1921-1929 was 305. In the four months from January to April the numbers registered were respectively 419, 1,320, 8,782 and 4,452 compared with monthly averages for the same months respectively of 166, 382, 494 and 366 ; and during the subsequent months in 1930 in no case was a larger number than 64 minor marriages registered and that occurred in the month of May just after the Act came into force during which month on the average 745 marriages had been registered during the preceding nine years. In some parts of the country, as for instance in Midnapore and 24-Parganas as also to a less extent in Nadia and Khulna, the number of marriages registered continued throughout the remaining months of 1930 to approach or even exceed the average number monthly recorded during the previous nine years. But in the majority of districts the registration of marriages practically ceased after April, May or June in 1930. This does not prove that no child marriages took place and the fact that child marriages are now illegal may have prevented the registration of some which occurred but the rush to get children married before the Act came into force justifies an inference from the absence of registration that the number of child marriages contracted was reduced and that there was no general intention to flout the provisions of the Act. In many cases children in arms had been contracted in marriage and almost everywhere parents had recklessly incurred debts for the celebration of marriages on which fantastic rates of interest were charged amounting to as much as 78 per cent. per annum in instances reported in Bogra district. By the time the census was taken parents were in many cases beginning to regret these marriages. They had led or were bound to lead to an increase in the number of child widows, a result also reflected in the census returns, and in some cases an attempt was made to take advantage of the census to repudiate marriages by refusing to recognise them when, for instance as in Tippera, it transpired that the parents of the bridegroom were unable to provide the promised prompt dower. Since the Act came into operation up to the middle of 1931 there have been less than 20 cases brought under it but the number of cases is no index of the extent to which the provisions of the Act are being infringed since cognisance can be taken only upon a complaint made within one year of the solemnisation of the marriage and complainants are liable to be called upon to execute a bond as security for payment of compensation. The general attitude of Hindus to the question

of child marriage is discussed in chapter XI. Amongst the educated in general, even the orthodox acquiesce in the Act owing to the increasing difficulty of getting girls married before the age of 14 in present economic conditions and to the development of modern ideas but bodies like the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Marwaris, which incidentally represent principally other than Bengali interests, continue to protest against it. It is not however so easy to gauge the trend of social opinion amongst Muslims with whom the inconveniences of child marriage are not so serious owing to the facility for divorce and remarriage afforded by their social practices and it may accordingly be assumed that particularly amongst the uneducated the balance of advantage still appears to lie in favour of child marriage.

195. Marital condition by sexes.—Diagram No. VI-1 shows the numbers by sexes in each marital condition. The figures are principally contained in subsidiary tables I and II. The figures for divisions for 1921 are taken direct

DIAGRAM No. VI-1.

Percentage of each marital condition in each sex by natural divisions, all religions, 1921 and 1931.



from the report of that year and are reproduced together with the other figures also illustrated in the accompanying statement No. VI-3. Rather less than half the males at all ages (49·8 per cent.) are married and only 3·3 per cent. are widowers. Amongst females rather more than half (51·4 per cent.) are

STATEMENT No. VI-3.

Number per 1,000 of each sex in each marital condition by natural division and in some other provinces, 1921 and 1931.

Province and Division	1921						1931.					
	Males			Females.			Males.			Females.		
	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widow-ed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bengal	518	444	38	343	460	197	499	498	33	310	514	176
Burdwan	487	402	51	571	462	267	452	505	43	265	500	236
Presidency	120	477	44	293	477	230	460	528	30	276	519	207
*Rajshahi	520	490	41	361	458	181	471	492	37	313	529	197
Dacca	540	430	30	375	457	168	478	498	26	327	523	150
†Chittagong	569	408	25	409	442	149	519	461	20	370	497	139
Bihar and Orissa	454	466	60	328	468	184	420	529	51	312	527	161
Madras	531	425	44	373	438	198	528	434	40	278	444	178
Bombay	481	451	68	333	484	183	471	476	53	336	508	166

*With Cooh Behar.

†With Tripura State.

married, the increased proportion being naturally due to the smaller number of females, and 17·6 are widows. There are thus in every 1,000 of the same sex 469 males and 310 females unmarried.

196. Variations by divisions.—The variations between divisions in the relative proportions in each marital condition are comparatively small. Amongst males the proportion married is highest in the Presidency Division where 528 are married amongst every 1,000 males. It is lowest in the Chittagong Division with Tripura where there are only 461 in every 1,000 married. But in Chittagong Division with Tripura the proportion of widowers is also smallest being 20 in every 1,000, the nearest approach to is the figure of Dacca Division, 26. The largest proportion of widowers is found in Western Bengal (Burdwan Division) where it is 43 per 1,000. Chittagong Division with Tripura State has very much the largest proportion of males unmarried and there are 519 bachelors in every

1,000 males in this division. In the Presidency Division where the proportion married is greatest the proportion unmarried is least and amounts to only 436 in every 1,000. Amongst females the largest proportion married is not in the Presidency Division, where the presence of a number of married men in Calcutta and industrial centres whose wives are outside Bengal throws up the proportion of married men without a corresponding increase in the proportion of married women, but in Dacca Division where 523 out of every 1,000 are married. The average in the whole of Bengal is 514 married in every 1,000 women and the lowest ratio as amongst men is in Chittagong Division with Tripura State where only 497 in every 1,000 women are married and where the largest proportion (370 in every 1,000 compared with an average of 310) is unmarried and the smallest proportion (133 per 1,000 compared with an average of 176) is widowed. The proportion of widowed amongst females is on the average five times as great as amongst males.

197. **General increase in proportions married.**—In all divisions there has been since the last census was taken a considerable increase in the proportions married. This has been gained both from the unmarried (which it is due very largely to marriages hastily undertaken to escape the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act) and, also, to a rather less extent and very much more noticeably in the case of females than in the case of males, at the expense of those widowed. The numbers in each thousand females who are widows have decreased in the whole of Bengal from 197 in 1921 to 176 on the present occasion. This represents a genuine increase in the prevalence of widow remarriage and although the population has increased in every division there is a decrease in the actual numbers returned as widowed in the whole of Bengal. Thus there are now over 66 thousand less widowers and over 201 thousand less widows than there were in 1921, in spite of the fact that the rush of marriages to forestall Child Marriage Restraint Act has contributed to an increase in Bengal taken as a whole in the number of persons widowed of both sexes between the ages 0 and 5 and also between the ages 5 and 10. The details of these decreases will be considered when discussing the marital condition ratios by religions.

198. **Comparison with other provinces.**—Statement No. VI-3 also shows the proportions in each marital condition in 1921 and 1931 in the three provinces for which details were at hand when this chapter was prepared. There has been in every province an increase in both sexes in the proportions married, and, in all cases, except amongst females in Madras the increase has been gained principally from the numbers unmarried as well as to a lesser extent from the proportions previously returned as widow. In Madras,

STATEMENT No. VI-4.

Number per 1,000 of each sex, Hindus and Muslims, in each marital condition in Bengal and some other provinces, 1931.

Province	Hindu						Muslim					
	Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
	Un-married	Married	Widow-ed.	Un-married.	Married	Widow-ed.	Un-married	Married	Widow-ed.	Un-married	Married	Widow-ed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bengal	469	498	33	293	481	226	468	510	22	313	542	140
Bihar and Orissa	413	534	63	302	531	167	412	547	41	296	555	149
Madras	521	438	41	370	448	182	583	389	28	426	415	169
Bombay	455	498	52	321	516	163	520	422	58	388	486	132

however, there has been an increase in the proportion of females unmarried and the increase in the proportion married is entirely due to the decrease in the proportions of widows. Amongst the Hindus a smaller proportion of both sexes is married, but a larger proportion of females are widows in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa, Madras or Bombay, and there are proportionately fewer widows in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa and Bombay. Amongst Muslims there are in both sexes, proportionately, fewer married in Madras and Bombay and more married in Bihar and Orissa than in Bengal, and, as a corollary, there are proportionately more unmarried in Madras and Bombay, and less in Bihar and Orissa. In both sexes, however, except females in

Bombay, there are proportionately fewer widows in Bengal than in these other provinces. The figures referred to in the latter part of this paragraph are given in statement No. VI-4 prepage. In England and Wales in 1921 out of 1,000 of the same sex 414 were married and 550 single amongst males and 383 were married and 535 single amongst females.

199. **Marital condition in towns.**—The figures for marital conditions by sexes in towns offer an interesting comparison with those already discussed. The towns shown in subsidiary table V to chapter III are those selected for this comparison and they have been divided into industrial and non-industrial

STATEMENT No. VI-5.

Number per mille of the same sex and age in each marital condition in selected industrial and non-industrial urban areas, 1931.

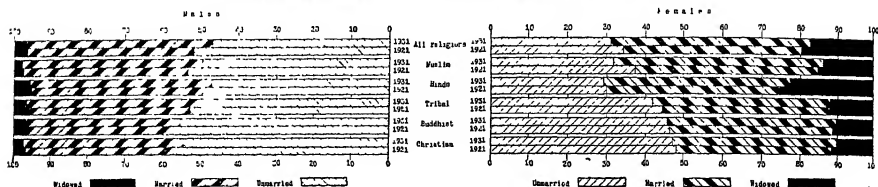
Age-group	Both sexes.			Males			Females		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INDUSTRIAL TOWNS.									
0-5	979	20	1	981	10	..	977	21	2
0-1	987	13	..	987	14	..	988	12	..
1-3	987	10	..	987	12	..	988	12	..
3-5	984	16	..	984	16	..	983	16	..
5-10	973	25	2	976	23	1	969	28	3
10-15	966	33	2	973	27	..	968	33	4
15-20	882	106	2	923	78	1	852	144	4
20-30	782	233	8	850	148	2	638	352	10
30-40	416	584	20	562	432	6	183	819	48
40-50	202	785	43	265	719	16	47	842	111
50-60	41	888	91	63	806	82	23	727	220
60 & over	27	785	178	31	809	60	17	326	487
	20	680	300	23	872	103	16	345	650
	20	625	455	28	787	185	10	195	796
NON-INDUSTRIAL TOWNS.									
0-5	980	19	1	985	15	..	974	24	2
0-1	990	10	..	993	7	..	987	13	..
1-3	985	15	..	987	13	..	982	17	..
3-5	984	19	..	989	11	..	979	19	..
5-10	974	24	2	981	18	1	969	29	4
10-15	966	33	2	974	25	1	954	40	4
15-20	880	106	4	987	42	1	815	178	7
20-30	784	228	8	917	81	2	687	397	10
30-40	413	555	32	650	343	7	107	830	63
40-50	190	735	75	312	665	23	26	839	145
50-60	45	792	183	70	875	55	8	607	325
60 & over	19	694	287	28	802	110	6	402	533
	13	562	425	20	795	185	8	250	717
	14	392	594	25	643	332	8	145	854

groups. Within each group the proportions at each marital condition have been worked out for each sex and are shown in statement No. VI-5. Amongst males there are more married per thousand in each age-group in industrial towns than in non-industrial towns. Wage-earners with families to support who are not with them are responsible for this. Amongst females, on the other hand, there are more married in each age-group in non-industrial towns up to the age of 20 and in industrial towns beyond that age. Amongst males in the industrial towns a smaller proportion is both widowed and single at each age-group than in the non-industrial towns, except that after the age of 15 each age-group shows a considerably larger number of single men in industrial than in non-industrial towns. Amongst females, on the other hand, at every age-group in non-industrial towns there is a larger proportion of spinsters than in industrial towns whilst the number of widows is proportionately smaller.

200. **Marital condition by religion.**—The marital condition ratios in each religion are illustrated in diagram No. VI-2 overleaf plotted from subsidiary table I. The proportionate distribution of the population by marital conditions is of course the same for all religions as is given in diagram No. VI-1 for all Bengal. Amongst males the highest proportion married is found amongst Muslims, 51 in every 100 of whom are married; and it is the Muslims also amongst whom the smallest proportion (only 22 in every 1,000) are widowers. Muslim females also have the largest proportion married, viz., 542 in every 1,000. But Christians, Buddhists and those professing tribal religions have all a smaller proportionate incidence of widowhood than the Muslims amongst whom 140 in every 1,000 women are widows. Amongst

males the smallest proportion married, 413 of every 1,000, is amongst the Buddhists. Christians with 428 and those professing tribal religions with 474 come next. Amongst females only 102 in every 1,000 Christians are widowed and the figure for Buddhists, 103, is almost the same. But the average for all religions is exceeded only amongst the Hindus amongst whom 226 in every 1,000 women are widows. The largest proportion of unmarried

DIAGRAM No. VI-2.
Percentage of each marital condition in each sex by religions, 1921 and 1931.



men is naturally found amongst the Buddhists and Christians whose married and widowed ratios are small. There are 553 Buddhist and 545 Christian males unmarried in every 1,000 of their sex and religion. The proportion amongst Muslims and Hindus is almost exactly the same being for Muslims 468 and for Hindus 469 per 1,000. In all religions the proportion of females unmarried is less than the corresponding proportion of males. The proportions are smallest amongst the Hindus only 293 in every 1,000 of whom are unmarried and amongst the principal religions Hindus are the only ones whose unmarried ratio amongst females is less than the average of 310 per 1,000. In every 1,000 Muslim women 318 are unmarried but it is Christians and Buddhists amongst whom the largest proportion are unmarried, viz., 472 and 458 in each 1,000 respectively. The proportion unmarried has in each case declined since 1921, least notably in the case of Buddhist females and Hindu females and most notable in the case of Muslim females amongst whom in 1921 as many as 373 in every 1,000 were unmarried. The decrease has been contributed principally by the increase in the proportion married. Amongst females of tribal religions the decrease in the proportion of widows is very small and amounts to only 1 in every 1,000 but amongst the Hindus there are now in every 1,000 women 28 less widows than there were in 1921 and there are 21 less in every 1,000 in the whole population of the province. Amongst the Muslims the proportion has decreased by 15 in every 1,000 and decreases of 14 and 12 respectively are shown in the numbers per 1,000 widowed amongst Christians and Buddhists. The actual figures for those widowed in each religion are even more remarkable. There have been increases in the total population, yet there are actually nearly 41 thousand less Muslim women and over 30 thousand less Muslim men widowed in spite of apparent increases in both sexes in the age-groups 0 to 5 and 5 to 10 and amongst men in the age-group 10 to 15. Similarly amongst Hindus although there have been apparent increases in the numbers of widows in the age-group 0 to 5 and 5 to 10 compared with 1921 the actual numbers in each subsequent age-group are less and at all ages there are over 142 thousand women and over 28 thousand men less widowed in 1931 than there were in 1921. Persons professing tribal religions show similar figures. There are apparently more of both sexes widowed between the ages of 0 and 5 and more women between the ages of 5 and 10 than there were in 1921, but at all ages more than 19 thousand females and 8 thousand males less were returned as widowed on the present occasion than previously. Amongst Buddhists, however, there has been an increase in the actual numbers widowed of 478 males and 1,004 females which has been so much less than the increase in the numbers married and unmarried that the proportions widowed have declined both in the case of females and to a smaller extent also in the case of males. Actually at age-groups 10 to 15, 20 to 25, 30 to 35, 40 to 45 and 70 and over amongst men and at age-groups 30 to 35, 40 to 45, 60 to 65 and 70 and over amongst females the numbers

widowed have apparently declined since 1921 but in this as in all comparisons involving age-groups at different years deductions must take account of the effect on the age distribution in 1931 of the method of forming the quinquennial groups shown. Amongst Christians there are actually more females widowed in 1931 than there were in 1921, a circumstance which however has not prevented a proportionate decline of no less than 14 in every 1,000 females whilst the decrease in the same religion in the actual number of males widowed has affected a proportionate decrease only from 36 to 27 in every 1,000 of the same religion.

201. Proportions in Sikkim.—In Sikkim the numbers of widowers and widows have increased since 1921 by 455 and 1,355. There has been a decrease amongst Hindus of 131 males and 197 females returned under this condition but there has also been a decrease in the total number of Hindus in the state. The proportions widowed in all religions in the state have decreased to a slight extent in the case of males and by some 5 per 1,000 in the case of females.

202. Increase of widow remarriage in cities.—An increasing prevalence of widow remarriage indicated by a decrease in the proportion of widows is evidently shown in each of the three cities, Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca. Figures for Calcutta city are not immediately comparable with those in 1921 since the city has now absorbed part of the area then included in the suburbs of Calcutta outside the municipal area; but the area concerned is exactly the same now as then in the case of Calcutta with the suburbs in 24 Parganas. In this area there has been a decrease in actual numbers both of males and females returned as widows amounting in the case of males to 3,760 and in the case of females to 8,439. Howrah, which has also increased considerably during the decade has returned 1,203 males and 1,296 females less as widowed in 1931 than in 1921. Similarly Dacca also in spite of a considerable increase has 260 males and 445 females less in this marital condition than there were in 1921. The figures discussed in this and the preceding paragraphs may be taken as a commentary upon the remarks relative to widow remarriage contained in chapter XI.

203. Proportional distribution by sex and age-group.—Statement No. VI-6 shows the distribution of 10,000 of each sex by age periods. The statement is

STATEMENT No. VI-6.

Distribution by age and marital conditions of 10,000 of each sex, 1931.

Age	Males.				Females			
	All marital conditions	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	All marital conditions	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
All ages	10,000	4,694	4,981	325	10,000	3,097	5,137	1,766
0-5	1,477	1,449	28	..	1,636	1,557	77	2
5-10	1,368	1,274	93	1	1,315	923	383	9
10-15	1,196	1,087	107	2	1,187	821	618	18
15-20	878	778	412	6	1,086	51	949	86
20-25	929	304	613	12	1,094	22	986	..
25-30	993	90	785	25	890	9	729	142
30-35	833	43	761	29	741	6	686	170
35-40	648	15	599	34	640	6	324	213
40-45	545	10	499	36	448	2	228	210
45-50	391	5	348	38	344	1	120	223
50-55	305	4	265	36	273	1	78	194
55-60	195	2	192	91	187	..	36	151
60 and over	334	8	256	70	328	1	44	283

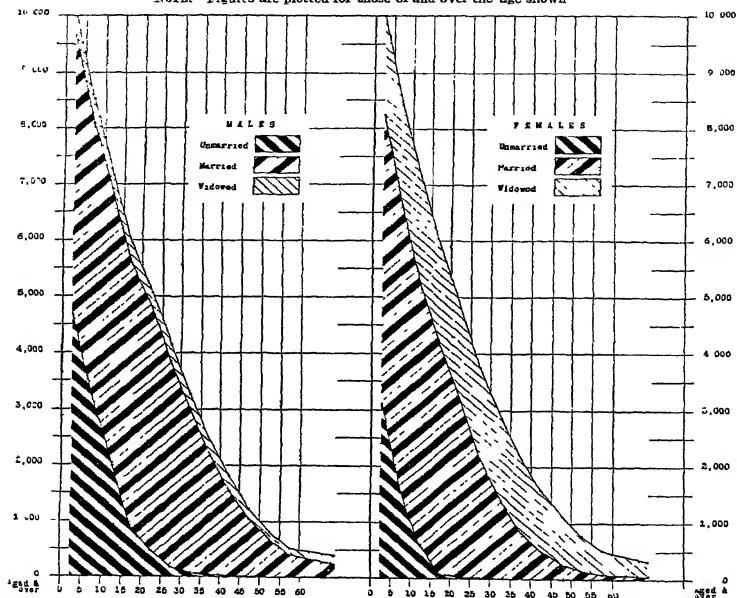
an expansion of the figures appearing in subsidiary table III for four age-groups only. Diagram No. VI-3 overleaf illustrates the statement. But in it what are plotted are the points representing the numbers of and over the ages shown and within these the distribution of marital condition. The diagram, therefore, represents for each age shown the figure reached by summing all the entries of and below the line in statement No. VI-6 in which the age occurs at the earlier limit of a group. In the total population the age-group 25-30 amongst males and 20-25 amongst females supplies the largest proportion of those married. The diagram illustrates at a glance the principal features in the marital condition of the population. It indicates for instance very clearly that in 10,000 of each sex there is a very much smaller number

of females unmarried at all ages and unmarried amongst those aged and over a given year, whilst at the same time the proportion widowed amongst females is very considerably in excess of that amongst males. The diagram can also

DIAGRAM No. VI-3.

Distribution by age and marital condition of 10,000 of each sex, 1931.

NOTE.—Figures are plotted for those of and over the age shown



be used to give a rough indication of the marital conditions amongst those surviving in a population of 10,000 distributed by age and marital condition as at the present census.

204. **Marital condition at age-groups.**—The proportionate distribution by marital condition in each age-group also in rather greater detail than is given in subsidiary table I is shown for each sex in statement No. VI-7 and

STATEMENT No. VI-7.

Distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex in the same age-group, 1931.

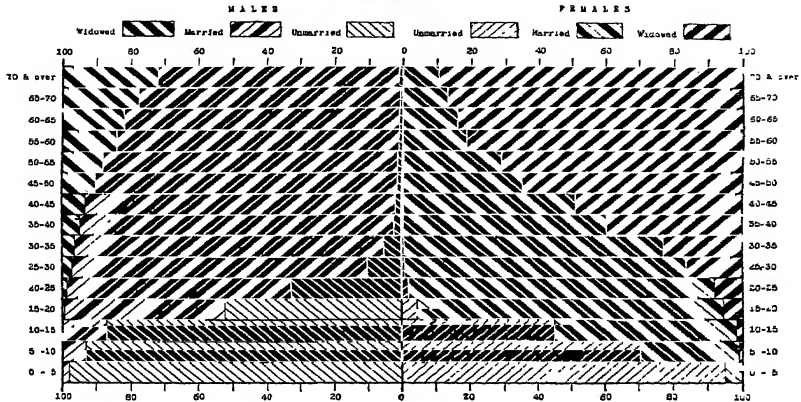
Age-group	Males			Females		
	Un-married.	Married.	Widowed.	Un-married.	Married.	Widowed.
0-5	661	19	1	952	47	1
5-10	661	98	1	702	281	7
10-15	867	131	2	450	534	16
15-20	523	470	7	43	890	53
20-25	22	924	13	30	901	79
25-30	190	873	27	10	824	182
30-35	52	913	35	8	782	230
35-40	22	924	53	6	600	394
40-45	18	915	67	5	508	437
45-50	13	889	98	4	348	648
50-55	12	871	117	4	286	710
55-60	10	839	158	3	191	806
60-65	9	811	180	2	162	836
65-70	10	768	222	3	131	866
70 and over	13	708	279	3	102	896

25, that is at an average age of $22\frac{1}{2}$ years, in all but five cases out of 50 she will already have been married and in nearly 9 cases out of 100 she will already be a widow. By the time she is 45 in at least one case out of every two she will have been widowed, an inevitable result when women are married at an early age to men considerably older than themselves and in a certain part at least

of the population where widows are forbidden to remarry. The proportion of widows at ages above 55 to 60 is very great indeed. In the group 55-60 four women in every five and in the last age-group, 70 and over, nearly 9 in

DIAGRAM No. VI-4.

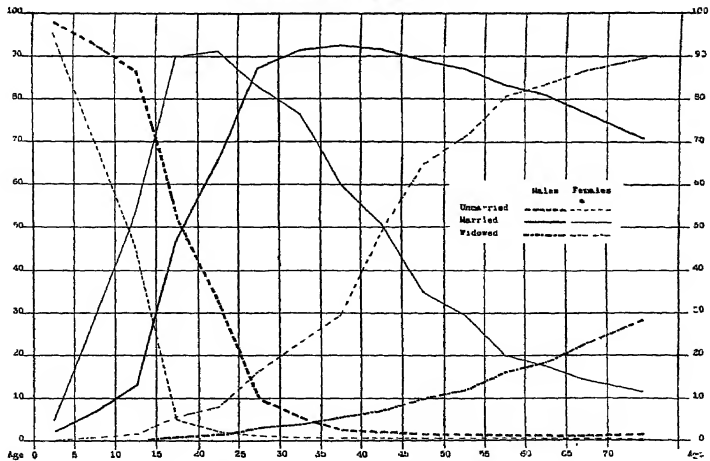
Distribution by marital condition of one hundred persons of the same sex and age at quinary age-groups.



every 10 are widowed. Amongst males it is not until the age-group 35 to 40 is reached that only 1 in every 50 is unmarried, a condition reached 15 years earlier in the case of women, and although the proportion of widowers naturally increases with each quinquennium, even at its greatest in the age-group 70 and over it is very considerably less than amongst women in the

DIAGRAM No. VI-5.

Numbers of each sex at quinary age-groups unmarried, married and widowed per 100 of the same sex and age-group, 1931.



age-group 35 to 40, or roughly half that age. Amongst an equal number of women and men of the same age-group up to about the age of 45 there will be 7 to 8 times as many widows as widowers. This proportion is later reduced but even at the age 65 to 70 there are 4 widows for every widower and at the

last age-group, 70 and over, there are nearly 3. A comparison between the sexes by marital condition ratios is perhaps most clearly shown, however, by diagram No. VI-5 prepage. From about age 30 in the case of women and 55 in the case of men the proportions unmarried are so small that the curves for those widowed practically reciprocate the curves for the married. The proportion of men whose wives are still living is highest in the age-group 35-40, but the largest proportion of women with husbands alive is passed after the age-group 20 to 25. By the time they reach 30 to 35 only 762 women in each 1,000 will have their husbands alive whereas in the case of men right up to the age 65 to 70 at least 768 in every 1,000 will still have their wives living. Even in the last age-group, 70 and over, there will be 708 men out of every 1,000 whose wives are still alive, but so high a proportion of women will not retain their husbands beyond an average age of $32\frac{1}{2}$.

205. **Comparison with England and Wales.**—Figures comparable with those discussed in the previous paragraph are shown for England and Wales in 1921 in statement No. VI-8. The comparison by individual age-groups is vitiated by considerations earlier adduced but the figures for all ages are entirely comparable. The proportion amongst an equal number of each sex who are widowed at any age period is considerably less in England and Wales than in Bengal except at the last age-group amongst males when the proportion is higher. In

STATEMENT No. VI-8.

Numbers unmarried, married and widowed per 1,000 of the same sex and age-group, England and Wales, 1921.

NOTE.—Divorced persons are included amongst those widowed.

Age-group	Males			Females		
	Un-married.	Mar-ried.	Widow-ed.	Un-married	Mar-ried	Widow-ed
All ages	550	414	36	535	383	82
0-5	1,000	.	.	1,000	.	.
5-10	1,000	.	.	1,000	.	.
10-15	1,000	.	.	1,000	.	.
15-20	996	4	1	982	18	4
20-25	822	178	1	726	270	22
25-30	446	548	6	410	508	48
30-35	231	768	18	260	697	56
35-40	103	815	10	204	710	69
40-45	137	837	26	180	751	93
45-50	124	837	39	168	730	141
50-55	115	824	61	159	700	207
55-60	108	802	92	135	638	298
60-65	100	750	141	151	551	420
65-70	94	688	218	139	441	618
70 and over	80	528	392	130	246	618

England and Wales approximately half the population in each sex is married by about the age of 25 and three-quarters by about the average age of $32\frac{1}{2}$ with males and $42\frac{1}{2}$ with females. There is very considerably less disparity in the ages of husbands and wives judging by the proportions in each sex of those who are married at the same age period, for the proportions in England and Wales are very much more equal than in Bengal. In an equal number of females, all of the same age-group, there are in Bengal in every group very many more times the number widowed than in England and Wales and between the ages of about 35 to 45 in equal numbers of English and Bengali women there will be nearly eight times as many widows amongst the Bengalis as amongst the English. At every age there is a considerably larger proportion unmarried in England and Wales than in Bengal, and in the age-group 25 to 30 in equal numbers there will be found more than forty times as many spinsters in England and Wales as in Bengal, a proportion which varies comparatively little up to the age of 55 and between that age and 65 increases to between 50 and 75 times as many in England and Wales as in Bengal.

206. **Marital condition in 1911, 1921 and 1931.**—Figures similar to those shown in the last two diagrams are illustrated from subsidiary table I for rather fewer age-groups in diagram No. VI-6. Here the figures are plotted for 1911, 1921 and 1931 by quinquennial age-groups up the age of 20 and by groups of 20 years thereafter up to 60. The curves plotted for 1911 and 1921 are almost identical but both show considerable variations from the curves of 1931. These variations are to some extent the result of differences in the age grouping. Amongst males there has apparently been an appreciable increase in the proportions married and a decrease in the proportions unmarried at every age-group. Amongst females the variations do not seem to be so pronounced except in the two earliest age-groups; but in each 1,000 females

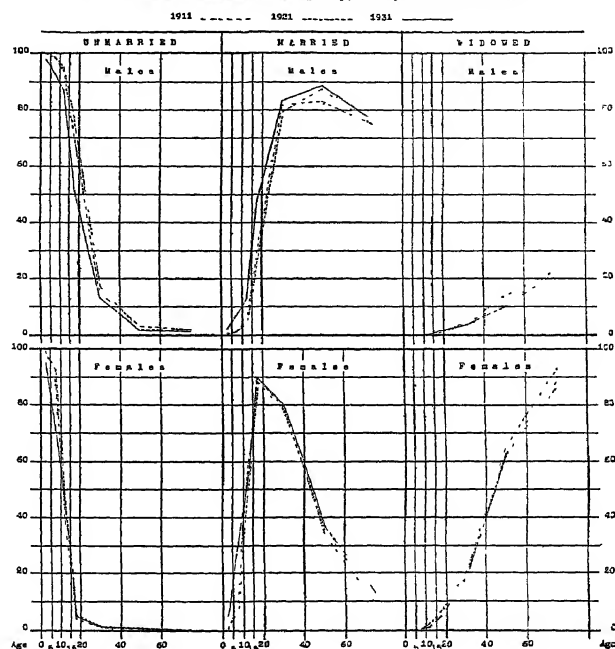
aged 5-10 the present returns show very nearly four times as many married as in 1921 and whereas in 1921 more than nine-tenths of those at this age were unmarried, considerably less than three-quarters are now unmarried. Amongst females the proportions unmarried at the later ages have remained almost constant and the slight increase in the proportions married has been achieved by an almost corresponding decrease in the proportions widowed. Amongst males the increase in the proportions married has been gained almost equally from those single and those widowed in the age-group 40-60, rather more from those widowed in the age-group 60 and over and considerably more from those single in the age-group 20-40. When every allowance

has been made for differences in the method of compiling the age-groups the following conclusions appear to establish themselves :—

(i) The increase in the numbers married at the earlier ages is most probably due largely to the temporary displacement resulting from the unusually large numbers of marriages contracted before the Child Marriage Restraint Act came into force. (ii) It is also partly due to a tendency amongst the aboriginals on contact with Hinduism and also amongst the lower castes of Hindus to adopt infant marriage in imitation of what was till recently the practice of the higher castes of Hindu society. Some considerations in support of this conclusion will be adduced in a later paragraph. Its effect, however, on the total proportions is offset by the increasing tendency in the higher castes to postpone the marriage of their children until a later date. (iii) The increase due to the endeavour to forestall the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act does not affect the case of women after the age-group 10-15 and men after the age-group of 15-20. If a liberal allowance is made for the increase caused in the proportions married at younger ages by the method of compiling the age-groups it is still possible to deduce that beyond the average age of about $17\frac{1}{2}$ with females and $22\frac{1}{2}$ with males the increased proportions of those who are married are clearly due to an increasing prevalence of widow remarriage both in the Muslim and in the Hindu societies.

DIAGRAM No. VI-6.

Numbers of each sex at age-groups unmarried, married and widowed per 100 of the same sex and age-group, 1911, 1921 and 1931.



207. **Marital condition at age-groups by religions.**—Subsidiary table I has also supplied the figures for the top six graphs appearing in diagram

No. VI-7. These show for each sex and marital condition the proportions per cent. in each principal religion at the same age-groups as are illustrated in diagram No. VI-7. In statement No. VI-9 the figures for females plotted in these six graphs have been worked out as a percentage of the figures plotted for males. These figures are illustrated in the three graphs at the bottom of the diagram. They show, therefore, the relative frequency of each marital condition amongst an equal number of males and females of the same age. There need not be the same hesitation in accepting the figures by ages on this comparison since all have been prepared on the same principle. Amongst both males and females Muslims show at each age-group the smallest proportion unmarried and the largest proportion married. The proportions widowed are smallest amongst Muslims at every age-group from and including 20-40 years but there is a larger proportion of Muslim females widowed at the same age-groups than of any other religion except Hindus. After the Muslims, Hindu males show a larger proportion than any other religion who are married before the age-group

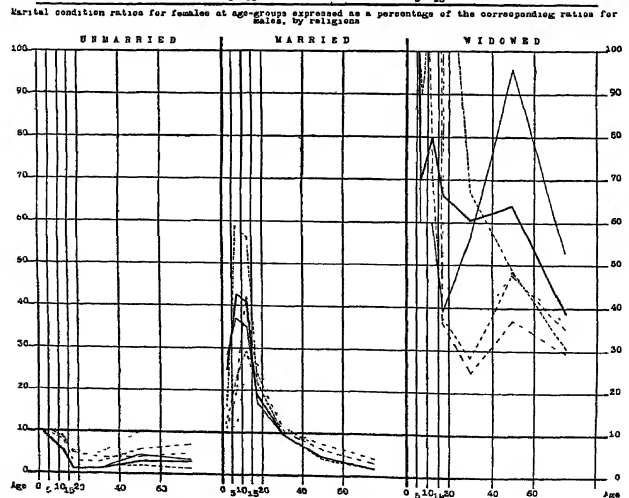
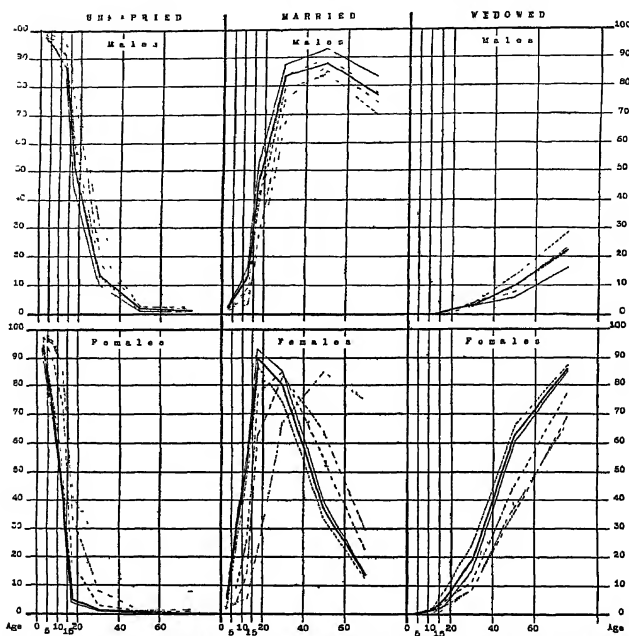
DIAGRAM No. VI-7.

Numbers of each sex at age-groups unmarried, married and widowed per 100 of the same sex and age-group by religions, 1931.

NOTE.—The scale for the percentage of female or male ratios is in tens. The line representing Christian females is incorrect.

Reference to religions

11 re 1931 — Muslim, — Hindu, — Tamil, — Buddhist, — Christian.



10-15; but in and after the age-group 15-20 a larger proportion of those professing tribal religions are married amongst the males and by the time the age-group 40-60 is reached amongst Buddhists and Christians there is a larger proportion of males also who are married with wives still surviving. At and after this age, 40-60, however a larger proportion have been married at some time amongst the Hindus than amongst those of other religions except the Muslims and the smaller proportion amongst those returned as married is due to a considerably larger proportion having already lost their wives. A larger proportion of Christians remain unmarried throughout life than in any other religion. At every age-group the proportion of unmarried males is next highest after the Christians amongst the Buddhists and not only the Muslims, but also, after the age-group, 15-20, those professing tribal religions show a smaller proportion of males who have remained unmarried than do the Hindus. Amongst all groups but Hindus the practice of widow remarriage contributes to an increase in the proportions of those who are married at later ages. But amongst Christians and Buddhists the postponement of marriage also contributes to the comparatively high proportions at later ages whose wives are still alive. It is in these religions that there is the largest proportion who remain unmarried throughout life and the proportion of those who are widowed and remarry is comparatively small if such an inference is valid from the fact that a larger proportion in these religions than amongst Muslims are widowed at ages after and including the age-group 20-40. The corresponding proportions amongst females for each of the religious communities show very much wider variations than amongst the men. It is the age-group 15-20 which amongst the Hindus and Muslims shows the highest proportion of married women. With the Buddhists and those professing tribal religions it is not until the next age-group, 20-40, that the largest proportion married is recorded and the proportions in this age-group for these two religions are considerably less than those in the age-group 15-20 in the case of Hindus and Buddhists. Amongst Christians, similarly, it is in the age-group 20-40 that the largest proportion of females is married with their husbands surviving. The reader is warned that the line indicating Christian females in this diagram is wrong and represents in error the same figures as are plotted in the graph above it for males of that religion. At all ages a larger proportion of Muslim and Hindu women are married than amongst other religions and of those who survive to be 60 and over two and a half times as many professing tribal religions, five times as many Buddhists and fifteen times as many Christian women are unmarried in each 1,000 as amongst their Muslim or Hindu sisters. On the other hand in this same age-group, 60 and over, more than twice as many Buddhists and nearly twice as many Christian women have husbands still living as would be found in an equal number of Hindu women of the same age, and at every age after 20 a considerably smaller proportion of women following other religions than Hinduism and Islam are widows. In each 1,000 of each sex in the same age-group, amongst Hindus there will be found married 5 or 6 females for every male between the ages of 5 and 15 and more than 2 for

STATEMENT No. VI-9.

Marital condition ratios for females at age-groups as a percentage of corresponding ratios for males by religions, 1931.

Age-group	Un-married	Married	Widowed.
All religions.			
0-5	97	247	*
5-10	75	429	700
10-15	52	408	800
15-20	9	192	968
20-40	9	80	996
40-60	27	43	640
60 & over	30	18	357
Muslim.			
0-5	96	282	*
5-10	74	372	600
10-15	50	345	600
15-20	8	172	958
20-40	9	87	844
40-60	43	42	960
60 & over	38	17	528
Hindu.			
0-5	99	183	*
5-10	77	591	900
10-15	52	561	2,200
15-20	8	221	1,156
20-40	7	64	670
40-60	18	40	488
60 & over	18	14	304
Tribal.			
0-5	100	120	*
5-10	94	229	*
10-15	80	294	700
15-20	31	180	377
20-40	26	102	283
40-60	55	61	478
60 & over	71	29	350
Buddhist.			
0-5	100	108	*
5-10	97	211	*
10-15	88	421	*
15-20	47	241	863
20-40	87	111	247
40-60	39	79	969
60 & over	..	40	294
Christian.			
0-5	100	104	*
5-10	99	115	*
10-15	90	277	*
15-20	62	281	475
20-40	48	113	840
40-60	69	68	488
60 & over	123	38	864

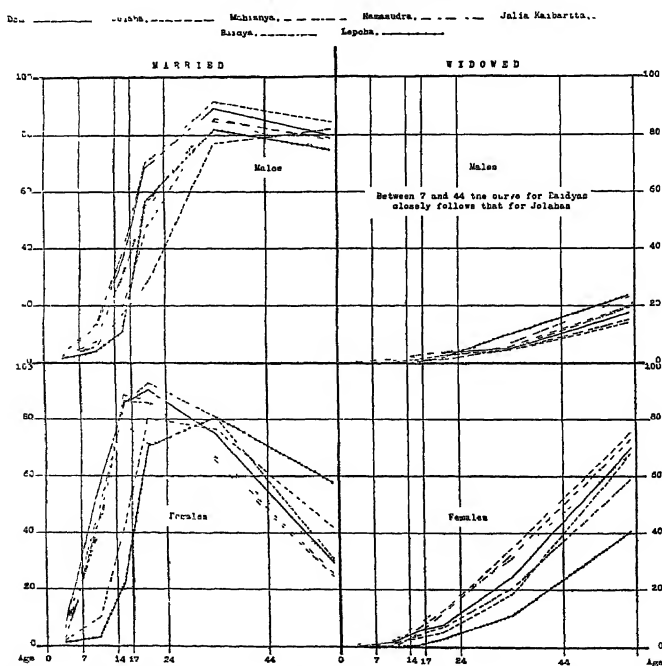
*There being no males of this marital condition in this age-group the percentage is infinite and unmeaning

every male in the age-group 15-20. Similarly amongst Muslims in the same age-groups there will be found married in an equal number of each sex between 3 and 4 women to every male, and amongst Buddhists there will be married 2 women to every man between the ages 5 and 10 and more than 4 between the ages 10 and 15. In all religions after the age-group 20-40 in an equal number of the same age there will be fewer women married than men. Amongst Muslims and Hindus in equal numbers of each sex there is scarcely one married woman for every two married men of the same age at the age-group 40-60 and scarcely one to every six or seven at the age of 60 and over; and although the proportions for the other religions are higher, yet even amongst Buddhists where they are most nearly equal there will be only 7 married women for every 10 married men in an equal number at the ages of 40-60 and only 4 to every 10 at the age 60 and over. The discrepancies in the proportions of those widowed are even more noticeable. In equal numbers between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many women as men will be widowed by the age-group 20-40 amongst Buddhists, tribal religions and Christians and the proportions are very much higher amongst Hindus and Muslims. Amongst Muslims for instance by the age-group 40-60 no fewer than 96 women will be widowed for every 10 in an equivalent number of men of the same age.

DIAGRAM No. VI-8.

Numbers married and widowed of each sex at age-groups per 100 of the same sex and age in selected caste or other groups, 1931. Ages are to the nearest birthday.

NOTE—Ages are to the nearest birthday.
Reference to Castes



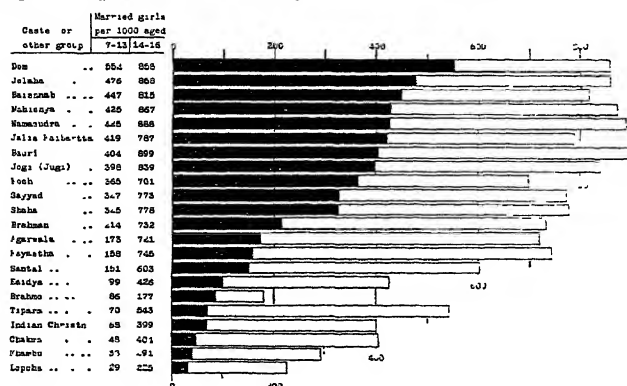
208. **Marital condition by ages in selected groups.**—In diagrams No. VI-8 and No. VI-9 some details similar to those illustrated in the preceding diagram are given for selected castes. The age-groups for which they are presented in these diagrams based on subsidiary table V differ from those used in the tables and diagrams referred to previously. The actual figures extracted in age-groups have been given and they have not been adjusted to form the usual quinquennial groups. They are not subject to the same error as the

figures in quinquennial groups and may be taken as accurate. All the castes for which figures are given in imperial table VIII are represented in subsidiary table V but the diagrams are restricted to those likely to be most representative. The Baidyas are chosen as being, perhaps, the most progressive of the castes of Bengal. Doms, Namasudras and Jaliya Kaibartas are shown in the diagram as being groups of the depressed classes and the figures for "Mumin" (Jolahas) are also given for a comparison of groups of similar status in both religions. The Mahishyas are shown as being the largest caste in the province and the Lepchas as an instance of a primitive tribe. The curve plotted to the figures for the unmarried has not been shown, but it can readily be estimated by comparison of those for married and widowed. Amongst the males in all these groups the maximum proportion of those married with wives surviving is found in the age-group 24-43 but the corresponding proportion for females occurs in this same group only in the case of Lepchas. Amongst the Jaliya Kaibartas, Namasudras and even amongst the Mahishyas in spite of the advances which they have made in social position of late years it is in the age-group 14-16 that the greatest proportion of females are found whose husbands are still alive and with the exception of the Lepchas the proportion is highest for all the other groups chosen between the ages of 17

DIAGRAM No. VI-9.

Frequency of infant marriage in selected caste or other groups, 1931.

NOTE.—The numbers married amongst 1,000 females of the same age-group are shown in the diagram by the whole length of the bar for ages 14-16 and by the shaded portion of the bar for ages 7-13. Ages are to the nearest birthday.



and 23. In the age-group 44 and over amongst every 100 women less than 30 amongst the Mahishyas, Namasudras, Doms and Jaliya Kaibartas and scarcely more than 30 amongst the Mumin have their husbands alive; even amongst the Baidyas there are only just more than 40 whilst with the Lepchas amongst whom the highest proportion is reached later, the number is as many as nearly 58. Of those selected it is amongst the Lepchas that the smallest proportion are widowed amongst females at all ages except Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians and the largest proportion amongst males at age-groups including and after 24-43. The Doms and Mumin show in both sexes the largest proportion of very early marriages followed by Jaliya Kaibartas and Namasudras and amongst the Mahishyas, although the males marry later than the other groups just mentioned, the females are married young and as many as 867 are married by the time they reach the age-group 14-16.

209. **Prevalence of child marriage of girls in selected groups.**—It is, however, diagram No. VI-9 illustrating the frequency of infant marriage in selected castes which is perhaps of greater interest. This diagram shows all the groups in subsidiary table V with the exception of Anglo-Indians. They are arranged in an order corresponding with the frequency with which very early marriage takes place amongst the females of the caste. Amongst

girls in the age-group 7-13 more than half are already married amongst the Doms and more than a third amongst the Jolahas, Baishnabs, Mahishyas, Namasudras, Jaliya Kaibartas, Bauris, Jogis and Koches. The numbers are fewest, amongst the groups selected, in the aboriginal peoples Lepcha, Khambu, Chakma and Tipara and amongst the Indian Christians. In each of these five groups the proportions within that age-group married are smaller than amongst such progressive groups as the Brahmos and Baidyas. Amongst the remaining groups Kayasthas and Santals have almost an equal proportion married in this age-group, but considerably more than the Baidyas with the next lowest figure below them, and Agarwalas, Brahmans, Shahas and Sayyads show an increasing number greater than the proportion amongst Kayasthas. The age-group 7-13 of those who are married naturally includes a larger number aged 10-13 than aged 7-10 and the actual proportion in the whole age-group is roughly equivalent to the incidence of marriage amongst girls aged about 11 years to their nearest birthday. Before a girl reaches 12 therefore out of a hundred instances she will have been married in 55 cases amongst the Doms, 43 cases amongst the Mahishyas and Namasudras, 33 cases amongst the Sayyads and Shahas, 21 cases amongst the Brahmans, 15 cases amongst the Santals, 10 cases amongst the Baidyas, 9 cases amongst the Brahmos and 7 cases or less amongst the Tiparas, Indian Christians, Chakmas, Khambus and Lepchas, the figure being only 3 amongst the last given. The order of frequency is different if the age-group 14-16 is considered. In this age-group it is amongst the Bauri that the highest proportion is found, viz., 899. The lowest proportion, 126 in every 1,000, is found amongst the Anglo-Indians and the Brahmos are next with 177 in every 1,000 followed by the Lepchas and Khambus, Indian Christians, Chakmas and Baidyas, amongst whom the proportion is between this figure and 426 per 1,000. Here again allowing for a greater number married at 15-16 than at 14-15, we can take the figures given as representing the number of girls who are married in every 1,000 who have not yet reached their 16th birthday. Amongst girls aged 15 but not yet 16 years, therefore, there will be found in every 10, 8 or 9 who are married amongst the Bauris, Namasudras, Doms, Jolahas, Mahishyas, Jogis and Baishnabs and the least number again amongst those groups where very early marriage is most infrequent. The figures support a rough generalisation that very early marriage is in general least common among the aboriginal tribes like the Lepchas, Chakmas and Tiparas together with Indian Christians, a considerable number of whom are drawn from the aboriginal tribes and amongst reforming sects like the Brahmos or progressive castes like the Baidyas and that the practice is most prevalent amongst castes which either like the Doms, Namasudras, Jaliya Kaibartas and Bauris are at a low level in Hindu society or like the Mahishyas have only recently succeeded in elevating themselves and amongst whom there are probably included in the returns numbers of persons who should have been returned under some other title such as Jaliya Kaibarta or Patni. Apart from the fact that the Kayasthas and Baidyas might have been expected to come lower down, the order of castes on this list is in general what would be expected from common experience. It is perhaps somewhat surprising to find so high an incidence of infant female marriage amongst the Koch where original tribal custom favours adult marriage and permits remarriage of widows, and it is almost certainly due to the encouragement of child marriage because it is one of the institutions of their Hindu neighbours which tribal peoples consider characteristic and imitate with the intention of showing their adherence to the "superior" faith. A similar explanation probably accounts for the fact that the Santals do not come lower down the list. An increase of the prevalence of infant marriage amongst females upon the conversion to Hinduism of primitive peoples amongst whom adult and not infant marriage is a tribal custom is in fact a matter of general knowledge and is illustrated by three of the groups shown in subsidiary table V. The group with the largest population is the Santals and at the age of 7-13 in every 1,000 there are 165 married amongst females professing the Hindu religion to every 138 amongst those professing tribal religions. The same discrepancy is observed at the next higher age-group 14-16. In this group amongst 1,000 Hindu females of the tribe 626 will be married compared with 583 amongst

1,000 tribal females. Very similar conditions exist also amongst the Tiparas. Amongst 1,000 females of the same religion there will be 71 married in the age-group 7-13 and 553 at the age of 14-16 amongst Hindus whilst the corresponding figures amongst those professing a tribal religion will be 48 and 286. Figures for Lepchas reveal the same conditions, but they are of less significance owing to the comparatively small numbers in each of these religions within this tribe. It is interesting to compare the relative incidence of marriage at early ages even amongst males in the Santals and Tiparas. In the age-group 14-16 in each tribe almost twice as many professing Hinduism are married as those professing their tribal religions and amongst the Santals a similar proportion holds also for the earlier age-group 7-13 as well as for the earliest age-group shown, viz., 0-6.

210. Infant marriage by religions.—The figures discussed in the previous paragraph principally refer to Hindus. Infant marriage, however, is not confined to Hindus. There are instances of marriages in both sexes at very early ages in all the religions for which figures have been obtained. There are, for instance, amongst 183,148 Christians no fewer than 677 returned in both sexes as married between the ages of 0-5 and of these as many as 139 were returned as being under the age of 1. Almost 1 per cent. of the Jains of all ages are married between the ages 0 and 5 and even amongst the Jews 6 returns were received of persons of both sexes married between the ages of 0 and 5 of whom one female was returned as aged 0-1. Amongst the total married between the ages of 0-5 more than three times as many were contributed by the Muslims as the Hindus, but the discrepancy is reduced by the time the age-group 5-10 is reached when the Hindus contribute more than one-half the number contributed by the Muslims in both sexes. At this age-group the numbers married in each religion form a considerable proportion of the total population. There are, for instance, nearly 5 per 1,000 amongst Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs and Jews and almost 1 per cent. amongst Jains and tribal religions. It is amongst the Muslims that the marriage of girls at early ages is most prevalent. Thus by the time a Muslim girl reaches the age of 5-10, i.e., at the average age of about $7\frac{1}{2}$, or rather older, she is already married in 32 out of 100 cases but amongst Hindus only 26 out of 100 will be married by this age. Similarly in the age-group 10-15, or by the time they have reached the average age of about $12\frac{1}{2}$, or rather older, nearly 4 in every 7 Muslim

and 4 in every 8 Hindu girls will already have been married. Statement No. VI-10 inset shows the figures for Bengal and for the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Bombay and

STATEMENT No. VI-10.
Number per mille of females of the same age married and aged 5-10 and 10-15 in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Madras and Bombay, All religions, Muslims and Hindus, 1931.

Provinces	Aged 5-10			Aged 10-15		
	All religions	Muslims	Hindus	All religions	Muslims	Hindus
Bengal	291	420	270	534	507	505
Bihar and Orissa	177	134	281	368	545	481
Madras	32	26	101	254	150	277
Bombay	221	67	256	423	269	471

Madras for each of these two religions. In all religions the proportion of girls married by the time they reach an average age of $7\frac{1}{2}$ years or rather older is considerably greater in Bengal than in any of the other three provinces and it is as much as three times as great as in Madras. There is a similar excess in the proportions married by the time they reach an average age of about $12\frac{1}{2}$ or rather older. Here also the greatest discrepancy occurs in comparison with Madras and there are more than two girls married by the time they reach this age in Bengal as there. Amongst both Muslims and Hindus also the proportions are higher than in any of the remaining three provinces in the age-group 5-10 with the exception of Bihar and Orissa. Here again the discrepancies are greatest in the case of Madras. Twice as many girls will have been married in Bengal before each of the ages chosen as in Madras amongst the Hindus. Amongst the Muslims more than 11 times as many girls are married at very early ages in Bengal as in Madras and more than 3 times as many by the time they reach the average age of about $12\frac{1}{2}$ or rather older. The distribution of the sexes by age as shown in the census returns and summarised in statement No. VI-11 overleaf does not indicate that the prevalence of infant marriage amongst females is due to any difficulty

in obtaining brides whose age is nearer to that of their bridegrooms. Indeed the common experience of parents in Bengal with daughters to marry is that

STATEMENT No. VI-11.

Number of males and females at selected age-groups, All religions, Muslims and Hindus, 1931.

Age-group.	All religions		Muslims		Hindus	
	Males	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males	Females.
15-25		5,277,594		2,228,478		2,945,892
25-30	4,863,643	4,444,746	2,221,193	2,120,356	2,545,486	2,325,743
30-35	4,610,027		2,120,507		2,391,091	
17-24*		3,600,034		1,745,004		2,006,748
21-24*	3,511,991		1,694,791		1,836,121	

*Ages to nearest birthday

younger. There is similarly an excess over males aged 25-35 of females aged 15 to 25 and 20 to 30. A similar state of things is shown in the figures for both Muslims and Hindus. There are more Muslim females aged 15-25 than men aged over 20-30 or 25-35 and there are very nearly the same number of women aged 20-30 as of men aged 25-35. Amongst the Hindus also females aged 15-25 are more numerous than males aged 20-30 or 25-35, and in this community even a disparity of five years on the average would supply for males aged 25-35 more than sufficient brides aged 20-30. These figures suggest that in both the main religious communities of Bengal no difficulty in obtaining wives would be experienced if, for instance, the average age of marriage amongst females were raised to 17 or 17½ and if the average age of men at marriage were raised to 25 or even to 27½. This would result in a slight, but probably not excessive reduction in the disparity in ages at marriage and does not represent a very great revolution in social custom. In 1921 the average age at marriage was estimated in the census report to be about 12½ for brides and 20 for bridegrooms. Any estimation of a similar average age from the same data on the present occasion would be falsified by the enormous increase of child marriages in connection with the Child Marriage Restraint Act, even if the figures at ages had been comparable in the two years. Actually the greatest increase in the numbers married seems to occur between the age-groups 20-25 and 25-30 amongst men and 10-15 and 15-20 amongst women. In other words, the largest proportion of men apparently marry even at present between the average age of 22½ and 27½ and of women between the average age of 12½ and 17½. The age distribution of the population as it stands at present according to the groups originally sorted to nearest birthday shows that in the total population there are a larger number of females aged 17-23 than males aged 24-30. If the same age-groups are taken there is a slightly smaller number of females amongst Muslims but there is a larger number amongst Hindus. It would be safe to say that in all probability the numbers of females above the age of 15 would be proportionately increased compared with those for males if early subjection to the mortality risk consequent upon child birth were removed and if females did not come under this risk until on the average about 5 years later than at present. If this result followed from an enhancement of the average age of marriage of both sexes it is clear that even amongst the Muslims a disparity of as little as 5 years would not result in a shortage of brides if the average age of marriage were as high as 30 for males and 25 for females. Similarly amongst Muslims the very small deficiency of females at the average age of 19½ over males on the average 7 years older might be expected to disappear if girls at earlier ages were removed from risk of mortality by child birth. Within limits there are likely to be fewer widows at later ages if the disparity between husband and wife is reduced and if the force of mortality operating exclusively against females can be reduced, as it would be by postponing their exposure to child birth risk till their bodies are more developed, the conclusion appears to be that a rise in the average age of marriage amongst both the Muslim and Hindu communities in particular and in all religions as a whole in Bengal to an average of 17½ or even 19½ amongst females combined with an average disparity between the age of bridegrooms and brides amounting to anything from 5 to 10 years of age, would not result in any difficulty in obtaining brides for all marriageable men and would very considerably alleviate the condition of widows by reducing the prevalence of widowhood.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in each religion, Bengal, 1931, 1921 and 1911.

Sex.	Age-group.	1931 Number per 1,000 of the same sex and age			1921 Number per 1,000 of the same sex and age			1911 Number per 1,000 of the same sex and age		
		Unmar- ried	Married	Widowed	Unmar- ried	Married	Widowed	Unmar- ried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ALL RELIGIONS.										
MALES.	All ages	469	498	33	518	444	38	511	454	35
	0-5	981	19	-	990	4	-	999	1	-
	5-10	921	68	-	990	10	-	998	11	-
	10-15	867	131	2	950	48	-	910	48	1
	15-20	723	469	8	766	273	2	720	274	6
	20-25	129	838	51	167	735	38	131	817	28
	25-30	10	887	98	21	878	104	90	834	137
	30 & over	10	767	223	17	730	233	18	752	250
FEEMALES.	All ages	310	514	176	343	486	197	336	453	201
	0-5	952	47	-	992	7	-	995	5	-
	5-10	792	291	7	927	69	4	897	99	4
	10-15	460	524	16	439	516	25	877	570	24
	15-20	48	869	53	981	143	-	949	73	11
	20-25	12	900	188	13	784	203	11	795	197
	25-30	308	827	4	858	4	-	649	836	6
	30 & over	3	136	862	4	110	856	4	98	903
MUSLIM.										
MALES.	All ages	468	510	22	534	439	27	531	445	24
	0-5	978	22	-	996	4	-	999	1	-
	5-10	913	68	1	990	10	-	988	12	-
	10-15	835	103	2	919	50	-	949	3	2
	15-20	431	541	8	732	242	6	716	273	6
	20-25	109	875	140	140	22	-	120	817	28
	25-30	7	990	63	14	916	70	1	927	62
	30 & over	6	832	162	13	814	173	10	826	164
FEEMALES.	All ages	318	542	140	373	472	155	368	475	157
	0-5	937	62	-	991	8	-	995	5	-
	5-10	674	230	6	996	49	4	949	73	4
	10-15	421	597	12	496	486	18	419	764	17
	15-20	38	931	51	998	41	-	959	89	8
	20-25	9	830	141	13	841	146	10	851	139
	25-30	3	992	66	5	888	99	3	923	614
	30 & over	2	143	855	5	120	875	8	108	894
HINDU.										
MALES.	All ages	469	483	45	498	451	51	487	464	49
	0-5	984	16	-	997	8	-	998	2	-
	5-10	955	44	-	990	10	-	989	12	-
	10-15	909	94	1	951	47	-	908	73	2
	15-20	403	391	7	779	214	7	721	273	6
	20-25	174	789	87	185	761	140	174	789	87
	25-30	22	813	133	27	833	32	32	836	133
	30 & over	15	698	267	22	681	267	25	679	266
FEEMALES.	All ages	293	481	226	299	447	254	292	451	257
	0-5	972	26	-	992	7	-	994	5	-
	5-10	731	200	6	990	8	-	974	11	6
	10-15	473	505	22	593	89	25	593	671	84
	15-20	51	866	39	807	74	32	874	68	88
	20-25	13	739	248	11	873	96	10	836	268
	25-30	4	487	69	5	308	687	4	301	695
	30 & over	2	124	874	4	96	900	8	80	917
TRIBAL.										
MALES.	All ages	490	474	38	527	431	42	528	443	29
	0-5	983	15	-	997	8	-	994	5	-
	5-10	939	41	-	991	9	-	991	9	-
	10-15	911	87	-	955	44	-	956	43	-
	15-20	417	760	13	726	276	8	736	276	7
	20-25	127	832	41	183	788	64	132	824	34
	25-30	15	84	94	11	873	161	14	836	193
	30 & over	7	723	221	14	730	206	12	709	189
FEEMALES.	All ages	419	460	121	445	433	122	450	439	111
	0-5	931	13	-	996	4	-	995	2	-
	5-10	900	84	6	976	2	-	977	21	-
	10-15	790	258	14	788	206	15	792	230	9
	15-20	177	774	49	292	809	48	251	711	38
	20-25	35	851	119	41	841	113	82	866	102
	25-30	5	544	419	14	564	422	8	601	391
	30 & over	5	222	778	8	221	771	6	226	768
BUDDHIST.										
MALES.	All ages	533	413	34	570	393	37	570	398	32
	0-5	987	18	-	999	1	-	999	1	-
	5-10	951	19	-	997	3	-	999	4	-
	10-15	907	33	-	974	21	-	955	15	-
	15-20	713	291	8	378	14	5	119	84	8
	20-25	213	751	34	257	709	40	211	768	31
	25-30	23	832	95	37	874	28	28	882	30
	30 & over	21	743	249	48	717	256	35	737	237
FEEMALES.	All ages	458	439	103	466	419	115	459	421	120
	0-5	983	14	-	998	2	-	999	1	-
	5-10	957	40	3	992	7	-	992	7	-
	10-15	858	136	5	933	65	4	856	111	9
	15-20	343	628	29	482	492	26	437	536	28
	20-25	79	836	89	63	846	91	54	864	92
	25-30	9	351	643	33	843	344	9	807	353
	30 & over	10	207	698	11	250	789	10	244	740
CHRISTIAN.										
MALES.	All ages	545	428	27	567	397	36	592	379	29
	0-5	975	25	-	999	1	-	998	2	-
	5-10	990	49	-	992	7	-	999	4	-
	10-15	943	62	-	985	15	-	995	33	-
	15-20	770	220	4	909	85	6	924	74	2
	20-25	303	830	24	398	39	-	415	883	23
	25-30	73	851	76	73	843	95	95	826	80
	30 & over	61	763	186	49	728	223	42	714	222
FEEMALES.	All ages	472	426	102	483	401	116	472	404	124
	0-5	972	29	-	995	2	-	998	2	-
	5-10	953	46	-	989	10	-	991	8	-
	10-15	853	144	8	915	81	4	892	106	2
	15-20	407	574	19	513	30	-	406	534	23
	20-25	145	770	85	130	774	96	141	768	96
	25-30	72	847	97	48	887	390	79	808	119
	30 & over	76	547	678	15	521	744	74	578	774

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution according to marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in each natural division by principal religions, 1931.**A.—MALES.**

	All ages			Aged 0-5			Aged 5-10			Aged 10-15			Aged 15-40			Aged 40 and over.		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
BENGAL.																		
All religions	469	498	33	981	19		931	68	1	867	131	2	217	757	26	14	864	122
Muslim	468	520	22	978	22		911	84	1	885	103	2	175	804	31	7	911	82
Hindu	469	480	15	981	16		925	44	1	909	90	1	262	707	31	21	816	108
Tribal	390	174	36	187	15		939	11		911	87	1	213	751	36	11	872	117
Buddhist	254	414	44	987	23		981	19		967	38		532	640	29	29	852	126
Christian	315	428	21	973	23		969	40		945	32		401	579	20	71	834	95
WEST BENGAL (BURDWAN DIVISION).																		
All religions	452	505	43	990	10		953	46	1	899	100	1	234	738	28	19	824	157
Muslim	452	512	39	988	12		911	68	1	862	117	1	183	793	24	9	800	101
Hindu	447	499	40	990	10		977	42	1	901	95	1	244	728	29	21	812	107
Tribal	444	480	30	987	11		969	10		920	79	1	214	759	28	11	887	102
CENTRAL BENGAL (PRESIDENCY DIVISION).																		
All religions	436	528	36	986	14		927	72	1	856	142	2	218	757	25	15	852	133
Muslim	425	516	20	981	16		912	97	1	814	184	2	170	806	24	7	889	104
Hindu	445	512	43	990	10		954	45	1	897	102	1	255	719	26	20	822	158
NORTH BENGAL (RAJSHAHI DIVISION WITH COOCH BEHAR).																		
All religions	471	492	37	984	16		930	69	1	889	139	2	202	762	36	14	857	129
Muslim	486	516	27	980	14		913	87	2	819	173	3	149	832	29	6	890	95
Hindu	491	456	50	981	19		962	47	1	926	73	1	230	676	44	25	798	177
Tribal	365	440	49	984	14		911	87	1	911	87	1	220	730	39	11	844	145
Buddhist	550	498	43	980	11		955	13		974	20		848	579	31	24	823	151
EAST BENGAL—DACCA DIVISION.																		
All religions	478	496	26	970	30		914	85	1	848	150	2	207	772	21	11	888	101
Muslim	477	507	18	990	31		902	97	1	825	173	3	177	800	17	7	924	69
Hindu	488	467	45	972	27	1	947	52	1	906	90	1	213	693	29	20	816	104
Christian	590	419	21	966	33	1	945	34	1	930	69	1	823	530	18	21	897	52
EAST BENGAL—CHITTAGONG DIVISION WITH TRIPURA.																		
All religions	519	461	20	979	21		945	55		897	103		237	747	16	9	908	83
Muslim	522	464	14	975	22		911	59		887	113		212	775	13	7	904	59
Hindu	501	461	35	981	19		922	38		910	79	1	292	684	22	15	868	138
Buddhist	525	419	32	982	12		882	17		870	29	1	315	603	22	20	857	128

B.—FEMALES.

	All ages			Aged 0-5			Aged 5-10			Aged 10-15			Aged 15-40			Aged 40 and over		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
BENGAL.																		
All religions	310	514	173	952	47	1	702	291	7	450	534	16	21	824	155	4	320	676
Muslim	318	542	149	937	62	1	674	320	6	421	567	13	10	871	118	3	343	654
Hindu	293	481	229	972	26	1	731	269	9	473	395	22	32	768	210	4	290	708
Tribal	419	405	133	961	18	1	909	91	6	730	256	11	97	812	100	7	474	519
Buddhist	438	429	101	953	14	1	937	40	1	860	139	5	144	784	72	10	661	429
Christian	472	450	102	972	26	1	954	40	1	853	144	3	209	722	99	72	494	434
WEST BENGAL (BURDWAN DIVISION).																		
All religions	505	500	235	975	24	1	690	300	10	419	558	23	14	778	208	3	280	717
Muslim	271	542	179	961	45	1	709	288	6	437	551	12	11	850	133	4	338	658
Hindu	255	491	318	976	21	1	679	249	11	494	571	22	13	793	224	3	295	723
Tribal	471	471	169	958	16	1	897	95	8	712	270	15	51	833	119	6	438	656
CENTRAL BENGAL (PRESIDENCY DIVISION).																		
All religions	275	518	207	951	47	2	640	350	10	384	596	20	18	718	184	4	301	695
Muslim	265	538	177	924	72	2	771	413	9	320	533	15	12	844	144	3	310	687
Hindu	280	483	267	973	23	2	701	289	10	440	545	25	18	769	282	3	287	710
NORTH BENGAL (RAJSHAHI DIVISION WITH COOCH BEHAR).																		
All religions	313	520	167	951	47	2	680	313	7	428	559	15	20	829	151	2	317	681
Muslim	293	556	119	959	63	1	614	379	7	345	642	13	9	867	134	2	311	687
Hindu	305	454	207	978	22	2	783	204	9	345	435	10	32	705	308	8	309	688
Tribal	469	442	99	961	18	1	914	82	1	799	229	11	78	832	90	7	505	488
Buddhist	452	457	91	969	11		944	67		852	147	1	222	726	82	14	686	550
EAST BENGAL—DACCA DIVISION.																		
All religions	327	523	150	937	61	2	705	289	6	458	530	12	20	855	125	4	340	656
Muslim	329	544	153	922	72	3	687	308	5	439	571	10	17	888	93	4	302	634
Hindu	310	472	218	968	41	8	758	246	9	506	474	20	24	793	260	6	298	723
Christian	444	445	108	989	39	1	910	59	1	789	296	5	94	832	74	22	488	540
EAST BENGAL—CHITTAGONG DIVISION WITH TRIPURA.																		
All religions	370	497	133	961	38	1	813	183	4	578	412	10	36	852	112	6	374	620
Muslim	371	507	129	960	39	1	802	194	4	550	439	9	29	872	99	5	390	605
Hindu	347	478	173	959	39	12	822	174	4	604	394	12	43	803	151	10	348	642
Buddhist	455	436	109	985	14	1	965	35	8	867	186	7	112	808	80	8	582	400

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Distribution by main age periods and marital condition of 10,000 of each sex in the principal religions, Bengal, 1931.

Religion and age.	Males			Females		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL RELIGIONS.						
All ages	4,893	4,981	328	3,099	5,137	1,764
0-10	3,722	323	2	2,453	459	12
10-15	1,037	157	2	521	619	18
15-40	910	3,172	107	89	3,553	669
40 & over	24	1,530	215	6	501	1,065
MUSLIM.						
All ages	4,678	5,100	222	3,179	5,420	1,401
0-10	2,905	182	2	2,591	559	11
10-15	1,056	206	2	515	695	14
15-40	708	3,217	84	98	3,730	479
40 & over	11	1,485	184	4	471	597
HINDU.						
All ages	4,890	4,858	454	2,934	4,809	2,257
0-10	2,490	78	1	2,323	351	14
10-15	1,012	109	2	595	544	24
15-40	1,148	3,098	185	98	3,383	926
40 & over	40	1,582	316	7	531	1,293
TRIBAL.						
All ages	4,898	4,745	357	4,190	4,597	1,213
0-10	2,970	53	1	3,055	167	10
10-15	1,068	102	2	831	238	16
15-40	840	2,962	140	274	3,424	412
40 & over	20	1,598	214	10	705	775
BUDDHIST.						
All ages	5,526	4,135	339	4,584	4,388	1,028
0-10	3,394	48	1	2,968	73	4
10-15	1,187	40	1	1,018	165	7
15-40	1,805	2,516	111	585	3,202	285
40 & over	20	1,582	220	15	943	722
CHRISTIAN.						
All ages	5,448	4,281	273	4,722	4,262	1,016
0-10	2,474	81	1	2,688	98	4
10-15	1,068	102	1	1,011	170	6
15-40	1,775	2,561	90	927	3,199	307
40 & over	131	1,582	191	116	799	700

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males of the same age-group and marital condition in each natural division by principal religions, 1931.

	All ages.			Aged 0-10.			Aged 10-15.			Aged 15-40.			Aged 40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL.															
All religions	610	952	4,907	837	3,465	6,656	464	3,639	8,272	91	1,035	5,764	229	304	4,569
Muslim	636	994	5,899	835	3,320	3,300	456	3,141	5,617	92	1,068	5,302	363	297	4,311
Hindu	598	900	4,520	848	4,192	8,859	456	4,024	12,287	75	992	6,251	165	395	3,731
Tribe	825	984	2,371	992	1,622	1,109	87	929	5,138	915	1,115	2,843	469	437	4,882
Buddhist	780	1,509	2,887	943	1,583	5,913	816	2,967	9,933	457	1,211	2,537	879	686	3,635
Christian	705	878	3,273	931	1,056	2,928	839	2,425	4,223	460	1,101	3,027	767	444	3,403
WEST BENGAL (BURDWAN DIVISION).															
All religions	551	934	5,148	827	5,066	11,074	408	4,882	14,334	57	1,010	7,007	284	700	4,292
Muslim	601	920	5,528	841	3,621	6,948	442	3,510	7,317	56	1,004	5,074	399	334	5,767
Hindu	335	938	6,112	818	5,635	11,929	449	5,525	15,759	30	1,007	7,366	133	809	4,259
Tribe	782	985	4,362	978	1,379	10,490	839	3,817	15,003	251	1,150	4,393	317	464	5,131
CENTRAL BENGAL (PRESIDENCY DIVISION).															
All religions	534	831	4,802	791	4,111	9,104	382	3,564	9,473	68	860	6,016	205	282	4,190
Muslim	599	888	5,248	780	3,802	7,391	345	3,075	5,840	59	902	5,321	330	279	5,301
Hindu	520	914	4,580	815	4,870	11,020	399	4,490	10,016	55	852	6,073	116	321	8,327
NORTH BENGAL (RAJSHAHI DIVISION WITH COOCH BEHAR).															
All religions	650	973	4,130	822	3,855	5,004	444	3,591	5,881	97	1,036	4,077	140	292	4,148
Muslim	605	1,008	5,042	799	3,970	3,822	378	3,329	4,238	61	1,041	4,199	174	274	5,744
Hindu	605	908	4,498	880	3,677	6,098	421	5,277	12,383	102	1,023	4,117	108	309	3,307
Tribe	888	932	2,041	1,010	1,887	4,368	833	2,633	4,517	30	1,140	1,784	285	389	2,188
Buddhist	765	1,046	2,013	907	2,317	1,000	784	3,184	2,000	354	1,150	1,446	574	766	2,309
EAST BENGAL—DAOGA DIVISION.															
All religions	648	999	5,458	865	2,942	5,293	495	3,249	6,504	94	1,103	6,058	301	304	5,164
Muslim	684	1,013	6,398	890	2,769	5,056	498	2,960	5,490	98	1,098	5,513	411	297	6,073
Hindu	684	960	5,548	874	3,099	6,781	504	4,761	6,787	85	1,113	6,886	281	313	3,764
Christian	618	1,104	6,288	996	2,956	1,420	223	2,925	6,600	293	1,280	1,513	106	542	2,668
EAST BENGAL (CHITTAGONG DIVISION WITH TRIPURA).															
All religions	697	1,054	6,533	893	2,669	7,600	589	3,687	10,522	165	1,242	7,743	570	342	5,906
Muslim	704	1,076	5,488	888	2,628	8,492	584	3,800	11,840	162	1,252	8,284	558	387	8,274
Hindu	667	989	4,808	899	2,941	6,881	601	4,512	8,668	181	1,212	6,978	629	327	4,903
Buddhist	797	1,039	5,367	978	1,663	2,111	816	4,248	7,499	877	1,280	3,821	340	856	3,309

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Distribution by marital condition of 1,000 of each sex at age-groups in selected castes or other groups, 1931.

(NOTE—Age is given to the nearest birthday.)

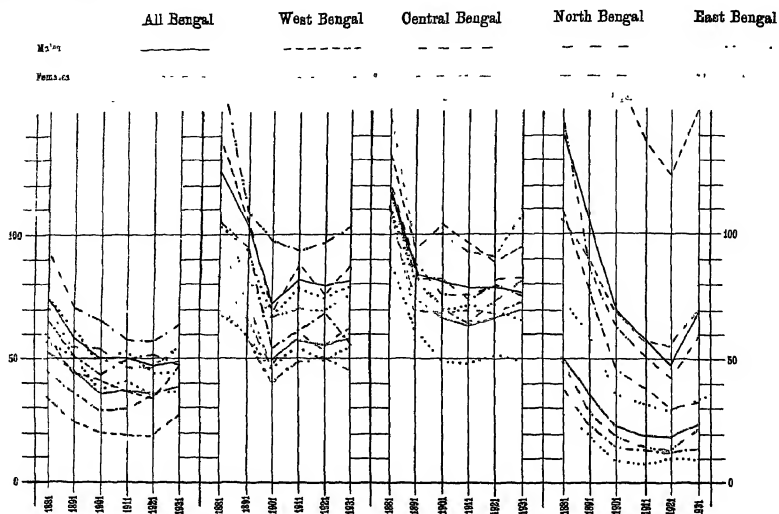
A.—MALES.

Caste or other group and religion	Locality in which found.	All ages		Aged 0—6		Aged 7—13		Aged 14—16		Aged 17—23		Aged 24—43		Aged 44 and over	
		Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 AGARWAL—Hindu	Calcutta	400 638	81	936	14	914	84	829	713	276	11	390	584	20	109
2 BAIDYA—Hindu	Bengal	550 608	41	978	22	941	57	859	104	7	684	280	20	170	781
3 BAISHNAB—Hindu	Bengal	421 504	75	983	10	923	75	736	248	16	429	539	33	95	827
4 BAURI—Hindu	West Bengal	433 529	38	991	9	939	91	696	300	4	307	671	22	45	909
5 BRAHMAN—Hindu	Bengal	489 481	80	961	18	947	51	851	168	16	577	407	16	126	825
6 BRAHMO—Hindu	Bengal	480 483	37	1,000		953	17	932	78	711	278	11	144	802	54
7 CHAKRA—All religions	Chittagong	568 414	28	938	12	980	14	925	74	1	593	398	9	65	905
8 DOM—Hindu	Bengal	607 204	99	1,000		986	14	1,000	600	1,000	359	309	0	278	722
9 JALIA KAIRARTIA—Hindu	West Bengal	392 585	53	970	24	870	125	5	622	361	27	281	680	33	47
10 JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	Bengal	449 484	87	977	21	907	86	7	672	303	25	411	557	32	79
11 KAYASTHA—Hindu	Bengal	515 443	42	984	15	940	57	892	165	13	655	325	20	140	818
12 KHAMBU—All religions	Darjeeling	471 486	64	996	4	994	6	955	64	1	438	541	21	82	839
13 KOCH—Hindu	North Bengal	430 505	65	945	27	892	157	11	472	504	24	285	643	72	66
14 LEPCHA—All religions	Darjeeling	447 489	84	988	17	951	39	892	108	415	370	15	77	820	103
15 MAHISYA—Hindu	West Bengal	376 531	153	964	98	947	85	871	429	4	600	500	262	363	323
16 NAMA-SUDRA—Hindu	Bengal	471 471	45	978	30	918	73	777	230	20	446	539	15	81	801
17 SANTAL—All religions	West Bengal and North Bengal	486 471	43	983	17	911	88	1	743	315	43	537	39	87	859
18 SHARA—Hindu	Bengal	451 471	48	981	14	940	118	2	859	115	7	485	37	100	813
19 TIPARA—All religions	East Bengal and Tripura State	546 422	32	990	10	972	28	888	142	6	434	537	9	102	857
20 ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	Calcutta, Towns	597 377	26	999	1	995	5	969	81	757	242	1	237	737	26
21 INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	Bengal	519 347	47	973	26	960	39	1	806	175	17	611	370	19	89
22 "MUMIN" (JOLAH)—Muslim	Bengal	430 523	37	971	29	865	133	2	599	390	11	974	702	13	83
23 SAYYAD—Muslim	Bengal	467 602	31	974	26	902	98	2	646	340	8	413	571	18	69

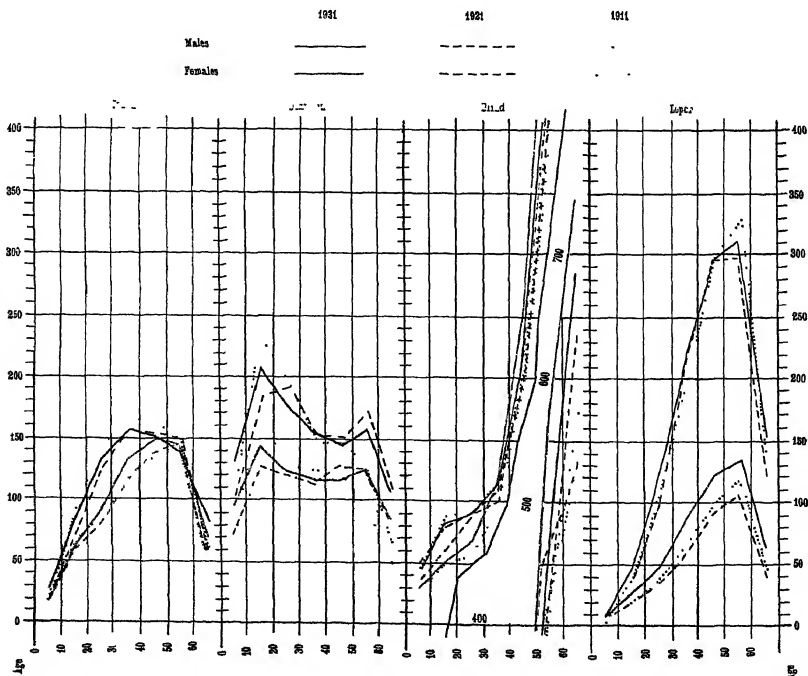
B.—FEMALES.

Caste or other group and religion	Locality in which found.	All ages		Aged 0—6		Aged 7—13		Aged 14—16		Aged 17—23		Aged 24—43		Aged 44 and over	
		Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 AGARWAL—Hindu	Calcutta	332 508	160	979	21	824	173	3	102	721	87	51	809	80	12
2 BAIDYA—Hindu	Bengal	426 418	158	981	18	1	896	99	5	531	420	43	126	809	9
3 BAISHNAB—Hindu	Bengal	219 474	307	986	40	585	417	18	119	815	66	35	129	13	87
4 BAURI—Hindu	West Bengal	271 535	184	979	20	1	585	404	11	87	899	44	9	913	78
5 BRAHMAN—Hindu	Bengal	440 440	200	975	24	1	778	814	8	234	722	44	0	868	94
6 BRAHMO—Hindu	Bengal	386 467	67	987	18	1	914	88	8	823	177	7	365	595	40
7 CHAKRA—All religions	Chittagong	568 414	28	938	12	980	14	925	74	1	593	398	9	65	905
8 DOM—Hindu	Bengal	607 204	99	1,000		986	14	1,000	600	1,000	359	309	0	278	722
9 JALIA KAIRARTIA—Hindu	West Bengal	392 585	53	970	24	870	125	5	622	361	27	281	680	33	47
10 JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	Bengal	449 484	87	977	21	907	86	7	672	303	25	411	557	32	79
11 KAYASTHA—Hindu	Bengal	515 443	42	984	15	940	57	892	165	13	655	325	20	140	818
12 KHAMBU—All religions	Darjeeling	471 486	64	996	4	994	6	955	64	1	438	541	21	82	839
13 KOCH—Hindu	North Bengal	430 505	65	945	27	892	157	11	472	504	24	285	643	72	66
14 LEPCHA—All religions	Darjeeling	447 489	84	988	17	951	39	892	108	415	370	15	77	820	103
15 MAHISYA—Hindu	West Bengal	376 531	153	964	98	947	85	871	429	4	600	500	262	363	323
16 NAMA-SUDRA—Hindu	Bengal	471 471	45	978	30	918	73	777	230	20	446	539	15	81	801
17 SANTAL—All religions	West Bengal and North Bengal	486 471	43	983	17	911	88	1	743	315	43	537	39	87	859
18 SHARA—Hindu	Bengal	451 471	48	981	14	940	118	2	859	115	7	485	37	100	813
19 TIPARA—All religions	East Bengal and Tripura State	546 422	32	990	10	972	28	888	142	6	434	537	9	102	857
20 ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	Calcutta, Towns	597 377	26	999	1	995	5	969	81	757	242	1	237	737	26
21 INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	Bengal	519 347	47	973	26	960	39	1	806	175	17	611	370	19	89
22 "MUMIN" (JOLAH)—Muslim	Bengal	430 523	37	971	29	865	133	2	599	390	11	974	702	13	83
23 SAYYAD—Muslim	Bengal	467 602	31	974	26	902	98	2	646	340	8	413	571	18	69

Chapter VII, Diagram A:- Number of persons afflicted per 100,000 of the total population (same sex) by natural divisions, 1881 - 1931



Chapter VII, Diagram B:- Persons afflicted per 100,000 of the total population (same sex & age-groups), 1911, 1921, & 1931



CHAPTER VII

Infirmities

211. Introduction.—As on previous occasions the infirmities selected for record at the present census were insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness and “corrosive” leprosy. The statistics obtained are presented in imperial table IX where persons suffering from these infirmities are shown both by age and also by locality. Subsidiary tables published at the end of this chapter show—

- I—the number afflicted per 100,000 of the same sex at each census from 1881 to 1931 ;
- II—a distribution by age-groups of 10,000 of each sex suffering from each infirmity at the census of 1911, 1921 and 1931 ; and
- III—the numbers suffering from each affliction per 100,000 of the population of the same sex and age-group with the ratio of females per 1,000 males.

The necessity for economy has made it impossible to present figures such as were given in 1921 in imperial table XII-A showing infirmities in selected castes.

212. Origin of the statistics.—The provision for a return of infirmities was made in column 18 of the general schedule from which the statistics have been compiled. The instructions for filling in this column were as follow :—

“ If any person be blind of both eyes (*i.e.*, unable to count the fingers of a hand held up at less than one yard's distance from him), or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, or deaf and dumb, enter the name of the infirmity in this column.

Do not enter those who are blind of one eye only, or who are suffering from white leprosy only.”

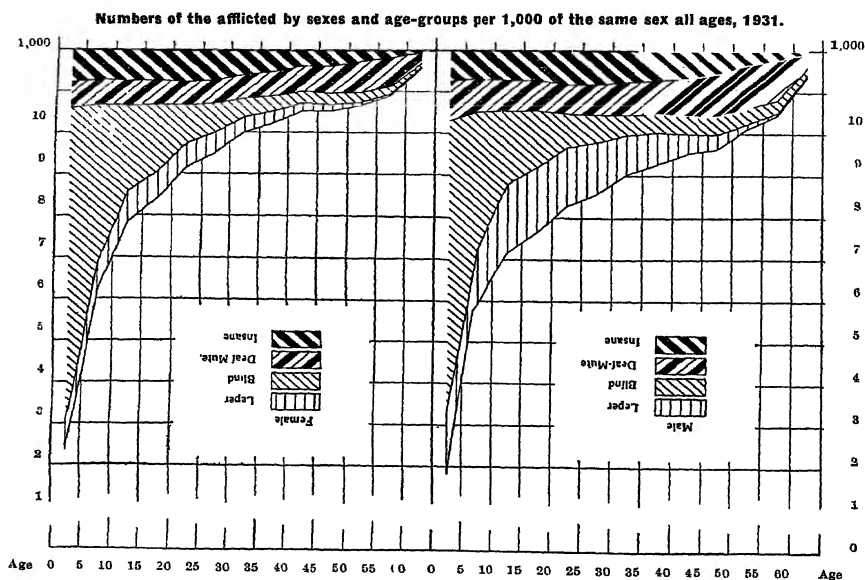
These instructions were supplemented by laying emphasis upon the need to prevent an entry in column 18 of persons suffering from leucoderma or white leprosy and other infirmities not falling within the scope of the column.

213. Accuracy of the results.—No great accuracy has ever been claimed for the statistics of infirmities collected at the census in Bengal. The difficulties peculiar to obtaining a correct return will be mentioned in commenting upon each individual infirmity. Although, however, no absolute accuracy can be claimed for the figures now collected they have a certain value which is generally admitted for comparative purposes of two kinds. In the first place when there is no reason to believe that the instructions issued from time to time regarding each infirmity have differed, or that if the instructions remain the same they have been applied differently at different times, it is to be assumed that the figures give some indication of the comparative numbers afflicted from one census to another. In the second place at any census, unless there is reason to believe that the same instructions have been differently applied in different parts of the province, or that the enumerating agency in any one part was markedly of less intelligence than in any other and therefore less capable of applying the instructions correctly, it may be assumed that the figures for any particular census year give some indication of the comparative incidence of the infirmities recorded between the different parts of the province in that year. The utility of the statistics at least in this restricted sense is generally conceded. Thus it is certain that, just as has

been done in the case of leprosy, so also in the case of other infirmities, those responsible for any special measures taken or proposed to alleviate them would be well advised to begin in the areas in which the comparative figures are highest and have been highest at previous enumerations.

214. Sex distribution of the infirmities at ages.—Diagrams Nos. VII-1 and VII-2 illustrate for 1931 the statistics for 1931 given in subsidiary table No. II. No. VII-1 shows the numbers afflicted in each thousand of the same sex, all ages, and gives a fair idea of the relative distribution of afflictions

DIAGRAM No. VII-1.



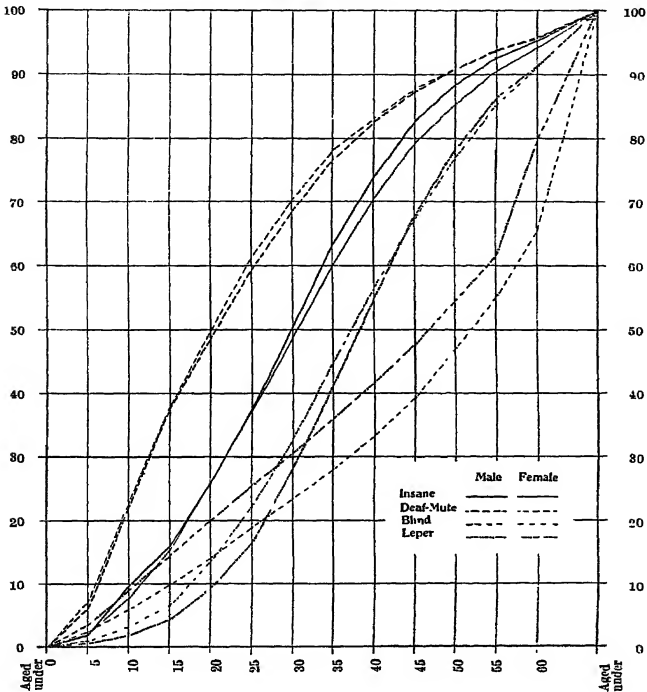
between the sexes at different age-periods. Some slight inaccuracy is introduced into this diagram owing to the fact that the total number afflicted exceeds the actual number by the number who suffer from more than one affliction and are counted in under both, but these figures are not sufficiently large to affect the general disposition of the diagram. There is a smaller total number afflicted with all census infirmities at each age-period amongst a given number of females than amongst an equal number of males of the same age-period. Thus 0.58 per thousand are afflicted amongst males between 0 and 5 years, but only 0.4 per thousand amongst females, and at each quinquennial group between 15 and 45 afflicted males are almost one more than females per 1,000 of the same sex and age. The increasing proportion of the afflicted who are blind at the later ages is in accordance with expectations, and both sexes show a marked increase in the proportion of afflicted who are lepers between the ages of about 50 and 55. In both cases a greater proportion of the afflicted are returned as insane between ages of 35 and 45 than at other periods and the preponderance of deaf-mutes in early ages is in accordance with the fact that deaf-mutism is congenital and deaf-mutes short lived although the figures remain more constant at later ages than might have been anticipated and actually increase both with males and females from the age of 50 onwards.

215. Sex distribution of the infirm at progressive ages.—Diagram No. VII-2 gives similar details so arranged that it can be seen at once at what

age those suffering from any given percentage of the total afflicted in the same way. Of the total deaf-mutes, for instance, almost 50 per cent. are in each

DIAGRAM No. VII-2.

Numbers less than the age shown in every 100 insane, deaf-mute, blind and leper of each sex, 1931.



sex less than 20 years old but it is not till 45 years are past in the case of males and 50 in the case of females that one half of the total blind is reached. Between 5 and 45 each quinquennium adds quickly to the proportions amongst the insane but it is between 25 and 55 with males and 20 and 55 with females that the proportions increase fastest with each quinquennium, whilst it is not till 45 is reached with females and 55 with males that each increasing year of age adds most noticeably to the proportions of the blind.

I.—The Insane

216. **Accuracy of the figures.**—The difficulty of obtaining an accurate return of the insane with the use of an entirely untrained agency having no medical knowledge whatever is illustrated by the variety of afflictions which it is possible to include within the term insane even if such refinements are omitted as distinctions between lunacy, idiocy, weak-mindedness, etc. The heads of reference from Dorland's Medical Dictionary shown in the foot-note below present a bewildering variety of mental diseases, all of which may fall under so general a description as insanity. Pathologically, therefore, the returns of insanity without a further detailed analysis would convey no very definite meaning, while the absence of any possibility of applying a uniform standard throughout the province or a scientific distinction between those persons whose peculiarities are not such as to warrant inclusion amongst the insane, makes it virtually impossible that any statistics of insanity collected at the census should have any approach whatever to scientific accuracy.

Insanity (of which upwards of 50 descriptions are distinguished by their cause or symptoms) Idiocy, Amentia, Dementia, Mania, Melancholia, Paranoia.

217. **Variations in the returns 1921 and 1931.**—Statement No. VII-1 inset and a map based upon it and forming diagram No. VII-3 illustrate the variation in the proportions of the insane by districts at the census of 1921 and 1931. The total numbers were 19,564 in 1921 of whom 11,479 were males and 8,085 females and 22,402 in 1931 of whom 13,046 were males and 9,356 females. In both years the largest number was returned from the Chittagong Hill Tracts where over 100 in every 100,000 of the population was returned as being insane, although the actual proportionate figures showed a decline from 139 in 1921 to 121 in 1931. Between 75 and 100 per 100,000 were also returned as insane in Cooch Behar but this proportion was reached in no other district at the present census and only in Murshidabad in 1921 where the proportion, 76 per 100,000, was swelled by the existence of a lunatic asylum at Berhampore which has since been closed and the inmates removed. Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Tripura State and Chittagong in both years returned from 50 to 75 per 100,000 insane and the proportion of 45 to 50 per 100,000 returned in Bogra, Pabna and Khulna in 1921 has also increased and from 50 to 75 per 100,000 in 1931. Amongst other districts decreases were

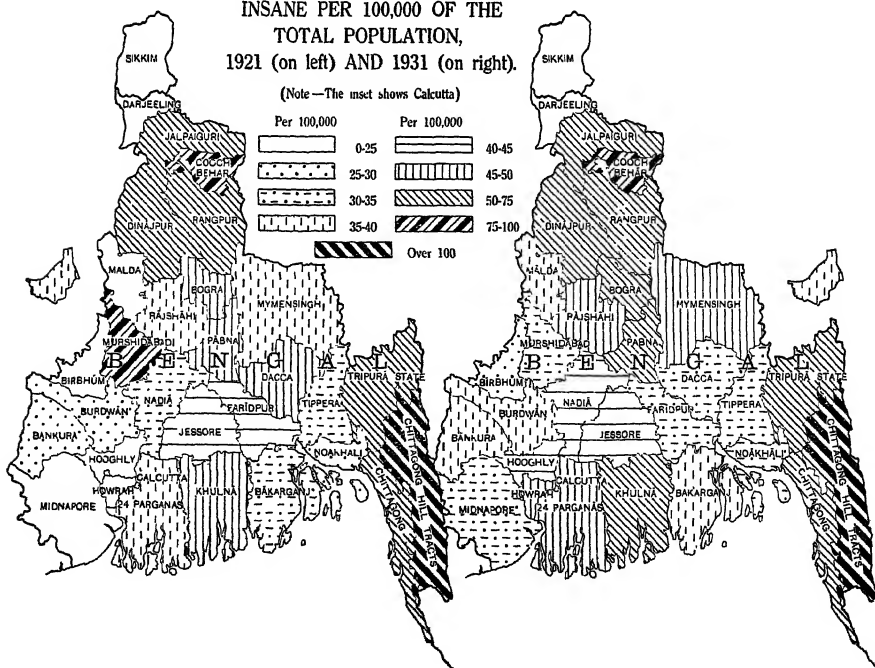
STATEMENT No. VII-1.

	Number of insane of both sexes per 100,000 in—	
	1921.	1931
BENGAL	41	44
British Territory	40	43
Burdwan Division	28	37
Burduwan	27	39
Birbhum	22	25
Bankura	25	37
Midnapore	24	34
Hooghly	31	40
Howrah	42	48
Presidency Division	44	47
24 Parganas	38	45
Calcutta	35	35
Nadia	32	44
Murshidabad	76	41
Jessore	43	41
Khulna	48	50
Rajshahi Division	50	58
Rajshahi	37	45
Dinajpur	55	67
Jalpaiguri	72	73
Darjeeling	20	14
Rangpur	63	72
Bogra	47	58
Pabna	40	58
Malda	50	56
Dacca Division	39	38
Dacca	49	33
Wymenaguh	35	46
Faridpur	40	40
Bakarganj	31	38
Chittagong Division	40	42
Tippura	31	31
Noakhali	29	34
Chittagong	56	58
Chittagong Hill Tracts	139	121
Bengal States	75	72
Cooch Behar	82	79
Tripura	61	61
SIKKIM	13	5

DIAGRAM No. VII-3.

INSANE PER 100,000 OF THE
TOTAL POPULATION,
1921 (on left) AND 1931 (on right).

(Note—The inset shows Calcutta)



reported only from Jessore (from 43 to 41 per 100,000), Darjeeling (from 20 to 14 per 100,000), Dacca (from 49 to 33 per 100,000) and Faridpur (from 40 to 30 per 100,000), and the decrease in Dacca was largely due as in Berhampore to the closing of the lunatic asylum there and the transfer of its patients to Ranchi. In Calcutta and Tippera proportions remained exactly the same with 35 and 31 per 100,000, respectively. In every other district there was an increase. The most notable is an increase of 20 in every 100,000 in the district of Hooghly. The only other area comparable with this division is the Malda district where the proportions rose from 20 per 100,000 in 1921 to 36 in 1931. Increases of 11 per 100,000 are shown in the returns from Mymensingh (from 35 to 46 per 100,000) and Bogra (from 47 to 58 per 100,000), of 10 per 100,000 in Midnapore and of 9 per 100,000 in Bankura (from 28 to 37 per 100,000), in Rangpur (from 63 to 72 per 100,000) and in Pabna (from 49 to 58 per 100,000). In other districts the increase varies between the two last census years from 2 to 8 per 100,000. In general terms two strips of land running north and south one through the centre of Bengal and comprising the districts of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, Pabna, Nadia, Jessore, Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Khulna and another comprising Tripura State, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong show the greatest frequency of insanity as revealed by the census returns, whilst Mymensingh with an incidence practically the same as that of Rajshahi serves as a kind of bridge between these two areas. Similar variations are illustrated for natural divisions in diagram A at the beginning of the chapter.

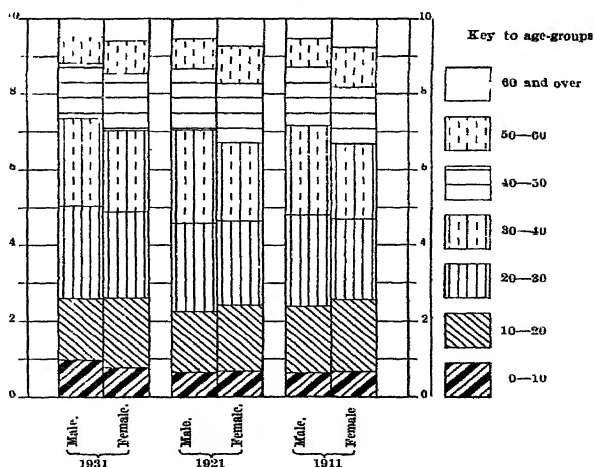
218. Age distribution and sex ratios of the insane 1911, 1921 and 1931.—

Diagrams Nos. VII-4 and VII-5 represent respectively the distribution by age-groups of 1,000 insane of each sex in 1911, 1921 and 1931 and the number of females per 1,000 males insane at age-periods during the same years. The figures on which diagram No. VII-4 is based are shown in the subsidiary table III and the corresponding table of previous years. The proportions insane in each sex and age are also illustrated for 1911, 1921 and 1931 in diagram B at the beginning of the chapter. Amongst both males and females returned as insane the greatest proportion is between the ages of 30 and 40, and this is a feature of the returns for all three years, but the total proportion aged less than 40 is less amongst females than amongst males both in 1931 and 1911 and was only slightly greater in 1921. More than half the male insane were less than 30 years old and the female figures are very nearly the same. The returns for 1931 both for males and females show in each year a larger proportion of the total insane returned at the lower age-groups than in 1921 and also than in 1911, though from ages 10 onwards up to 50 proportions were greater in 1911 than in 1921. The sex ratios

DIAGRAM No. VII-4.

Distribution by age-groups of 1,000 Insane of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(Vertical intervals represent hundreds)

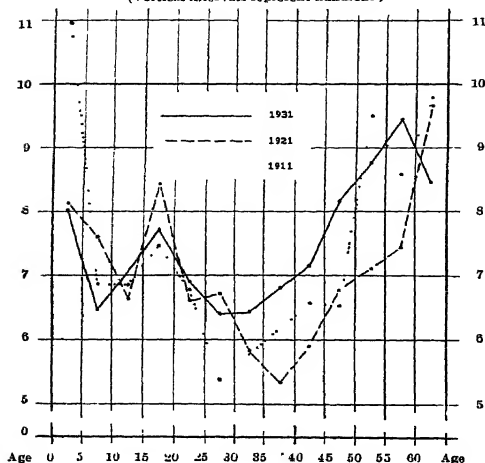


show in each year a larger proportion of the total insane returned at the lower age-groups than in 1921 and also than in 1911, though from ages 10 onwards up to 50 proportions were greater in 1911 than in 1921. The sex ratios

amongst the insane shown in diagram No. VII-5 at any age period in either of the three years concerned showed nowhere an excess of females over males

DIAGRAM No. VII-5.

Insane : Number of females per 1,000 males at age-periods in 1911, 1921 and 1931.
(Vertical intervals represent hundreds)



of 25 do not show any correspondence with the previous census either in 1931 or in 1921, and as regards the curve for 1931 even the part from age 25 onwards does not show anything like the correspondence with the curve of 1921 which is shown by that of 1921 with the curve of 1911. At all ages only 717 females were returned as insane for every 1,000 males so returned in 1931.

219. Provision for the insane.—The Bengal Presidency now contains no institutions specifically intended for the care of the insane. Asylums maintained previously at Berhampore and Dacca were closed at the end of 1925 and their inmates were transferred to the mental hospitals at Ranchi at the end of 1925 or the beginning of 1926. I owe to the courtesy of Col. Berkeley Hill and Major Dhunjibhoy the following details with the exception of those for 1921 to 1925, which have been taken from the lunatic asylum reports of the Government of Bengal from 1921-25. Statement No. VII-2 shows Indians from Bengal resident admitted to and taken off the strength of mental hospitals during 1921-30. In statements Nos. VII-3 and VII-4 mental patients from Bengal are shown according to sex and race by birthplace and by age-groups. From these figures it appears that Calcutta, Dacca and the 24-Parganas have contributed a larger number of patients to the mental hospitals than other districts in Bengal. The patients admitted into these institutions are generally those who are either curable or if incurable definitely dangerous to themselves or others.

STATEMENT No. VII-2.

Indians from Bengal resident in, admitted to and taken off the strength of mental hospitals during the decade, 1921-30.

	Resident.		Admitted		Taken off strength	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1921	818	149	154	38	160	39
1922	806	143	161	30	142	35
1923	835	144	187	25	207	29
1924	805	140	188	32	143	35
1925	850	137	192	23	160	28
1926	862	137	111	19	106	14
1927	867	152	168	42	164	20
1928	871	174	61	15	190	31
1929	902	168	41	20	55	14
1930	768	164	42	25	55	21
1931	775	168	2*	4*	10*	1*
26-2-31	767	171	..	..	..	..

*Up to 26th February 1931

STATEMENT No. VII—3.

Patients from Bengal in the Ranchi mental hospitals on 26th February 1931 by sex and birthplace.

Birthplace.	Indian		European	
	M	F.	M.	F.
Total	767	171	53	65
Bengal, all districts	585	112	24	26
Burdwan	16	8	1	
Birbhum	8	2		
Bankura	8	2		
Midnapore	16	2		
Hooghly	22			
Howrah	24	2	1	1
24-Pargannas	42	8		
Calcutta	63	28	21	25
Nadia	20	1		
Murshidabad	15	5		
Jessore	27	1		
Khulna	20	2		
Rajshahi	17	3		
Dinapur	16	2		
Jalpaiguri	13	6		
Darjeeling	8	4		
Rangpur	13	4	1	
Bogra	15	1		
Fabna	22	4		
Maida	11	3		
Dacca	52	13		
Myinsingh	23	4		
Faridpur	15	3		
Bakarganj	11	6		
Tripura	2	6		
Nonahal	11	1		
Chittagong	23	2		
Cooch Behar	2			
Outside Bengal	95	13	6	20
Birthplace not known	87	46	23	19

STATEMENT No. VII—4.

Patients from Bengal in the Ranchi mental hospitals on 26th February 1931 by sex and age.

Age-group	Indian		European	
	M	F.	M	F.
All ages	767	171	53	65
5—10	2			1
10—15	1	1	2	1
15—20	11	14	3	1
20—25	61	10	5	8
25—30	124	16	10	9
30—35	119	29	3	5
35—40	182	27	13	9
40—45	106	16	4	3
45—50	76	15	1	10
50—55	61	15	4	8
55—60	41	7	4	3
60—65	22	11	2	2
65—70	6	4	1	5
70 & over	5	1		

220. **Comparison with other provinces.**—Amongst males the incidence of insanity per 100,000 (49) is more in Bengal than in the United Provinces (29), the Punjab (36), the Central Provinces (35), Madras (38) and the North-West Frontier Provinces (41) but is exceeded in Bombay (59) and Burma (99). It is more (38) in Bengal amongst females than in the United Provinces (16), the North-West Frontier Provinces (18), Central Provinces (20), the Punjab (21), Madras (27) and Bombay (36) but less than in Burma (77).

II—Deaf-mutes

221. **Accuracy of the figures.**—Of the four census infirmities comparatively few difficulties may be expected to have attended the record of figures for those deaf and dumb. There will be a natural hesitation amongst parents to record children up to 5 or 10 years old as deaf and dumb out of a not unnatural hope that they may merely prove to be backward and will later develop normally; but after that hope has been abandoned the affliction is one which is plain to those knowing the patient and which involves no particular stigma so that there is no reason to assume any reluctance to the record of the infirmity where it exists. Up to the year 1911 census enumerators were directed to record only those persons who were deaf and dumb from birth. At the last two enumerations this restriction has been withdrawn, but true deaf-mutism is all the same a congenital defect so that the differences in the instructions ought not to have produced any effective difference in the type of persons recorded as deaf-mute on various occasions.

222. **Incidence of deaf-mutism compared with other provinces.**—The total number of deaf-mutes returned was 35,865 (males 21,560, females 14,305) corresponding to 70 (males 81, females 58) per 100,000. The male ratio is identical with that for Madras higher than that for the United Provinces (62) and Punjab (79) but less than that for the North-West Frontier Province (82), Central Provinces (91), Bombay (93) and Burma (122). The female ratio exceeds that for the United Provinces (42) and the North-West Frontier Province (46) but is less than that for the Punjab (56), Bombay (63), Madras (61), United Provinces (65) and Burma (110).

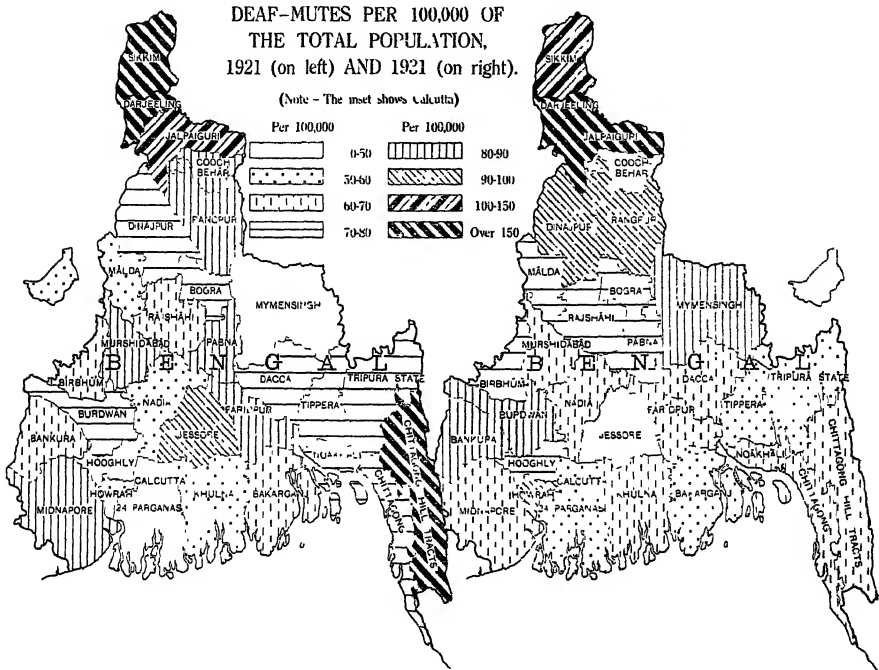
223. **Deaf-mutism by districts.**—The largest number of deaf-mutes was recorded from the districts of Mymensingh (4,477), Rangpur (2,401) and Dacca (2,287), but more than 1,000 of both sexes were also returned from Burdwan, Midnapore, Howrah, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Pabna, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong. The proportionate figures, however, shown in statement No. VII-5 and illustrated in diagram No. VII-6 opposite are highest in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, where they reached over 150 per 100,000 of the total population, the ratio being as high as 181 in Darjeeling, and the proportion is also high in Sikkim where it reaches 149 per 100,000 of the population. But in the other districts of Bengal only Dinajpur, Rangpur and Howrah have as many as 90 to 100 per 100,000, and only Bankura, Burdwan and Mymensingh as many as 80 to 90. Birbhum, Malda, Rajshahi, Bogra and Pabna form a block with an incidence of 70 to 80 per 100,000 into which protrudes another block containing the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Faridpur, Dacca and Khulna in which it is 60 to 70 per 100,000 and enclosing Jessore district in which it is only 26 per 100,000. Noakhali, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Midnapore have also an incidence of between 60 and 70 per 100,000 whilst there are 71 in Hooghly and no more than 29 per 100,000 in Calcutta and 36 per 100,000 in Cooch Behar. The incidence of this complaint is, therefore, highest in the Rajshahi Division where it averages 93 per 100,000 and lowest in the Presidency Division where it averages 51 per 100,000, whilst the Burdwan Division is second in point of extent, 75 out of every 100,000 being thus afflicted, followed by Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with an incidence of 71 and 59 per 100,000, respectively. Extraordinary differences in the incidence of this complaint were returned in 1921 and 1931. On the whole there has been an increase in the incidence of this infirmity of 4.5 per cent. from 67 to 70 per 1,000; but taken division by division decreases of 16.3 and 24.4 per cent. have been reported in the Presidency and Chittagong Divisions from 61 to 51 per 100,000 and from 78 to 59 per 100,000, respectively. In the Burdwan Division increases of 40 per 100,000 are reported from Hooghly and Howrah, and of 16, 15 and 8 from Birbhum, Bankura and Burdwan whilst there is a decrease of 17 from one district only, namely, Midnapore. In the Presidency Division as many districts show an increase as a decrease, for an increase was returned from the 24-Parganas of 14, from Nadia of 10 and from Khulna of 17 per 100,000. But this was very much more than balanced by decreases of 20 in Murshidabad, 24 in Calcutta and as many as 69 in Jessore, which fell from being the district with the fourth highest incidence of deaf-mutism in 1921 to having the least recorded on the present occasion. In the Rajshahi Division only Bogra and Pabna show a decrease on the proportion of 1921, amounting in the first case to 6 and in the second case to 11 per 100,000, whilst increases of 7 appear for Rangpur, 11 for Rajshahi, 16 for Malda, 20 for Jalpaiguri, 19 for Darjeeling and 22 for Dinajpur. The increase in the Dacca Division is entirely accounted for by Mymensingh where the proportion rose during the decade by as many as 66 from 21 to 87 per 100,000; but all other districts returned decreases, amounting in Bakarganj to 4, in Dacca to 12 and in Faridpur to 26 per 100,000. In the Chittagong Division, on the other hand, the incidence had decreased in all districts by 10 per 100,000 in Noakhali, 12 in Chittagong, 22 in Tippera and the astonishing figure of 94 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in which actually the second highest incidence in

STATEMENT No. VII-5.

District	Number of deaf-mutes per 100,000 of the total population in—	
	1921.	1931.
BENGAL	67	70
British Territory	67	71
Burdwan Division	68	76
Burdwan	72	80
Birbhum	60	70
Bankura	69	84
Midnapore	40	66
Hooghly	31	71
Howrah	56	96
Presidency Division	61	51
24-Parganas	42	50
Calcutta	33	29
Nadia	30	60
Murshidabad	69	60
Jessore	26	26
Khulna	32	69
Rajshahi Division	83	93
Rajshahi	60	71
Dinajpur	76	98
Jalpaiguri	135	155
Darjeeling	162	181
Rangpur	56	93
Bogra	77	71
Pabna	48	77
Malda	51	70
Dacca Division	54	71
Dacca	79	67
Mymensingh	21	87
Faridpur	58	60
Bakarganj	61	57
Chittagong Division	78	59
Tippera	78	50
Noakhali	73	63
Chittagong	73	61
Chittagong Hill Tracts	149	63
Bengal States	85	44
Cooch Behar	78	36
Tripura State	79	79
SIKKIM	176	149

Bengal was returned at the census of 1921. A decrease has been recorded in both the Indian States amounting to as much as 52 per 100,000 in Cooch Behar (from 88 to 36) and 23 per 100,000 in Tippera (from 79 to 56).

DIAGRAM No. VII-6.

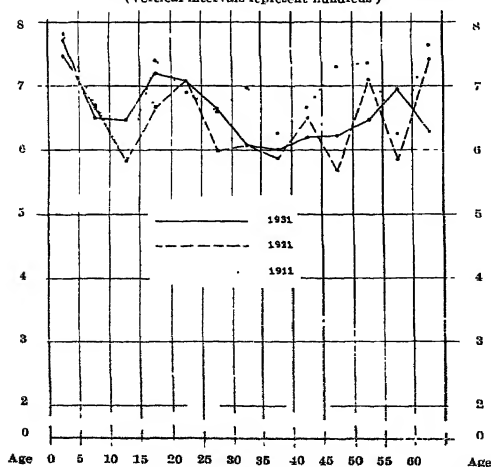


224. Deaf-mutes by sexes.—Thousand for thousand the incidence of the disease is greater amongst males than females although this relation is reversed in Calcutta where the numbers afflicted per 100,000 are 27 for males and 32 for females and in Tripura State where the corresponding figures are 54 and 57. Amongst males in every 100,000 a figure of as many as 192 persons afflicted is returned by Darjeeling and figures larger than 100 are returned from Jalpaiguri (181), Dinajpur (115), Rangpur (112), Howrah (110) and Mymensingh (102). Amongst females also the maximum incidence of the disease occurs in the same districts as amongst males, viz., Darjeeling with 168 and Jalpaiguri with 124 per 100,000: but in no other district except Dinajpur does the incidence amongst females amount to as much as 80 per 100,000 and both Jessore and Cooch Behar with respectively 21 and 24 females afflicted per 100,000 show an incidence less than amongst the males in the lowest district, viz., Calcutta with 27. Similar figures for those here discussed are illustrated for natural divisions in diagram A at the beginning of this chapter.

225. Age distribution of deaf-mutes.—Congenital deaf-mutes are generally short-lived, and such crisis as the onset of puberty are generally considered to take a heavy toll of them. This effect is reflected in the age statistics contained in subsidiary tables II and III and illustrated for decennial age-groups in the coloured diagram B at the beginning of this chapter. In each sex the total number afflicted with deaf-mutism per 100,000 of the total population is greater between the ages of 10 and 15 than at other ages and thereafter the numbers markedly decline. Similar characteristics are displayed by the curves plotted also for the two previous census years in the coloured diagram B. The congenital character of the disease forces us to resort, in explanation of the apparent increase in the proportionate numbers up to the ages of 10 to 15, to the consideration already pointed out that parents are reluctant in earlier ages to abandon the hope that their children will develop normally later on. There is some justification for this explanation in the actual figures published in subsidiary table III, which show an increase of from 34 to 95 per 100,000 males and from 25 to 69 per 100,000 females returned as deaf-mutes at the ages of 0—5 and 5—10, respectively, in the present census. All those returned as deaf-mutes now aged 10—15 should have been so returned together with others in 1921 under the age-group of 0—5 and the fact that so large a proportion was not thus returned can only be explained in this way. The increase in the numbers reported as deaf-mutes at the present census compared with 1921 marks a reversal of the general trend of the returns from 1881. In that year no less than 126 per 100,000 males and 84 per 100,000 females were returned as deaf-mutes. These figures were progressively reduced until 1901 when they were 72 and 49 per 100,000, respectively, and, although there was an increase both of males to 81 and females to 58 in 1911, the figures for 1921 again showed a decrease on those of 1911. The coloured diagram A at the beginning of this chapter shows for each natural division the numbers of deaf-mutes per 100,000 at each census from 1881. The general trend just referred to for the whole of Bengal was closely followed in West Bengal and East Bengal but it varied in North Bengal by a continuous increase in the male figures from 94 in 1911 to 97 in 1921 and 103 per 100,000 in 1931, whilst in Central Bengal the increase between 1901 and 1911 of from 54 to 61 per 100,000 males and 40 to 48 per 100,000 females continued till 1921 when the figures for males and females were 69

and 50 which during the last decade have, however, shown a decrease.

DIAGRAM No. VII-7.
Deaf-mutes : Number of females per 1,000 males at age-periods in 1911, 1921 and 1931.
(Vertical intervals represent hundreds)

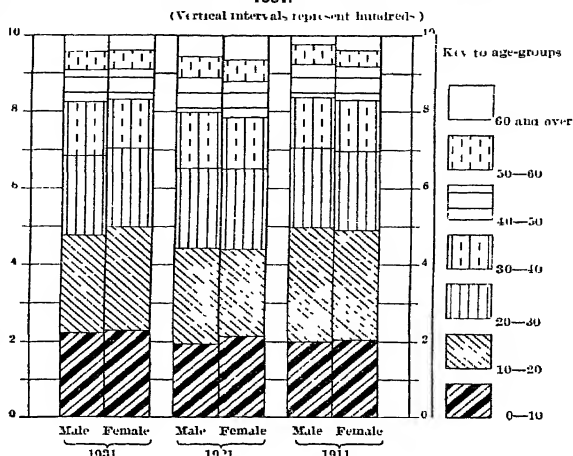


226. Sex ratios of the deaf-mutes, 1911, 1921 and 1931.—At no age-period during the last three decades has there been a larger number of female deaf-mutes per 1,000 males of the same age than 800. The ratio is highest between the ages of 0 and 5, which perhaps suggests that parents earlier give up the hope of their girls' learning to speak unusually late in childhood than of their boys, and reaches more than 700 per 100,000 only once more during the curve, viz., between the ages of 15 and 25. With some minor variations the curves for 1921 and 1911 show tolerably similar ratios for those years. The ratios are plotted in diagram No. VII-7.

227. Age distribution of deaf-mutes by sexes, 1911, 1921 and 1931.—Diagram No. VII-8 illustrates the age distribution of 1,000 deaf-mutes of

each sex in 1911, 1921 and 1931. At every age-group females below the age taken form a larger proportion of the total deaf-mutes than males, a circumstance in which the figures for the present census differ from those in previous years, when it was only females less than ten years of age who formed a larger proportion of the deaf-mutes than males of the same age. Very nearly half of the female deaf-mutes and rather a smaller proportion of males are under 20 years of age, the proportion under this age having increased in both sexes since 1921.

DIAGRAM No. VII-8.
Distribution by age-groups of 1,000 deaf-mutes of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.



228. Provision for the deaf-mutes.—Several institutions exist in Bengal which are doing work for those afflicted with this infirmity. There are deaf and dumb schools at Calcutta, Dacca, Mymensingh, Barisal and Chittagong and until comparatively recently there was also a similar small institution at Faridpur which, however, is now closed. The Calcutta school was founded as early as 1893. Since its foundation it has dealt with some 800 deaf-mute children and now accommodates about 180, so that during its period of existence something over 600 deaf-mute children have had the advantages of education and the opportunity of learning a craft. The school at Dacca was founded in 1916 and since that date more than 20 students have passed through the school and learned not only to read and write but also to speak. The school at Mymensingh was founded in 1925 and now accommodates 18 pupils. The school at Barisal during the last ten years has admitted 40

STATEMENT No. VII-6.

Number of pupils in deaf and dumb schools in Bengal in February 1931 by sex and birthplace.

Birthplace.	Total		Calcutta.		Dacca.		Mymensingh		Barisal.		Chittagong	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Total	186	49	139	38	10	3	12	4	11	.	14	4
All Bengal	148	45	101	34	10	3	12	4	11	.	14	4
Burdwan	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Birbhum	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bankura	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Midnapore	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hooghly	7	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Howrah	10	2	10	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24 Parganas	6	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Calcutta	40	21	40	21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nadia	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Murshidabad	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jessore	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Khulna	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rajshahi	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rangpur	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Patna	8	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dacca	12	5	12	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mymensingh	11	3	11	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Faridpur	10	6	10	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bakarganj	10	1	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tippera	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Noakhali	5	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chittagong	11	3	11	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bihar and Orissa	16	16	16	16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Assam	14	2	14	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
India, Elsewhere	7	2	7	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Outside India	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

pupils and has passed 38 of these through its curriculum. At Chittagong the school founded in 1923 has received 43 pupils of whom 20 have been

successfully trained and set up as tailors and managers of business, goldsmiths, mechanics, etc. At the date of the census a total of 186 males and 49 females were pupils in these five institutions and statements Nos. VII-6 and VII-7 compiled from information supplied by the schools are given showing their birthplace and age. Details of the pupils who passed through the schools during 1921 to 1930 are not complete, but in Dacca, Mymensingh, Barisal and Chittagong 128 pupils completed their course and it is reported that in nearly all cases they had learned to make themselves understood and to

STATEMENT No. VII-7.

Number of pupils in deaf and dumb schools in Bengal in February 1931 by sex and age-group.

Age-group	Total		Calcutta		Dacca		Mymensingh		Barisal		Chittagong	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	186	49	133	38	10	3	12	4	11	.	14	4
4-5	1											
6-10	56	25	14	20	1	1	4	2			1	2
11-15	97	23	74	17	6	2	4	2	6	..	7	1
16-20	30	1	21	1	3	.	3	1	2	..	1	.
20-25	4											

maintain themselves at a trade, if they were boys, whilst the girls were found suitable bridegrooms and married. The schools are supported largely by grants from Government and district or local boards and also by voluntary subscriptions and in the Calcutta school there are a number of scholarships maintained by Government or by district boards not only in Bengal but also in Bihar and Assam.

III—Blindness

229. **Accuracy of the figures.**—At the present census a special effort was made to obtain as far as possible accurate returns of the blind. The professor of ophthalmic surgery, Col. E. O'G. Kirwan, well before the enumeration took place, suggested that figures should be obtained both for the blind and for the partially blind defined as persons who are unable to count fingers at a distance of less and more than one metre respectively. It was not possible to complicate the census returns by adding to them a provision for recording the number of partially blind but as will be seen from the opening paragraphs of this chapter the suggested definition for the totally blind was adopted with a negligible modification: it is the one applied by the Department of Public Health in Egypt for the enumeration of the blind in their statistics and there can be no doubt it is good. It is not one the application of which requires a great deal of intelligence on the part of the enumerating staff and there is no very great force in the suggestion which has been made that it actually leads to smaller returns than would be correct. This contention is a conclusion deduced from the assumption that the enumerator, if he tested a person for blindness, would hold up his hand and inquire how many fingers there are in his hand and that the person being tested would naturally from his knowledge, and not because he could distinguish the fingers, reply "five," and therefore be excluded from the return of the blind.

230. **Variations between 1921 and 1931.**—The definition, indeed, is simple and accurate and can be recommended for use on future occasions: it might be advantageously applied throughout the whole of India since it is increasingly important to have full details of the blind uniformly prepared. The returns, however, show a very small variation from the figures of 1921. The total number of blind in Bengal was returned as 37,399 (20,171 males and 17,228 females). This figure represents a proportion of 73 per 100,000 in 1931 against a proportion of 72 in 1921; and upon the assumption which is pretty generally made when dealing scientifically with the census statistics of infirmities, that the census returns are very inaccurate indeed, there appears to be very little reason to believe that the returns on the present occasion were notably more accurate than in 1921, since there seems no reason to believe that the incidence of blindness has markedly decreased during the decade.

If it is conceded that the figures of 1921 erred on the side of understatement and that there has been no marked decrease in the incidence of blindness throughout the decade, it might have been expected that the proportions recorded on the present occasion would show some considerable increase over those of 1921. In point of fact it is very doubtful whether the agency by which the census statistics are obtained will ever be able to compile returns of infirmities of such accuracy as to be preferred by scientific and medical investigators to sample surveys by trained specialists, which on an analysis by approved statistical methods permit the elimination of errors inevitable in deducing general conclusions from the examination of relatively small samples.

231. Incidence of blindness by locality.—The largest number of the blind is contributed by the Burdwan Division, viz., 8,729, or nearly one quarter of the total blind in British Territory in Bengal. In the Rajshahi Division 8,683 persons were returned as blind, the figure also amounting to nearly one quarter of the total blind population. Proportionately the incidence of blindness is greatest also in these two divisions amounting in Burdwan to 101 per 100,000 and in the Rajshahi Division to 81 per 100,000. It is as low as 24 per 100,000 in Sikkim, but in no division, district or state of Bengal does the proportion fall below 40 per 100,000, the figure of Noakhali. Speaking generally, the incidence of blindness is greatest apart from the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in Western Bengal and in the districts of Murshidabad, Malda, Nadia and Pabna, i.e., in a strip running roughly parallel with the eastern boundary of the province into which the districts of Rajshahi and Bogra make a sort of salient at its northern end. Bankura shows the highest incidence of the disease: here no less than 130 persons in every 100,000 are totally blind. Proportions of from 100 to 125 per 100,000 were returned in Murshidabad (117), Burdwan (115), Malda (111) and Birbhum (109). The incidence is between 90 and 100 in Midnapore (93), Hooghly (91), Nadia (96), Pabna (91) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (95). It reaches as much as 87 in Jalpaiguri and between 70 and 80 per 100,000 in Cooch Behar, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, Howrah and the 24 Parganas. In the rest of the province the incidence is less than 70 per 100,000 or .007 per cent. reaching as much as 60 only in Darjeeling (61), Mymensingh (65), Jessore (64) and Chittagong (63). In Noakhali as also in Calcutta and Sikkim the proportion is less than 50 per 100,000. These figures are given in statement No. VII-8 and illustrated in diagram No. VII-9 overleaf, whilst diagram A at the beginning of the chapter illustrates similar figures by sexes for this natural divisions of the province.

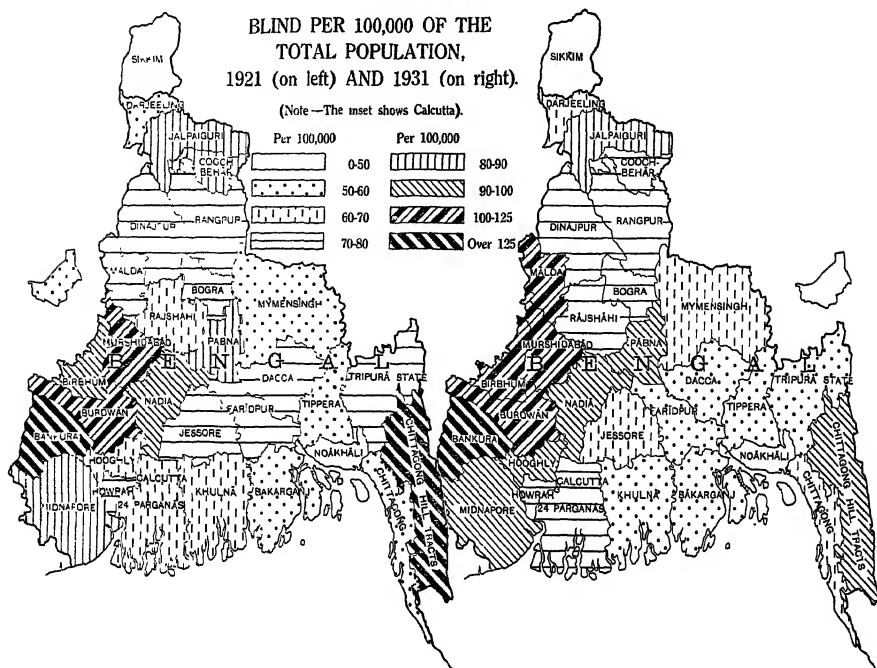
STATEMENT No. VII-8.

	Number of blind per 100,000 of the total population in—	
	1921	1931
BENGAL	72	73
British Territory	72	73
Burdwan Division	90	101
Burdwan	105	115
Birbhum	95	100
Bankura	100	120
Midnapore	87	93
Hooghly	80	91
Howrah	75	73
Presidency Division	74	74
24 Parganas	80	70
Calcutta	48	40
Nadia	91	90
Murshidabad	107	117
Jessore	64	65
Khulna	62	53
Rajshahi Division	77	81
Rajshahi	69	74
Dinajpur	76	73
Jalpaiguri	87	87
Darjeeling	62	61
Rangpur	77	74
Bogra	73	70
Pabna	84	91
Malda	78	111
Dacca Division	61	56
Dacca	72	57
Mymensingh	64	64
Faridpur	76	53
Bakarganj	50	52
Chittagong Division	58	52
Tippera	58	56
Noakhali	38	47
Chittagong	56	63
Chittagong Hill Tracts	159	91
Bengal States	83	68
Cooch Behar	89	73
Triprana State	72	59
SIKKIM	33	24

232. Facilities for treatment.—During the past decade a great advance has been made in the facilities for treating eye diseases in Calcutta by the opening in September 1926 of a new eye infirmary in the Medical College. This, however, is the only modern and efficient eye hospital in Bengal, but facilities are now given to post-graduate medical students in limited numbers to receive practical training in ophthalmology. The improvement in the treatment of eye diseases has, therefore, probably been mainly confined during the last decade to Calcutta, and to this may be accountable the decrease in the incidence of blindness from 58 to 49 per 100,000, although the figures for other infirmities suggest that this part of the schedule received less attention

in Calcutta than elsewhere. It is at least significant that, since the opening of the new eye hospital in Calcutta, the number of patients treated for eye

DIAGRAM No. VII-9.

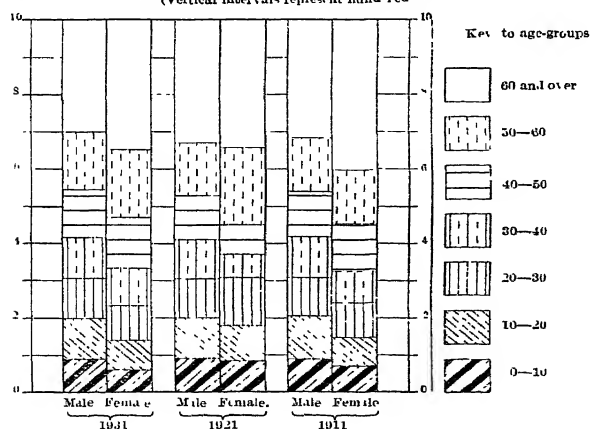


complaints has risen from 16,971 in 1926 to 29,947 in 1931, an increase of more than 76 per cent. which shows not only the increased facilities for treatment but probably also an increased confidence and desire for treatment. Compared with the figures of 1921 decreases have been recorded at the present census of 30 per 100,000 in Bankura (from 160 to 130), of 23 per 100,000 in Faridpur (from 76 to 53), of 16 in Cooch Behar (from 89 to 73), of 15 in Dacca (from 72 to 57), of 13 in Tripura State (from 72 to 59), of 11 in Jessore (from 75 to 64) and of some figure up to 10 in Calcutta (from 58 to 49), Sikkim (33 to 24), Tippera (58 to 50), Noakhali (47 to 40), Khulna (62 to 55), Rangpur (77 to 74) and Dinajpur (76 to 74), but the largest and most astounding decrease is recorded from the Chittagong Hill Tracts from 159 in 1921 to 95 per 100,000 in 1931, for which the most reasonable explanation appears to be an increased strictness in excluding those who are not totally blind. In all other parts of the province the incidence of blindness shows in the returns an increase over 1921. The figures are illustrated in the same diagram (No. VII-9) which displays the district incidence at the present census. In Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Howrah, Tippera, Noakhali, Bakarganj and Bankura the difference is not sufficient to be shown by the scale of hatchings adopted on the map. The greatest increase in the incidence of blindness is shown in Malda and Hooghly where the ratio has gone up from 78 to 111 per 100,000 in the first case and from 60 to 91 in the second. Comparatively large increases are also shown by Birbhum (95 to 109), Mymensingh (54 to 68), Burdwan (105 to 115) and the 24 Parganas (60 to 70). The general trend previous to the census of 1921 was in all natural divisions on the whole a decrease in the proportions of the blind, both male and female.

In 1881 the proportions for males and females were respectively as high as 119 and 113 per 100,000, and the figure of 1911 for males and females alike represents the lowest incidence on record since that date amounting in the case of males to 78 and in the case of females to 63 per 100,000. Between 1911 and 1921 there was no change in the incidence of males, and amongst females the incidence increased to 66 per 100,000; and on the present occasion, although the figures for both sexes show an increase over the incidence of 1921, this is entirely due to an increase in the figures for females which have advanced from 66 in 1921 to 70 on the present occasion, whereas the incidence against males has actually decreased from 78 to 76 in 1931. Amongst both sexes the highest proportions are shown in the female population of Bankura where the incidence amounts to as much as 143 per 100,000, but Burdwan also has an incidence (121) higher than in any district amongst males, and the female ratio in Birbhum (117) is equal to the incidence in Bankura which shows the highest proportion of the blind amongst males in the whole province. Even though the incidence amongst males has declined and that amongst females has increased there is only one division in which the proportion amongst females is as great as or greater than amongst males. This is the Burdwan Division where the figures are respectively 107 and 95 per 100,000.

233. Age distribution of the blind by sexes.—In both sexes the increase of blindness naturally proceeds at an higher rate with increasing age. The figures are illustrated in the coloured diagram B at the beginning of the chapter and also in diagram No. VII-2.

DIAGRAM No. VII-10.
Distribution by age-groups of 1,000 blind of each sex, 1911, 1921 and 1931.
(Vertical intervals represent hundred)



No less than half the blind are over 45 in the case of males and 50 in the case of females; and from these ages in each sex the proportions per 1,000 of the same age increase very rapidly. They are actually higher amongst males up to the age-group 30 to 40 and amongst females from that age onwards. Nearly 35 per cent. of the blind amongst females and 30 per cent. amongst males are aged 60 and over. The same distribution

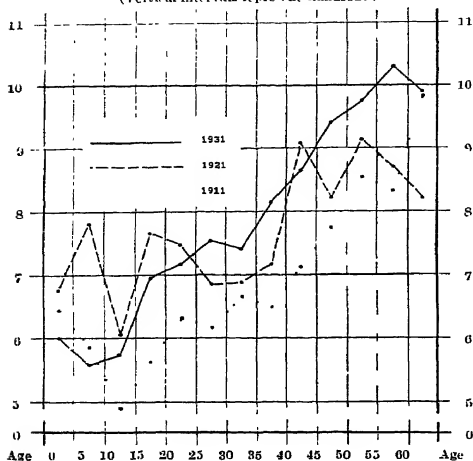
has characterised the returns on each of the last three occasions although in 1911 the proportions were equal in the age-group 45 to 50 and the incidence amongst males was higher than amongst females in the age-group 40 to 45. There are only 599 females blind for every 1,000 males between the ages of 0 and 5, and this figure actually sinks to 557 at the next age-group 5 to 10; but from that age the proportion shows a fairly regular rise until at the age of 55 to 60 there are actually more females blind than males, and the proportions are 99 to 100 at ages 60 and over. Proportionately to the total number of the same age in each sex the blind are fewer amongst females up to the age of 30 to 35 and amongst males thereafter. The characteristic distribution of the blind among age-groups in each sex and the proportions of females per 1,000 males suffering from this affliction have remained relatively much the same since 1911, although both in that year and in 1921 the lowest proportion of female blind to male blind occurred five years later than is shown in the present year and the proportions particularly in 1921 showed a more

erratic progress from one age-group to the next than either in 1911 or the present occasion. Diagrams Nos. VII-10 (on page 15) and VII-11 below illustrate the age distribution and sex ratios at age-groups.

DIAGRAM No. VII—11.

Blind : Number of females per 1,000 males at age-periods in 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(Vertical intervals represent hundreds)



troubles to the moist air and abundant greenery which her sons celebrate in their songs. Col. Kirwan states: "Trachoma which is the greatest cause of blindness and partial blindness in India is not common amongst Bengalis. We see many cases amongst the foreigners to Bengal Marwaris, Pathans, etc. This I attribute to the amount of shade and humid atmosphere, less dust and glare than in other provinces of India. Keratomalacia is by far the commonest cause of blindness in children under five years of age. This is caused by insufficient fat in the food and the cause can be very easily prevented if sufficient money is available to provide milk for the babies. Small-pox is a very common cause for blindness and can very easily be prevented by proper vaccination and re-vaccination. Syphilis is also another very common cause of blindness and this will be largely preventable if the public were educated up to it and adequate treatment could be made available. We do not get any large epidemics of any special class in Bengal as a rule."

STATEMENT No. VII-9.

Statement of patients treated for eye complaints and cataract operations performed in—

Year	Bengal				Calcutta *			
	Cataract operations				Cataract operations			
	All complaints	No of operations	No. of patients.	No of patients cured.	All complaints	No of operations	No of patients cured.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1921	233,557	2,109	2,104	2,077				
1922	278,714	2,529	2,511	2,433	10,033	742	720	
1923	301,623	2,531	2,465	2,404	10,074	847	816	
1924	316,701	2,972	2,856	2,787	12,477	947	907	
1925	305,028	2,238	2,201	2,197	17,095	948	929	
1926	328,607	2,631	2,498	2,417	16,971	709	687	
1927	342,608	3,102	2,793	2,722	21,846	1,014	792	
1928	375,600	2,797	2,508	2,520	25,697	1,010	815	
1929	391,726	2,088	2,055	2,846	26,095	1,049	841	
1930	372,151	2,203	2,002	2,897	28,570	1,107	926	
1931	..	..	..	..	29,847	996	880

*Eye Infirmary, Medical College Hospital only.

235. **Cataract operations, 1921-31.** Statement No. VII-9 above furnished by the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal and

Col. Kirwan shows for each year in the past decade the number of persons undergoing treatment for eye complaint with the number of cataract operations performed and cured in Bengal and at the Eye Infirmary, Medical College Hospital in Calcutta. Of the patients treated and the operations performed in Calcutta a considerable number were from outlying districts.

IV.—Leprosy

236. **Accuracy of the figures.**—Of all census infirmities it is in the case of leprosy that the greatest difficulties are experienced in obtaining an accurate return through such an agency as is employed in making the census enumeration, and the Executive of the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association found "good reason to believe that the number (of lepers) is 5 or more likely 10 times" the number shown in the census returns of 1921. The disease is so much dreaded and is such an object of odium that those who know themselves to be afflicted with it are under the most serious temptation to conceal the fact lest they be thrown out of employment or socially ostracised: but even were they prepared to return themselves in every case there are circumstances in the very nature of the disease itself which make it possible for sufferers at an early stage to be entirely unaware of their condition. The term "corrosive leprosy" inherited from previous census operations is apparently not known to science, but two main types of the disease are distinguished, viz., "neural" (showing evidence of actual or previous nerve involvement) and "cutaneous" (showing leprotic lesions of the skin). Upon bacteriological examination of the skin, mucosa or lymph glands the presence of "acid-fast" leprosy bacilli is often not revealed in the first and is revealed in the second type. These types are *known to leprosy workers in Bengal as A and B types and it is only the B type which is considered infectious; but, it is not only the B type which is readily recognisable by the unskilled observer. Within each of these two types leprosy research workers in Bengal distinguish various classes according to the severity of the disease. Non-infectious cases showing not very characteristic patches on the skin are distinguished as A1 whilst those showing actual acroteric lesions or the characteristic mutilations and disfigurements associated with this disease are known as A2, whilst the infectious cases are distinguished as B1, B2 and B3 according to the frequency with which the bacilli are found to be present. Without expert clinical examination A1 and B1 cases and even a proportion of B2 cases also cannot be confidently diagnosed. The character of the disease, therefore, is such as to give rise to conditions in which cases undetectable except to expert investigators may be either infectious or non-infectious whilst those which are most obvious to the untrained observer and most closely correspond to the census definition of "corrosive" leprosy are just the cases (A2) which are no longer infectious, and in which the disease has generally run its course and left the patient maimed and mutilated but no longer suffering or a source of infection. A further anomaly is introduced by the fact that it is just by comparison of the number of A1 and B1 cases (which are most likely or almost certain to escape diagnosis by the ordinary census enumerator) with more advanced cases (B2, B3 and A2) that research workers are able to form an idea whether the disease is increasing in frequency or decreasing. The hypothesis upon which research work in Bengal deals with this question is that the disease may be taken to be increasing in frequency when the number of undetectable cases or cases at an early stage (A1 and B1) is greater than the number of detectable cases or cases at a later stage

* "A" and "B" cases are now distinguished as Neural ("N") and Cutaneous ("C") in accordance with the report adopted by the Leonard Wood Memorial Conference on Leprosy in Manila in January 1931, but the old descriptions are retained because they are used in the reports published up to the time the census was taken, and sub-types are still distinguished by the degree of their severity. At the same conference the disuse of the term "infectious" was also recommended in favour of "open" to describe "cases from which dissemination seems probable" as opposed to which other cases are now described as "closed", a term which replaces a description felt to be liable to misinterpretation, viz., "bacteriologically negative."

(B2, A3 and A2), and to be on the decline when they are less. As far as census statistics go, therefore, every consideration is against the obtaining of complete and accurate returns. Such returns as are obtained are likely to be predominantly of the A2 class in which the sufferer bears the indelible traces of the disease but is no longer actually either infectious or in any real sense of the word suffering from it in active form, and consequently not only do the figures probably omit all the early cases of both kinds, but by their omission, and the fact that no scientific distinction can possibly be made in the census schedules between the kind or stage of the disease returned, make it impossible to base upon the type-distribution of the complaint any deduction whether the disease is tending to increase or decrease or is stationary in any particular area of the province.

237. Comparison with figures obtained by other agencies.—Work amongst lepers in India has been carried out since 1874 by the Mission to Lepers, but during the past three or four years increasing efforts have been made in Bengal to cope with this scourge under the auspices of the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, formed in London in 1923. There is now a research bureau dealing with leprosy at the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta and it is to the officer-in-charge of this department, Dr. E. Muir, that this report owes most of the details here given regarding the disease and its treatment. A considerable number of detailed surveys in selected areas have been carried out by the bureau during the past few years. Their method is to select an area in which either from economic or cultural or other considerations the incidence of the disease is expected to be high and to conduct a detailed examination of as many of the inhabitants of that region and in any case of all such "contacts" as can be inspected with the assistance of the local health and sanitary organisation maintained by the district boards: and it is some justification of the census figures of leprosy that they are used by research workers to determine the areas in which the incidence of leprosy is considerable. There is a widespread recognition of the seriousness of this complaint throughout Bengal; in nearly every district investigations have been carried out at least in some areas independently of the census figures and the results of these investigations present in many instances a valuable check upon the figures obtained at the census. The discrepancy between the census figures and the figures obtained by these independent surveys varies very considerably according to the agency employed. In some instances officers in charge of police-stations or circle officers have conducted the inquiry by means of *chaukidars*, an agency very little, if at all, more reliable than the general census staff. In these cases the figures generally do not show so great a discrepancy with the census figures as is displayed when enquirers with medical training are employed. Thus an inquiry by such an agency during the last decade in Birbhum revealed 1,569 lepers against the total shown at the present census of 1,792. Inquiries by a similar agency in 20 police-stations of the 24-Parganas revealed only 110 lepers against a census figure of 192. In other cases, however, with a similar agency an actual increase over the census figures was returned. Thus during 1930 an inquiry through *chaukidars* in 11 police-stations of Noakhali resulted in returns of 286 lepers against the census returns of 181; but in this case the district health officer himself doubted whether most of these returns were of real leprosy at all, and was of the opinion that some were only leucoderma. In Chittagong inquiries during the same year in 9 police-stations resulted in returns of 488 lepers against the census total of 352 for the whole district. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, again, a recent inquiry by the *thana* officers with the help of village headmen resulted in returns of 290 against the census figure of 195. A survey in November 1930 in the Tippera district conducted through the union boards under the supervision of the circle officers and supplemented by a survey of the Nasirnagar police-station by a trained medical worker of the Leprosy Research Bureau in 1931 revealed 859 lepers against census figures of 461 or little less than one half. Again in Dinajpur inquiries through the union boards elicited figures of 637 against the census figure of 580, whilst in

Burdwan recent inquiries through the union boards and the *Asansol Mines' Board of Health in 19 police-stations revealed 1,853 lepers against the census returns of 1,581. In two other districts inquiries have been conducted by more satisfactory agencies. In Jessore inquiries were made by the district board through the medium of their own sanitary inspectors with the unexpected result that the figures returned were 185 only as against 210 given in the census returns. Similarly an unexpected result was obtained in Jalpaiguri through the agency of the district board sanitary inspectors and assistant health officers: they found in 15 police-stations only 195 lepers against census returns of 890. Jessore and Jalpaiguri, however, are exceptional and in most cases the incidence of the disease revealed by trained medical examiners was very considerably higher than the census figures show. In Malda during 1929 an investigation initiated by expert research workers and continued by trained medical men under the supervision of the civil surgeon revealed 590 lepers against the census figure of 456. In the same year the public health staff of Faridpur enumerated 358 lepers or more than twice the number returned at the present census, viz., 166. In Rajshahi also inquiries by the district board sanitary staff revealed 517 lepers or nearly twice as many as the present census figure of 291. In Bankura, Midnapore and Bogra the leprosy research bureau has conducted or supervised fairly extensive surveys either through its own officers or through the local health and sanitary staff under the direction of its own officers. Between 1927 and 1931 surveys conducted in 5 police-stations of Bankura revealed 2,850 lepers against 1,718 returned at the present census. In Midnapore inquiries between 1930 and 1931 in 31 police-stations revealed 2,115 lepers against the census figure of 1,635. In Bogra, since the census, from January to March 1932, investigations have shown that there are no less than 354 lepers or nearly twice as many as the figure (191) returned at the census. In the three districts last mentioned the discrepancies are even more startling in certain police-stations. Trained investigators discovered nearly twice as many lepers as were returned at the census in the Binpur police-station of Midnapore (277 as against 150) and in the Taldangra police-station of Bankura district (253 against 197). Between two and three times as many were revealed in the Nayagram police-station of Midnapore district (137 against 61), and in the Gabtali and Joypurhat police-stations of the Bogra district where the figures were 70 against 34 and 22 against 9, respectively. Three times or more than three times the number of lepers were discovered in the Gangajalghati and Onda police-stations of Bankura district where the figures on expert investigation were 1,005 and 991 against the census figures of 332 and 288, in the Salbani, Sabang and Chandrakona police-stations of Midnapore where the survey figures were †579, 46 and 79, respectively, against census figures of 145, 13 and 25, and in the Panchbibi police-station of the Bogra district where the figure was 18 against 5 returned at the census. As much as 4½ times as many cases were diagnosed in the Sadar police-station of Midnapore (519 against the census figure of 116) and the Adamdighi police-station of Bogra (72 against the census figures of 16) whilst the figures in the Kahalu police-station in Bogra (33 against the census figures of 5) amount to the astonishing figure of 6½ times the numbers returned at the census.

238. Incidence of leprosy by locality, 1921 and 1931.—In these circumstances discussion of the figures of leprosy as returned at the census can only hope at the best to indicate to some extent the comparative incidence of the disease in various parts of the country and at various enumerations, although the figures for its incidence by age-groups are also not without interest. Details of the incidence of the disease in 1921 and 1931 are shown

*Dr. Muir writes: "The most recent expert survey of villages in Asansol area under the Mines' Board of Health shows 1·2 per cent. of leprosy."

†Dr. Muir reports that in Salbani "the most recent survey figure gives 793 lepers and even the expert figures probably do not gather more than half the cases." He adds: "It might be pointed out that the incidence found increases with the skill, time and thoroughness of the survey."

in statement No. VII-10 and illustrated for districts in diagram No. VII-12 and for natural divisions by sexes in diagram A at the beginning of the chapter. On the census returns 42 persons in every 100,000 are afflicted with

STATEMENT No. VII-10.

	Number of leprosy per 100,000 of the total population in—	
	1921	1931
BENGAL	33	42
British Territory	33	42
Burdwan Division	90	112
Burdwan	112	138
Birbhum	148	189
Bankura	270	314
Midnapore	59	54
Hooghly	12	30
Howrah	17	21
Presidency Division	21	24
24-Parganas	10	14
Cuttack	20	21
Nadia	24	31
Murshidabad	27	64
Jessore	13	13
Khulna	9	11
Rajshahi Division	26	42
Rajshahi	20	19
Dinajpur	8	33
Jaipurguri	32	97
Darjeeling	24	49
Rangpur	30	62
Bogra	16	18
Pabna	14	15
Malda	24	44
Dacca Division	20	23
Dacca	22	10
Mymensingh	41	42
Faridpur	13	7
Bakarganj	9	9
Chittagong Division	15	17
Tippura	18	13
Noakhali	4	11
Chittagong	11	20
Chittagong Hill Tracts	28	92
Bengal States	50	42
Cooch Behar	55	45
Tripura State	39	38
SIKKIM	13	6

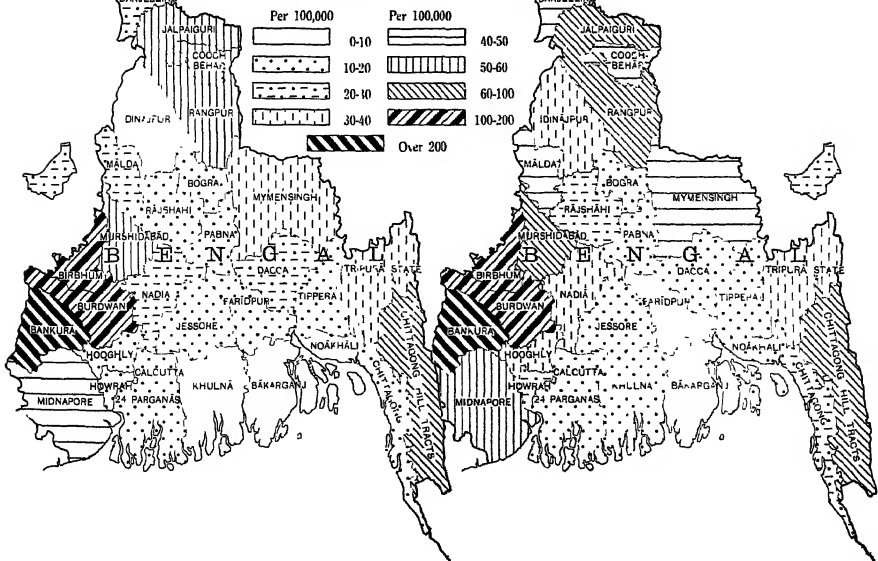
leprosy compared with 33 in 1921. The incidence is at its highest in West Bengal where it reaches the figure of 112 per 100,000 compared with 90 per 100,000 in 1921. But in no other division is the figure greater than 42, which is the incidence in Rajshahi Division and in the aggregate of Bengal states. The incidence in the Dacca Division is as low as 23 per 100,000, and it is even lower, viz., 17 per 100,000, in the Chittagong Division, whilst in the Presidency Division it is very little higher, being only 24 per 100,000. By districts the incidence is heaviest in Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan, Jalpaiguri, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Murshidabad and Rangpur. In all of these areas it amounts to more than 60 per 100,000 and is as high in Bankura as 314, in Birbhum as 189 and in Burdwan as 138. These areas of greatest frequency occur on the south-west of the province and along the eastern boundary at its northern and southern ends and they are prolonged in the first case on the north by Malda with an incidence of 43 per 100,000 and the second case on the north by Darjeeling with an incidence of 49, whilst Mymensingh forms a link with an incidence of 42 between Rangpur and Chittagong, Tripura State intervening with an incidence of as much as 38 per 100,000. Bakarganj and Faridpur show the slightest incidence of the disease, viz., 9 and 7 per 100,000, respectively; and surrounding them the districts of 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Jessore, Khulna, Tippera, Dacca, Noakhali, Pabna and Bogra show the next lowest incidence of between 10 and 20 per 100,000 only. Dinajpur wedged in between Jalpaiguri and Rangpur in the north-east and Malda on the south-west shows an incidence of only 33, whilst Rajshahi, Nadia, Hooghly and Howrah on the one hand and Chittagong on the other show an incidence intermediate between the western band of high frequency and the central core of relative immunity. Thus in Rajshahi the proportion is 20 per 100,000 which is intermediate between the figures of Dinajpur and Nadia on the north and south and Pabna and Bogra on the east. Nadia and Hooghly have an incidence of between 30 and 40 per 100,000, intermediate between the frequency in Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan and Bankura on the one hand and 24-Parganas, Jessore and Calcutta on the other. The figure for Howrah is 21 per 100,000, intermediate between Midnapore with 59 and 24-Parganas with 14; and Chittagong also with an incidence of 20 is intermediate between the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tippera on the east and north and Noakhali on the north-west. The same general features are again reproduced in the map for 1921 also shown in diagram No. VII-12 although on the present occasion in most districts there has been an increase in the actual incidence per 100,000 afflicted with the disease. In 1921 as in 1931 speaking generally there was an area along the western boundary of the province and again on the boundary running from north-west to south-east where the incidence of the disease was generally highest. These two areas may be likened to the two jaws of a pair of pincers hinged in the north of the province and the incidence of the disease in general decreases with the distance from these two areas of high frequency. Thus in 1921 also Bakarganj was one of the areas of least frequency and this district with Khulna and Noakhali was surrounded in successive bands by areas having a progressively higher incidence of the disease. Into this

picture only Dinajpur fails to fit with reasonable accuracy. In this district an incidence of only 8 per 100,000 was returned in 1921 as compared with the present incidence of 33 per 100,000, more than four times as great as in 1921. With the exception of Jessore, which has recorded no change, and of Calcutta, where the incidence has decreased from 29 to 21, every British district in West, Central and North Bengal has returned an increase since 1921 in the proportion of lepers to the total population. In Calcutta itself it is doubtful whether the figures for either year can command even such confidence as may be given to the figures for the rural areas. Before the census of 1931 at one period amongst the leper patients attending the leprosy clinic in Calcutta (who necessarily knew that they were sufferers) only 7 per cent. were found to have been returned as lepers in the schedules for 1921, whilst the actual figure returned in 1931 (257) can hardly be reconciled with the fact that in 1927 no fewer than 230 cases of leprosy from the municipal area attended for the first time the out-patient clinic at the School of Tropical Medicine. Increases are returned of no less than 45 (from 52 to 97) in Jalpaiguri, of 44 (from 270 to 314) in Bankura, of 41 (from 148 to 189) in Birbhum, of 26 (from 112 to 138) in Burdwan, of 25 (from 8 to 33) in Dinajpur, of 21 (from 28 to 49) in Darjeeling, of 19 in Malda (from 24 to 43), of 15 (from 15 to 30) in Hooghly and of between 10 and 15 in Rangpur (from 50 to 62) and Midnapore (from 48 to 59). In the other districts of these three divisions the increase has been not more than 10. In the Bengal states, on the other hand, as well as in Dacca, Faridpur and Tippera the incidence of the disease now returned is less than in 1921. Thus in Dacca there are now 16 per 100,000 compared with 22 in 1921, in Faridpur 7 per 100,000 against 13 in 1921, and in Tippera there are only 15 per 100,000 compared with 18 in 1921. Similarly, in Cooch Behar the proportion has declined from 55 in 1921 to 45 per 100,000 in 1931 whilst a smaller decrease of from 39 to 38 is

DIAGRAM No. VII-12.

LEPERS PER 100,000 OF THE
TOTAL POPULATION,
1921 (on left) AND 1931 (on right).

(Note—The inset shows Calcutta)



reported from the Tripura State; but the Cooch Behar figure of 264 lepers is clearly incomplete for in November and December 1930, three trained medical research workers diagnosed no fewer than 180 cases during a hurried sample survey of no more than 87 mauzas, from which the actual number of lepers is deduced as being at least 1,000 to 1,200 in the whole state. In Bakarganj, Noakhali, Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts increases of between 3 and 9 per 100,000 are recorded since 1921. In Sikkim the figure has declined from 13 in 1921 to 6 on the present occasion.

239. Causes of variation in the returns at different years.—Whether the increase in each case represents a natural increase in the incidence of the disease and not partly or entirely an increase in the accuracy of the returns is a question upon which it is difficult to express any opinion. The detailed reports of trained workers conducting intensive surveys on more than one occasion record that cases which have been concealed at first come forward voluntarily after a short time when it is seen that the treatment concurrently given with the survey work causes an improvement in the patients treated. It is possible that in the districts of Western Bengal, such as Bankura and Midnapore, where the problem was first taken up the increase may be due in some degree to the fact that sufferers from this disease, seeing that it can be arrested if taken early enough, have no longer the same incentive to conceal it and are more willing now to come forward and return their affliction. On the other hand in almost every case of detailed expert survey, the number of early cases (A1 and B1) is greater than the remainder and this ratio is generally held to indicate that the disease is on the increase. It is at least certain that the increase returned in Dinajpur, where the incidence is 75 per cent. higher than in 1921, is not due to increasing consciousness of the disease for this district alone has refused an offer twice made to send a leprosy propaganda officer to disseminate information. Although, however, the figures for the present census represent an increase on those of the last census in every division before that date, the figures, as is clear from the coloured diagram at the beginning of this chapter had progressively declined in every natural division of Bengal from the year 1881. This decline can by no means be accepted as an actual record of the facts although it is possible that in the early years many cases of leucoderma were recorded as leprosy. The improvement of communications by rail and particularly by motor bus combines with economic pressure to drive away from their original habitations just those primitive peoples who are the most likely to contract and spread the disease, and to give them access to all parts of the country whilst the insidious nature of the onset of the disease and the fact that the average period of incubation is at least two or three years, a time during which the intimates and friends of the sufferer have no suspicion that he is afflicted and associate freely with him, make it very easy for the disease to spread unsuspected. Some of the most infectious cases, indeed, show so little the outward signs of the disease that they are unlikely to be recognised as lepers by those with whom they come into contact.

240. Comparison with other provinces.—The number of lepers returned per 100,000 of each sex is 59 for males and 23 for females. The proportions are higher for both sexes in the Central Provinces (males 88, females 50), in Burma (males 102, females 49) and in Madras (males 107, females 34). In Bombay the male ratio (55) is less but the female ratio (26) is greater whilst the proportions for both sexes are lower in the North-West Frontier Province (males 12, females 8), the Punjab (males 13, females 6) and the United Provinces (males 47, females 11).

*Dr Muir comments as follows. "You mention a high proportion of instances of early cases as being the sign of the rapid increase of leprosy. There is, however, an alternative, namely, that it is due to fairly high resistance to leprosy in the majority of cases so that the disease does not increase beyond the early stage except in a comparatively small proportion; or both causes may be at work in the instances mentioned. I think that the latter is probably more effective; not that leprosy is not spreading—I believe it is spreading in many of these places but not to the extent which would be indicated by the former of the two theories."

241. Pre-disposing conditions.—Leprosy is a disease which may be contracted without revealing itself for years in the absence of favourable conditions of pre-disposing causes. Any condition which leads to a general reduction in the resistance in the organism encourages the disease. Epidemics such as small-pox, cholera, influenza, enteric, etc., syphilis, staphylococcal and steptococcal infections, malaria, dysentery and helminthic infections such as hook-worm, are amongst the leading affections which give the disease an opportunity of establishing itself. In Bengal very great importance is attached to errors of diet and Dr. Muir roundly states that the chief direct causes of the high incidence of leprosy in India are dietetic. The disease is encouraged by an improper balance of foods, a lack of vitamins and addiction to unsuitable foods such as dry or decaying meat and fish and rice which has been permitted to ferment, all of which are associated with a poor standard of living consequent upon poverty or the inadequacy and inferior nutritive qualities of the food obtained from the soil, and dietary excesses in other directions also produce conditions favourable to its establishment. An instance of the importance of dietetic pre-disposing causes is afforded by the Chinese amongst whom it is particularly prevalent and who are one of the most industrious, hardworking and cleanly classes in the community and by their rapid improvement in Calcutta when errors of diet are corrected. Certain physiological conditions are favourable to the onset of the disease such as puberty, pregnancy and lactation. Excessively hot or cold climates having a high humidity favour the spread of the disease, and it is of course encouraged by insanitary surroundings, over-crowding, lack of sunlight, irregular habits and lack of personal cleanliness, whilst even psychological factors such as the extreme fear in which the disease is held may actually pre-dispose to it and lead to its increase.

242. Incidence by social class.—Although there are on the present occasion no figures for the incidence of the disease by castes it is not by any means confined only to the lowest classes or to the aboriginal peoples. The aboriginal, in fact, in his own country is generally comparatively free from the disease and although it is frequently present in the Santhal Parganas it is now generally believed that the disease was introduced and spread there by returned immigrants who had come down into the western parts of Bengal and took back the disease with them. But although it is not confined to any particular class it is clear that the main conditions pre-disposing to the disease, particularly those of diet, will mainly be found amongst persons of low caste and amongst primitive peoples and aboriginals, particularly when economic conditions in their own territories have driven them to migrate and seek to better themselves elsewhere. Thus Dr. Muir states—

“Leprosy like yaws and tuberculosis belongs to a certain stage in civilisation. In India we do not find leprosy amongst the aboriginals or among those who lead a tribal in nomadic life. Nor is it common *primarily* among the more higher civilised and educated classes. It is commonest among.....those who are in the intermediate state between the aboriginal tribes and the more civilised people.....Where we get contact between the primitive and the more advanced, there at the point of contact we find leprosy.”

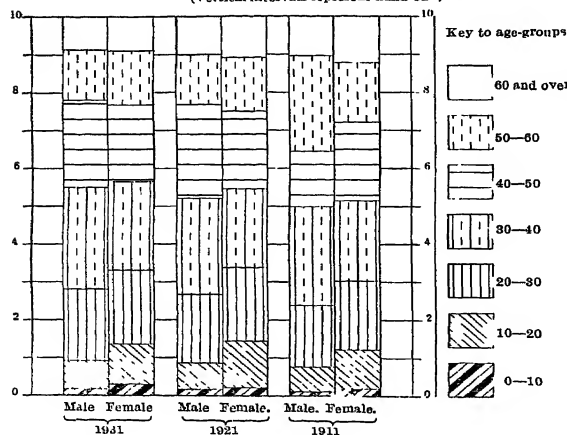
The comparatively high incidence of the disease in the district of Jalpaiguri is undoubtedly accounted for by the large numbers of Munda, Oraon and Santhal workers in the tea gardens there; and it is significant that the highest incidence of the disease is revealed in the western portion of Bengal which is generally regarded as the chief locality in which primitive immigrants from Chota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganas are found in considerable numbers. In industrial concerns where the staff is largely recruited from primitive peoples of the lower classes recent surveys amongst labourers have shown an incidence rising to 6 or even 12 per cent. of those examined with a common average figure round about 1 per cent.

243. Incidence of leprosy by sexes.—As between the sexes the incidence of the disease is returned as being more than twice as high amongst males than amongst females, the figures being respectively 59 and 23 per 100,000;

and these proportions are much the same in every natural division except Eastern Bengal where they are respectively 33 for males and 9 for females. The incidence amongst males reaches as much as 427 per 100,000 in Bankura and 271 per 100,000 in Birbhum. It is highest amongst females in Midnapore (236) and Bankura (201). In no district since 1881 has the incidence of leprosy returned been greater for females than males, and in the absence of any reason to believe that females are less liable to the disease—they are in fact equally liable to most of the pre-disposing conditions and exclusively liable to such as pregnancy and lactation—it may not unreasonably be assumed that there is a greater reluctance to return this affliction for women than for men.

244. Age distribution by sexes at successive years.—The distribution of 1,000 lepers of each sex plotted for the last three census years from subsidiary table III by age-groups together with the sex ratio of lepers at age-groups also plotted from the same table are shown in diagrams Nos. VII-13 and VII-14. The greatest incidence of leprosy amongst the total population is found in the age-group 50 to 55. There is also, however, a very marked increase in the proportion in both sexes after the age-group 20 to 25 and particularly after the age-group 30 to 35. At 25 to 30 and 35 to 40 compared with the figures for the preceding quinquennial period the number of male lepers is increased by no less than 29 and 31, respectively, per 100,000 of the population of the same age; in other words, the proportion of lepers to the total population increases by no less than 63 and 33 per cent. in each of these age-periods, respectively.

DIAGRAM No. VII-13.
Distribution by age-groups of 1,000 lepers of each sex,
1911, 1921 and 1931.
(Vertical intervals represent hundreds)



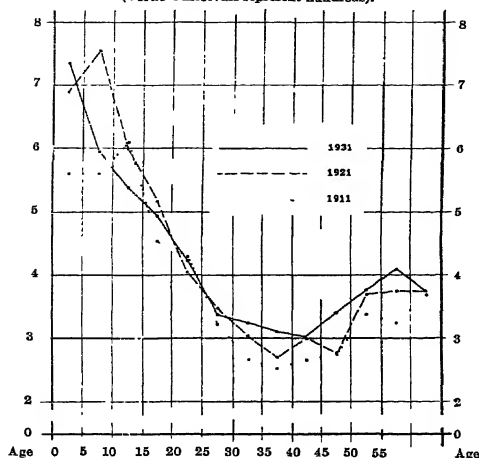
Amongst females excluding the age-group 45 to 50, where the numbers afflicted per 100,000 are 11 more than in the previous quinquennium, the greatest increases occur also in the age-groups 25 to 30 and 35 to 40 as in the case of males. The increase here over the proportion in the previous quinquennial period is respectively from 18 to 23 and from 37 to 50 per 100,000. There are thus 56 and 35 per cent. more lepers returned per 100,000 at 25 to 30 and at 35 to 40 than in the preceding age-groups. The marked increase of leprosy at the later ages after the first vigour of youth is passed is perhaps to be expected from the natural causes predisposing to it: indeed it has been found for instance amongst tea garden labourers that the disease often establishes itself when the patient, after a temperate and hardworking youth slackens off and possibly takes to an intemperate use of drink or drugs. More than 50 per cent. of the male lepers are over 35 years of age and in the case of females 50 per cent. of the total is reached also before the age of 40. Amongst 10,000 lepers of each sex there are as many as 1,179 aged 30 to 35 amongst the females. These are the highest proportions of any age-group. Together with the general distribution shown in subsidiary table II these figures bear out what has already been said as to the insidious nature of the attack of this disease and the fact that it succeeds in establishing itself most readily when the period of youthful activity is coming to an end. The coloured diagram at the beginning of this chapter shows that

there has been no significant deviation in the general frequency curve by age-groups during the last three census enumerations.

DIAGRAM No. VII-14.

Lepers : Number of females per 1,000 males at age-periods in 1911, 1921 and 1931.

(Vertical intervals represent hundreds).



which leprosy infection is conveyed; and as man is the only animal suffering from this complaint it is not possible to proceed along those lines of research which have in other fields yielded great advance by the study of animals. The long period of incubation puts a further obstacle in the way of obtaining accurate information as to the exact time at which the disease was acquired and the general mode of transmission. But leprosy workers believe that the disease is not incurable* and in the report of the Indian Council of the Empire Leprosy Relief Association for 1925 it is moderately stated that—

"Leprosy as it is found in India is capable of easy diagnosis by clinical signs in its early stages, and that patients whose disease is diagnosed early, and who undergo efficient treatment for a sufficient period under reasonably favourable circumstances, have every hope of recovery; and unless at any future time their general health is lowered they can look forward to continue freedom from all signs of the disease."

In general the principles now being adopted in treatment are to create and maintain a state of high resistance and so far as is consistent with the maintenance of this high resistance to use drugs which break down leproma such as hydnocarpus oil and its preparations. The importance of the first principle is clear from the great part played by dietetic conditions as a pre-disposing cause; and in many instances research workers report an astonishing improvement when milk and vegetable food can be given to patients in whose diet these elements are not sufficiently provided. There is no proof that immunity can be inherited and it is acquired only to a limited extent after the disease has reached a fairly advanced stage. The facility for spreading the disease afforded by improved communications has already been referred to and its diffusion is further favoured by the increasing inter-mixture of different classes and castes in every-day life.

* Leprosy workers, however, are cautious about speaking of a "cure" for the disease and the word is no longer used. Cases showing "clinical or microscopic evidences of progressive or recessive changes in lesions" are described as "active": those where such evidence of activity has been absent for a period of at least three months are now known as "quiescent", and cases which have remained quiescent for at least two years and would have been previously known as cured are described as "arrested."

245. Provision for lepers.—Leprosy asylums exist at Gobra on the out-skirts of Calcutta, at Raniganj in the Asansol subdivision and at Bankura; and during the last decade a leper colony established at Kalimpong in the Darjeeling district was opened in June 1928. Reference has already been made to the anti-leprosy work being done in Bengal under the auspices of the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association. The difficulties of radically exterminating the disease are many. Medical science is not yet in a position to make a clear and decisive statement as to the exact method by

Legislation under which lepers can be controlled has existed since the Lepers Act (III of 1898) was passed. In its original form the Act suffered from the defect that its definition of "leper" practically confined its application to just those cases (mainly A2) which were no longer infectious. This defect was removed by an amendment (Act XXII of 1920) and all persons suffering from any variety of leprosy now fall within the definition. The Act has been applied to the whole of Bengal but is enforced by notification only in certain places. These places are the districts of Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum, Fort William and a number of municipalities, namely, Calcutta, including all the areas shown in volume VI of this series of reports, Howrah, Comilla, Brahmanbaria, Chandpur, Noakhali, Chittagong, Cox's Bazar, Dacca, Rampur-Boalia, Jalpaiguri, Bogra, Darjeeling and Kurseong. The notifications enforcing it in these places, however, were issued before the amendment of 1920 and it is doubtful to what extent action has been taken under the Act even in those areas in which it has been enforced. The Act provides for the appointment of Government leper asylums, only one of which has been instituted, namely, the Albert Victor Leper Asylum at Gobra near Calcutta, and amongst other things for prohibiting that lepers within any specified area should follow certain trades or do certain acts liable to spread the disease. These last provisions are made under section 9 of the Act which has been applied to all the municipalities mentioned above with the exception of Kurseong and Darjeeling. For any extended campaign against leprosy, therefore, legislative provision already exists and all that is necessary is that the provisions already on the statute book should be applied.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Number of insane, deaf-mute, blind and lepers by sexes per 100,000 persons of the same sex, 1881-1931.

—	Insane															Deaf-mute.															
	Male.							Female.								Male.							Female.								
	1901	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1881	1901	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1881	1901	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1881	1901	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1881	1901	1921	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
BENGAL	..	49	47	50	50	58	74	38	35	36	35	44	53	81	79	81	72	102	126	58	55	58	49	68	84						
West Bengal	..	47	34	36	41	44	60	26	19	19	20	24	34	88	76	88	70	106	140	62	54	60	47	73	96						
Burdwan	..	50	38	39	43	38	61	27	81	18	20	23	41	91	81	90	81	104	144	69	61	61	54	77	105						
Birbhum	..	32	29	38	43	38	60	18	15	21	22	32	35	86	83	88	83	127	170	63	56	70	67	107	107						
Bankura	..	48	40	49	42	53	66	25	15	21	32	30	24	95	80	86	79	141	170	73	58	62	53	108	125						
Midnapore	..	41	29	31	36	35	47	27	19	20	19	18	24	73	89	95	59	99	121	47	44	60	41	59	82						
Hugli	..	51	24	40	43	50	84	16	19	21	26	46	60	79	38	80	66	80	140	63	21	26	43	62	97						
Howrah	..	62	34	37	48	53	62	31	29	18	25	28	36	110	66	79	72	107	132	79	13	31	49	67	90						
Central Bengal	..	46	51	50	43	51	66	37	36	29	28	36	45	56	69	61	54	95	105	45	50	48	40	60	69						
24 Parganas	..	50	42	40	41	64	80	39	34	33	28	46	54	61	48	63	57	127	119	49	45	47	40	77	74						
Calcutta	..	38	36	39	60	71	42	30	33	49	40	49	42	27	52	38	34	43	42	33	45	44	42	42	42						
Nadia	..	50	37	32	33	47	64	38	27	16	18	27	38	71	80	59	48	91	105	47	49	49	23	52	67						
Murshidabad	..	37	115	118	77	78	23	38	32	37	31	30	60	75	84	79	62	79	121	64	17	20	42	54	82						
Jessore	..	42	46	39	36	40	54	40	40	31	31	38	40	32	117	73	100	106	97	21	70	52	46	62	39						
Khulna	..	53	49	48	44	45	63	47	48	44	38	45	56	78	62	85	62	80	122	52	54	41	60	43	59	63					
North Bengal	..	64	57	57	65	71	92	53	46	46	53	55	71	103	97	94	97	119	165	75	69	70	47	83	108						
Rajshahi	..	45	42	48	54	54	60	42	32	38	48	40	49	73	67	70	62	84	101	64	52	58	49	60	61						
Dinajpur	..	63	61	53	62	74	90	48	49	43	51	56	67	115	90	102	91	103	139	40	61	65	44	73	104						
Jalpaiguri	..	58	52	57	64	68	113	61	62	64	68	62	90	131	159	101	138	97	132	121	100	83	79	107							
Darjeeling	..	12	19	21	25	32	41	11	12	15	16	15	96	27	182	174	49	133	196	102	168	149	26	124	152						
Rangpur	..	77	68	69	83	62	123	67	67	61	75	108	140	112	102	95	100	97	227	71	68	66	60	64	144						
Bogra	..	65	49	66	54	69	77	59	62	62	62	64	84	60	60	60	60	111	134	47	47	47	47	47	47						
Palna	..	65	55	60	58	68	84	51	44	44	51	50	33	53	90	94	111	135	157	64	64	75	76	74	137						
Malda	..	36	22	36	32	47	64	38	18	24	26	34	53	73	64	107	62	141	113	62	14	40	67	111	88						
Cooch Behar State	..	91	91	79	100	119	132	65	72	68	75	90	83	45	103	113	145	200	225	21	149	71	56	108	124						
East Bengal	..	44	44	53	47	62	74	36	35	40	36	51	56	79	74	78	66	94	104	54	48	50	40	60	69						
Dacca	..	39	61	71	66	79	85	27	38	41	40	47	65	80	91	76	74	38	101	70	35	35	55	23	73						
Myrmanaghi	..	52	40	60	56	67	74	39	30	42	42	55	49	102	125	102	82	125	111	17	17	14	59	90							
Fardpur	..	32	43	47	38	45	68	38	32	31	30	30	30	41	105	72	84	105	113	45	31	21	47	42							
Bakarganj	..	37	33	37	39	56	63	38	39	31	35	33	60	63	73	62	57	92	46	46	46	46	46	46	46						
Tippura	..	36	31	35	35	44	67	29	30	31	19	45	54	66	82	74	53	107	113	43	61	49	49	67	69						
Nokhal	..	55	58	59	63	67	73	59	54	58	54	58	64	79	84	88	84	113	124	51	41	49	49	67	69						
Chittagong	..	65	62	79	77	82	104	51	51	59	56	64	84	79	95	99	84	116	143	44	31	27	34	82	105						
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	128	144	137	120	164	..	119	133	181	134	174	..	66	198	188	64	85	..	..	105	77	65	84	..					
Tripura State	..	55	53	44	58	85	..	47	57	68	39	45	..	84	89	48	68	168	..	..	64	48	86	..	..				
SIKKIM	..	5	22	13	46	..	..	0	5	7	32	..	..	159	200	297	355	..	..	139	152	233	385	..	..				

—	Blind.															Lepers.														
	Male.							Female.								Male.							Female.							
	1901	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1881	1901	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1881	1901	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1881	1901	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1881	1901	1921
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BENGAL	..	76	78	78	80	84	119	70	66	63	67	75	113	59	48	56	69	104	141	43	23	49	19	23	36	51				
West Bengal	..	95	89	96	104	94	136	107	91	92	100	97	150	152	124	137	168	244	287	69	55	57	64	90	107					
Burdwan	..	110	103	108	123	104	165	121	107	107	121	110	156	190	159	200	239	313	444	83	63	80	85	122	133					
Birbhum	..	102	83	110	102	135	125	117	96	101	118	147	171	271	210	241	321	423	483	108	90	88	88	109	130					
Bankura	..	117	106	121	121	134	152	123	123	123	134	133	179	427	374	467	513	640	201	126	133	168	218	218	218					
Midnapore	..	89	89	95	97	70	117	97	85	86	87	86	129	62	70	80	91	122	134	236	205	20	31	60	62					
Hugli	..	85	88	90	93	83	147	97	92	78	78	82	163	40	21	27	55	170	18	8	10	14	25	49						
Howrah	..	74	79	61	88	70	120	70	70	70	70	70	70	30	23	18	23	47	82	11	14	4	0	14	31					
Central Bengal	..	75	79	76	78	88	119	73	67	68	68	69	112	32	30	38	46	78	111	13	11	12	14	23	38					
24 Parganas	..	71	64	67	60	84	116	68	55	47	47	56	107	18	13	15	15	30	72	10	6	5	5	13	30					
Calcutta	..	47	51	63	71	38	101	63	72	72	92	105	60	173	23	32	39	62	73	21	29	22	25	37						
Nadia	..	97	103	90	72	104	119	84	76	76	57	77	108	47	43	50	49	110	130											
Murshidabad	..	116	107	114	115	113	157	117	108	109	114	98	157	97	86	90	119	129	194	37	27	24	33	48						
Jessore	..	68	90	72	78	73	101	60	68	49	54	56	78	17	21	22	32	63	65	8	3	3	7	16						
Khulna	..	64	74	67	68	44	81	47	49	44	37	31	60	15	14	14	12	18	28	10	10	8	8	14						
North Bengal	..	82	81	74	82	82	120	80	73	64	71	83	118	60	42	50	63	88	147	22	12	14	18	29	50					
Rajshahi	..	70	67	63	79	82	98	72	72	61	80	87	89	21	12	7	15	30	55	20	7	6	10	17	37					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by age-groups of 10,000 of each sex insane, deaf-mute, blind or leper, 1911 to 1931.

Age-group	Insane						Deaf-mute					
	Male			Female			Male			Female		
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	162	162	61	182	113	100	614	562	417	715	418	483
5-10	798	551	375	573	508	507	1,597	1,372	1,579	1,596	1,614	1,606
10-15	628	799	831	783	759	847	1,652	1,431	1,600	1,512	1,384	1,491
15-20	923	845	934	1,038	994	1,041	1,101	1,088	1,265	1,195	1,097	1,385
20-25	1,170	1,027	1,024	1,126	962	1,031	1,094	1,002	1,032	1,130	1,092	1,055
25-30	1,292	1,360	1,386	1,151	1,285	1,112	912	1,081	1,046	915	999	1,021
30-35	1,255	1,509	1,292	1,123	1,145	1,112	913	799	728	749	747	753
35-40	1,074	1,115	1,075	1,017	948	856	582	652	613	528	590	500
40-45	824	923	999	881	910	917	477	540	557	445	623	550
45-50	561	611	578	639	617	637	360	379	398	338	332	322
50-55	415	544	512	551	706	753	290	356	391	332	368	317
55-60	264	277	241	347	293	309	134	192	127	203	174	118
60 & over	426	535	521	397	735	762	439	596	351	417	617	397

Age-group	Blind						Lepers					
	Male			Female			Male			Female		
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
All ages	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	383	289	319	237	245	266	88	25	38	78	49	66
5-10	555	612	574	392	604	434	137	82	75	225	178	132
10-15	611	580	611	388	463	386	240	251	205	330	484	389
15-20	510	498	533	422	473	391	511	516	444	698	763	630
20-25	547	482	476	458	401	387	732	674	584	832	733	738
25-30	327	378	533	463	300	443	1,157	1,123	1,030	1,077	1,159	1,033
30-35	542	535	542	559	463	471	1,315	1,183	1,227	1,170	1,025	1,021
35-40	563	521	510	506	475	454	1,363	1,300	1,283	1,169	1,054	1,090
40-45	585	625	696	594	717	613	1,277	1,416	1,385	1,064	1,222	1,163
45-50	694	503	369	704	584	509	1,031	1,040	1,049	967	827	908
50-55	708	385	331	810	652	572	829	901	994	802	959	1,090
55-60	552	532	381	1,007	924	570	562	481	562	670	484	525
60 & over	3,015	3,312	3,175	3,484	3,430	4,033	868	993	1,055	890	1,078	1,217

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Insane, deaf-mute, blind and lepers per 100,000 of the total population of the same sex and age-group and females insane, deaf-mute, etc., per 1,000 males insane, deaf-mute, etc., of the same age-group.

Age-group	Number afflicted per 100,000 of the total population of the same sex and age-group								Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males afflicted of the same age-group			
	Insane		Deaf-mute		Blind		Lepers		Insane	Deaf-mute	Blind	Lepers
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	49	38	81	58	76	70	59	23	717	653	854	362
0-5	5	4	94	25	17	10	2	1	802	772	599	733
5-10	23	17	97	69	31	19	6	4	646	631	557	596
10-15	32	26	105	76	37	24	12	7	706	640	572	541
15-20	35	28	102	66	45	28	34	15	772	720	695	494
20-25	62	39	98	61	45	29	40	18	690	708	715	422
25-30	70	59	82	61	44	37	75	39	630	665	753	337
30-35	74	56	80	59	49	44	93	37	642	698	739	235
35-40	81	72	73	37	66	70	124	50	679	600	814	310
40-45	80	73	71	58	83	93	138	55	715	620	863	302
45-50	79	74	75	59	132	160	155	98	617	622	941	339
50-55	70	74	77	60	173	208	180	73	575	646	984	376
55-60	67	71	81	68	226	378	151	70	945	696	1,028	411
60 & over	72	68	107	74	687	746	153	63	806	630	990	375

CHAPTER VIII

Occupations

Part I—Introductory

246. **The statistics shown.**—The figures forming the basis of this chapter are those shown in imperial tables X (Occupation by sexes) and XI (Occupation by selected castes). The necessity for economy has made it impossible to show figures corresponding to the three tables (Nos. XVIII to XX) prepared in 1921 and showing occupations subsidiary to agriculture, combined occupations, and occupations by religion. The same cause has prevented any use being made of particulars obtained by an innovation under which a return was made in the schedules showing the industry as apart from the occupation of all workers employed in organised industries. This column of the schedule was designed to provide information similar to that given as a result of a special enquiry in imperial table XXII of 1921. The figures for 1921 included only details of industrial establishments either registered under the Factories Act or employing as many as ten persons. No such restriction was proposed on the present occasion and it was therefore intended to obtain details of all workers employed in organised industries irrespective of the size of the establishment employing them. The necessity for dispensing with this information is likely to prove a fruitful source of regret in view of the importance attaching to the existence of accurate statistics along these lines for electoral purposes and also for purposes of industrial welfare and control. The figures in the tables are supplemented by a number of subsidiary tables printed after this chapter and showing—

- I—the number of workers and non-working dependents in each occupational class, sub-class and order in every 10,000 of the total population with percentages employed in and outside cities ;
- II—the distribution by dependence of 1,000 of the total population by districts with numbers per mille employed in each occupational sub-class ;
- III—the distribution of male and female workers with the ratio of females to males by occupational groups ;
- IV—the number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921 ;
- V—a distribution for selected caste or other groups of 1,000 earners (principal occupation) by occupational sub-classes with the ratio of female to male earners in each sub-class ;
- VI—figures compiled from the returns of the Railways, the Irrigation, Telegraphs and Postal Departments in Bengal showing by grades the numbers employed on the 21st February ; and
- VII—figures of educated unemployed males by locality, class, age, period of unemployment and educational qualification.

No attempt has been made on the present occasion to ascertain the number of dependents supported by those persons following each occupation. On the other hand, the figures previously shown for workers have been subdivided to show separately earners and working dependents.

247. **Source of the figures.**—The information for imperial tables X and XI was compiled from columns 9, 10 and 11 of the schedule. The instructions for filling up these columns were as follows :—

“ Column 9 (earner or dependent).—Enter as earners persons who actually work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants ; or who live on rents, pension, etc. ; or who have a share in a coparcenary property or trade or financial concern and are supported or principally supported thereby. Enter all other persons as dependents. Women and children are ordinarily dependents even if they regularly work or assist the members of their family at their work ; but if they regularly get money or any kind of direct return for their work and thereby augment the family income, they are earners.

Column 10 (principal occupation).—Enter the principal means of livelihood of all earners. Enter the exact occupation and avoid vague terms such as 'service' or 'writing' or 'labour'. For example, in the case of labour, say whether in the fields or in a coal mine or jute factory or cotton mill or lac factory or on earth-work etc. Enter as *landlords* those who have land but lease it out and live on the rents in cash or kind and do not actually cultivate either themselves or by servants or hired labourers and distinguish between landlords of agricultural land and of houses or town property. Enter as *agricultural labourers* those who cultivate land for hire in cash or kind. Enter all other persons cultivating the land either with their own hands or by servants or hired labourers as *cultivators* and distinguish between those who have either a tenure or a permanent lease or occupancy right and those who have no tenure or permanent interest. If a person makes the articles he sells he should be entered as *maker and seller* thereof. Women and children who work at any occupation which helps to augment the family income and have been shown as earners in column 9 must be entered in column 10 under that occupation. Column 10 will be blank for persons entered as *dependents* in column 9.

Column 11 (subsidiary occupation).—Enter here any occupation which earners pursue at any time of the year in addition to their principal occupation. Thus, if a person lives principally by his earnings as a boatman but partly also by fishing, the word *boatman* will be entered in column 10 and *fisherman* in column 11. If an earner has no additional occupation the column will be left blank. If a person shown in column 9 as dependent has an occupation it will be shown in column 11. Dependents who help to support the family by subsidiary work, e.g., a woman who helps in the fields as well as doing house work, will be shown in column 11."

248. **Definitions and distinctions: earners and dependents.**—It was perhaps in entering up these columns and column 12 for "industries", of which no use has been made, that the greatest difficulty was encountered. The first problem was to distinguish between earners and dependents; and it was made more difficult by the fact that the simple distinction of 1921 into workers and dependents had been abandoned. The principal distinction was between those who do and those who do not work for some regular direct return either in money or in kind as a contribution towards the family income. This is a clear distinction but the performance of actual hand or brain work was not the only title to be recorded as earner and persons were also thus recorded who derive their income from rents or pensions or from shares in business concerns which yield them dividends or a share of the profits. A general presumption was made that women are dependents; they were treated as working dependents if they merely assisted other members of the family at their work, and as earners only if they received money or some other direct return for their work. It was felt that that it would be at variance with general sentiment and actual fact to return all women as earners who had any income whatever from land or investments or shares in property or business in the direction of which they took no active part; and in the case of females insistence was laid upon the provision that such income must contribute at least the main part of their support. Students and scholars also were presumed to be dependents even if they contributed to their school or university fees by private tuition or other work for pay. In both these cases as also in the case of dependents who assist the family in their work and thus contribute to its support without earning wages in cash or kind, the actual work done was entered as a subsidiary occupation in column 11, and has consequently been accounted for in the returns except in the case of house-keeping. In this case it was considered that a similar return might reasonably be made for almost every female dependent in a household over a very early age and that the statistics would have been vitiated by including so large a number of women as working dependents. It was therefore intended to exclude the entry for all except women whose principal occupation it is but the return for Burdwan Division show that this has not been consistently done. The entry of subsidiary occupations in column 11 of the schedule thus included not only earners pursuing occupations subsidiary to the main occupation from which they derive the major portion of their income (shown in the table separately as earners, subsidiary occupation) but also persons (shown as working dependents) ordinarily depending upon other members of their family who yet work with their own hands though they receive no direct wages in cash or kind, women with an independent title to property from which, however, they derive an income insufficient to furnish the main or a considerable portion of their support and persons not yet adult undergoing courses of training, whose education is not yet complete, but who assist in paying their own fees by tutoring or

other work. The figures for earners include those who are temporarily out of employment, and in their case the occupation shown is that last followed before they lost their employment.

249. The "gharjamai".—The *gharjamai* caused the enumerators a certain amount of uncertainty, but his record as "earner" or "dependent" was determined according as he did or did not actually take some part in the work by which the family of his wife is supported. Where he actually assists in the work of the family it is clear that at least he is on the same footing as one of the family servants and was accordingly returned as earner. In parts of Bengal, however, this institution exists not only amongst the lower but also amongst the middle classes, and in many cases the *gharjamai* actually does not do a stroke of work and was consequently returned as a dependent. Such a return is apparently consistent with the tenets of Hindu law, since a judicial decision of the Calcutta High Court, relying upon a text cited in the commentary of Sree Krishna on the *Dayabhaga* (chapter II, section 25), without laying down a rule records at least a *semble* that a *gharjamai* may be included in the term "poor dependent" declared by Manu to be entitled to maintenance (Govind Rani Dasi *versus* Radha Ballav Das, Calcutta Weekly Notes XV—205).

250. Hindus of the "mitakshara" school.—A further difficulty arose in the case of Hindus of the *mitakshara* school of law. Under the definition adopted for earners all male members of such joint families were entitled to be returned as earners, no matter what their age or the extent

STATEMENT No. VIII-1.

Mitakshara male earners by groups.

For description of groups see subsidiary tables in this chapter.

Group No	Male earners.		Group No	Male earners.		Group No	Male earners.	
	Total.	Aged under 17		Total.	Aged under 17		Total.	Aged under 17
All groups	13,099	1,066						
1	824	134	91	1		145	13	..
4	170	14	93	6		146	29	..
5	1,425	137	98	14		148	88	25
6	95	5	100	21		150	179	16
7	675	78	102	48	7	152	10	1
18	40	4	103	0		153	5	..
19	4	3	106	107	6	157	362	7
21	5	..	107	6		158	32	..
23	8	1	108	39		159	107	..
27	6	..	109	168	5	161	5	..
35	151	11	111	99	14	162	1	..
44	2,828	43	112	7		164	69	..
44A	1,949	7	113	395	305	166	7	..
51	48	..	114	30		167	2	..
54	20	..	115	98	0	168	9	..
55	3	..	116	21	1	169	49	1
56	3	..	117	432	31	170	1	..
59	22	..	118	29	1	172	3	..
60	1	..	119	22	1	174	2	..
61	3	..	120	8	..	175	2	..
63	6	..	123	32	1	177	1	..
64	548	17	126	112	..	178	1	..
68	11	..	127	188	1	181	2	..
71	4	..	129	65	2	182	7	..
72	1	..	130	74	8	183	1	..
73	3	..	131	46	6	184	1	..
75	18	..	134	250	30	185	34	..
78	16	2	135	24	..	186	30	..
81	33	..	136	2	..	187	1,026	53
82	124	6	138	2	..	188	17	6
83	14	..	140	27	..	189	539	43
86	66	..	141	1	..	190	69	..
89	36	2	142	1	..	191	1,575	5
90	24	..	144	17	..	193	18	..

to which they took an effective part in the conduct of the family business or joint *karbar*. Two alternatives suggested themselves for avoiding the anomaly which would be thus introduced into the returns in comparison with persons of other religions or governed by other schools of Hindu law. The first would have been to modify the definition of earners in the case of these persons and to prescribe that Hindus governed by the *mitakshara* school should not be entered as earners, even when they had a title to be so entered under the definition adopted in as much as they were full-blown participants in the family property or business, unless they actually took some effective part in the management of the business or worked with their own hands either in the business itself or for wages outside. It was, however, thought simpler and likely to cause less confusion to the enumerating agency to provide merely for an entry of *mitakshara* in the case of male earners governed by this school and to make an adjustment in the number of earners returned in order to remove the anomaly pointed out above. The actual figures shown in the tables give the number of earners excluding those governed by the *mitakshara* school who were under the age of 17 years when the census was taken. The results of this exclusion cannot be represented as being entirely happy. The age 17 was chosen as being that at which members

of the communities principally governed by this school would ordinarily begin to take effective part in the management of the joint family business. It was the age adopted in the industrial enquiry, by which to determine whether workers were adult or immature. It may perhaps be conceded that persons below this age who should have been retained as earners because those members of the family through whom they directly inherit their title are all dead, would be balanced by those included in the total and over 17 years of age who had not yet begun to take an effective part in the family

STATEMENT No. VIII-2.

Mitakshara male earners aged less than 17 years, district distribution by groups.

For description of groups see subsidiary tables in this chapter.

Group No.	District or state.	Male earners under 17	Group	District or state.	Male earners under 17	Group	District or state	Male earners under 17
1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
All groups	ALL DISTRICTS	1,066	82	ALL DISTRICTS	6	130	ALL DISTRICTS	8
1	ALL DISTRICTS	134		24-Parganas	5		Calcutta	1
	Burdwan	4		Calcutta	1		Murshidabad	6
	Midnapore	2	65	ALL DISTRICTS	8		Jessore	1
	Hooghly	103		Murshidabad	7	131	ALL DISTRICTS	5
	Murshidabad	24		Khulna	1		Hooghly	1
	Khulna	1			2		24-Parganas	3
4	Burdwan	14	86	ALL DISTRICTS	2		Nadia	1
5	ALL DISTRICTS	137		24-Parganas	1	134	ALL DISTRICTS	30
	Burdwan	4		Murshidabad	1		Burdwan	19
	Midnapore	58	102	Nadia	7		Hooghly	1
	Hooghly	19	106	ALL DISTRICTS	5		24-Parganas	4
	24-Parganas	7		Jessore	4		Calcutta	1
	Calcutta	17		Khulna	1		Murshidabad	4
	Nadia	2			2		Khulna	1
	Murshidabad	23	109	ALL DISTRICTS	5	118	Murshidabad	25
	Khulna	7		24-Parganas	2	130	ALL DISTRICTS	16
6	ALL DISTRICTS	6		Calcutta	3		Hooghly	12
	Midnapore	4		Jessore	2		Calcutta	4
	24-Parganas	1	111	Burdwan	14	151	Hooghly	1
7	ALL DISTRICTS	78	112	ALL DISTRICTS	7	157	Burdwan	7
	Burdwan	65		Nadia	1	168	24-Parganas	8
	Midnapore	2		Jessore	1	160	Burdwan	3
	Hooghly	1	113	Hooghly	305	169	24-Parganas	1
	24-Parganas	2	115	ALL DISTRICTS	6	187	ALL DISTRICTS	53
	Jessore	3		24-Parganas	1		Burdwan	12
	Hooghly	3		Murshidabad	3		Hooghly	30
	Jessore	1		Khulna	2		24-Parganas	2
44	ALL DISTRICTS	43	116	Murshidabad	1		Calcutta	4
	Hooghly	30	117	ALL DISTRICTS	31		Khulna	2
	24-Parganas	1		24-Parganas	2		Jessore	8
	Khulna	3		Calcutta	4		Khulna	2
144	ALL DISTRICTS	7		Murshidabad	4	188	Hooghly	6
	Hooghly	6		Jessore	2	180	ALL DISTRICTS	43
	24-Parganas	1		Khulna	8		Burdwan	21
	Khulna	6		Rajshahi	23		Midnapore	2
59	Burdwan	16	117.4	Calcutta	1		24-Parganas	2
64	ALL DISTRICTS	17	118	24-Parganas	1		Calcutta	6
	24-Parganas	8	125	Nadia	2		Murshidabad	2
	Nadia	1		ALL DISTRICTS	1	191	ALL DISTRICTS	5
	Jessore	6	129	Midnapore	1		24-Parganas	4
	Khulna	2		Khulna	1		Calcutta	1
75	24-Parganas	4						
78	Murshidabad	2						

business. On the other hand such occupations as those for instance in groups 153 to 175 or 186 and 187 do not seem to lend themselves to joint family management and a very large proportion, if not almost the whole of those persons even under the age of 17 who were returned as earners in these groups, must have been effective earners and entitled under any consideration to be recorded as such. The effect upon the statistics of this discrepancy is not, however, of any considerable extent; and the figures given in statements Nos. VIII-1 and VIII-2 above show for each occupational group concerned the numbers returned as earners but excluded from the published figures by virtue of being immature members of *mitakshara* joint families. A reasonably accurate adjustment of the figures can be made by the use of these statements in the groups in which it is felt that the omission of these persons is hardly justified by the circumstances.

251. **Principal and subsidiary occupations.**—In many cases enumerators experienced or professed to find difficulty in deciding which was the principal and which was the subsidiary occupation of earners. The principle laid down was that, of two or more occupations that should be entered as principal from which the largest proportion of the income was derived by the individual concerned. Where more than one occupation was followed it was laid down that only the more important should be given,

except in the case of Tripura State where it was desired by the state authorities to have some figures of the relative importance of plough and *jhum* cultivation as principal and subsidiary occupations.

252. Indefinite returns.—The difficulty of obtaining accurate and detailed returns of occupation is very great. The instructions laid down that general and indefinite descriptions of occupation should not be given, but common usage in Bengal, perhaps in consonance with some innate preference for the most comprehensive and least definite term possible, sanctions the use of the most general terms in describing occupation. It was impossible to exclude returns such as “service” (*chakuri*), meaning any clerical occupation whatever and “labour” (*majuri*) without specification of the employment. The classification scheme adopted provided for insufficiently described occupations a special sub-class (No. XI) divided into four groups. Actually the total number of persons under this indefinite or residuary sub-class amounted in British Territory to 622,638 or 4.3 per cent. of the total workers in Bengal compared with 459,623 or 2.8 per cent. in 1921. The increase in the figures under this sub-class is mainly due to labourers and workmen who numbered 402,818 compared with 276,849 in 1921. It is not at all unlikely that a very large proportion of these could not be more specifically described; but under the instructions issued they should have been returned in accordance with the labour they were performing on the day on which the census was taken. The insufficiently precise returns obtained from manufacturers, businessmen and contractors and from mechanics, otherwise unspecified, were actually less on the present occasion than in 1921. Insufficiently described clerical occupations were returned by 203,993 persons, against 163,415 in 1921, and it is interesting that 8,134 of these were females compared with 3,455 at the last census.

253. Scheme of classification.—The scheme of classification adopted is briefly described in the title page to imperial table X and differs in minor respects only from that of 1921. The principal changes from the scheme of 1921 were thus summarised by the Census Commissioner:

“A certain number of changes should be noted from the classification laid down at last census. Thus persons employed in public entertainment appeared in order 18, group 101, at last census but are classified now in order 49, group 183; saddle-cloth makers have been transferred from leather work to embroidery and saddle-cloth sellers in means of transport (1) to trade in textiles; witches and wizards have been moved up from sub-class XII. Unproductive to sub-class VIII, professions and liberal arts (group 181) where they are at least as suitably kennelled as astrologers and mediums; “grasshopper sellers”, classified last time under “trade of other sorts”, will now appear under “trade in food-stuffs”. Some groups have been amalgamated, as in the case of building trades, while others have been split up, e.g., production and trade in tobacco, opium and hemp [as well as groups under ordinary cultivation] Indeed, owing to the re-arrangement of sub-class II one order has disappeared so that there are now only 55 instead of 56 and from order 3 onwards the numbering does not tally with that of 1921.”

The actual groups are not here reproduced but are conveniently given in full in imperial table X. The more important principles upon which the classification of occupational returns has been made under the various groups were prescribed by the Census Commissioner and are briefly as follows:—

“(1) Where a person both makes and sells he is classed as a ‘maker’. On the same principle, when a person extracts some substance, such as saltpetre, sulphur, carbonate of soda, etc., from the ground and also refines it, he is shown in sub-class II—Exploitation of minerals, and not in sub-class III—Industry.

(2) Industrial and trading occupations are divided into two main categories—

- (a) those where the occupation is classified according to the material worked in, and
- (b) those where it is classified according to the use which it serves.

As a general rule the first category is reserved for the manufacture or sale of articles the use of which is not finally determined, but it also includes specified articles for which there is no appropriate head in the second category. For example, while shoemakers are included in the second category (order 12, group 82), the makers of waterbags, saddlery, leather portmanteaux and the like are included in the first category (order 6, group 51).

In a few cases occupations have been classed according to the material worked in, even though certain articles made of it are specified, because the material used is more characteristic of the occupation than the article made. Thus makers of palm-leaf fans have been shown in group 56 rather than group 99. Makers of bamboo screens, leaf plates, etc., have also been shown in group 56.

(3) Persons employed in railway carriage factories have been shown in group 112 instead of under order 15, because these factories in India are always worked direct by the railways. The manufacture and repair of railway trucks and carriages is an integral part of the operations of the railway authorities. The principle on which the classification is made is analogous to that followed in the case of makers and sellers or diggers and refiners.

(4) On the other hand, railway police and railway doctors are classified in groups 157 and 169 respectively, because the primary duty of persons thus employed is, in the one case the prevention and detection of crime, and in the other the healing of disease. The fact that their pay is derived from the railway is merely an incident, and does not affect the character of the occupation.

As a general rule it may be said that wherever a man's personal occupation is one which involves special training, e.g. that of a doctor, engineer, surveyor, etc., he is classed under the head reserved for that occupation. Exceptions have been made, however, in cases where the work in which he is employed involves further specialization. For this reason a marine engineer is classed in group 102 and a river surveyor in group 103. Officers of Government whose occupation is covered by some other group (e.g., doctors, clergymen, professors, postal, forest, settlement and railway officers and other establishments, etc.) will be included in that group and not under group 159. Government peons and chapsalis other than those in the abovementioned establishments will be included under this group and not in group 111."

254. Measures to adopt uniformity of classification.—The particular difficulties encountered in making the returns of agricultural occupations in Bengal fit into a scheme of classification devised to be analogous with that adopted in European and other countries are noted briefly in a later paragraph. Uniformity of classification throughout the whole of India was secured by the issue of a detailed classification list by the Census Commissioner. This was compared with lists maintained in Bengal from census to census giving the actual vernacular returns in the schedules on various occasions. To these returns the correct group number was allocated before the lists were circulated for use in sorting offices. During slip-copying and sorting any attempt at classification on the part of the slip-copyists or sorters was forbidden, and when the sorters had copied out the returns found exactly as given in the vernacular and had entered them upon the sorters' tickets, the tickets were scrutinised by squads specially trained in the classification scheme and the correct classification was entered by them in red on the tickets. The returns were then combined under the correct occupational groups, the tickets were re-written and compilation was made from these re-written tickets.

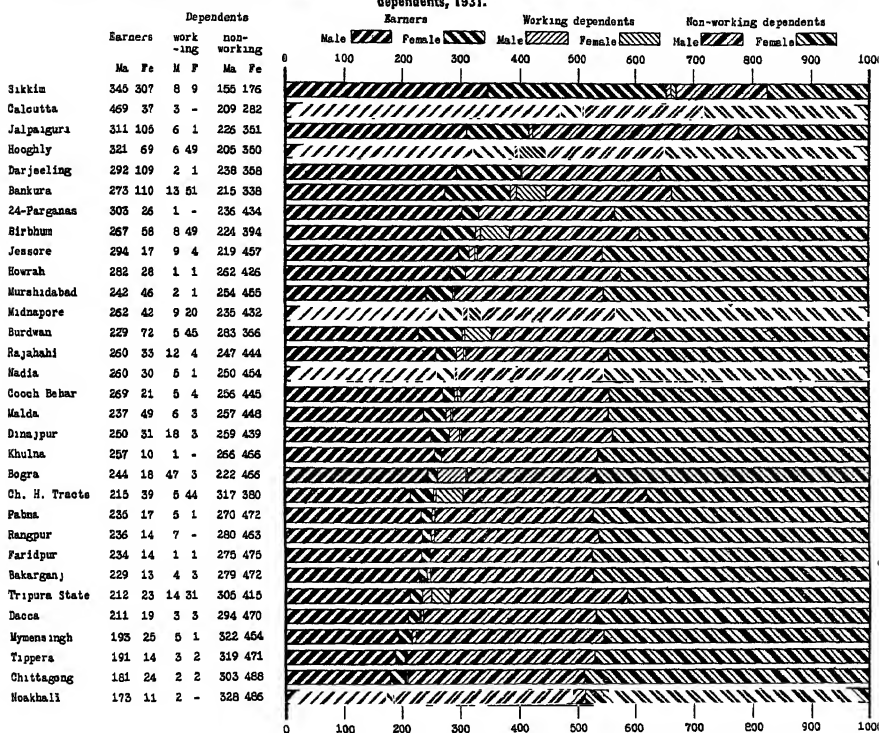
Part II—General figures of dependence and occupation

255. Dependence by districts.—In the province of Bengal out of a total population of 50,114,002 only 14,414,422 are workers and the remainder amounting to 35,699,580 are non-working dependents. In the Bengal states, similarly, out of 973,336 persons as many as 689,850 are non-working dependents and only 283,486 are workers. Of the workers 663,837 in British Territory and 22,455 in Bengal states are working dependents. The proportions for the whole of Bengal are in every 1,000 of the population 288 workers (of whom 13 are working dependents) and the remainder dependents. In Sikkim the proportions are very much higher and there are 667 workers in every 1,000 of the total population of whom only 17 were returned as working dependents. The distribution by dependence is given in subsidiary table II in which, however, there is no distribution by sexes. Diagram No. VIII-1 contains and illustrates a statement showing the distribution by sexes of 1,000 of the total population of each district and state according to dependence. The districts and states are arranged approximately according to the proportion of earners in the total population, but Darjeeling and Murshidabad appear out of place. Sikkim has a larger number of earners and working dependents than any area in Bengal and the sex distribution amongst the earners is very much nearer parity than is found elsewhere, since in every 1,000 of the population there are in Sikkim 343 males and

307 females returned as earners. In Calcutta the number of males returned as earners in each 1,000 is higher still and amounts to 469 but the number of females is scarcely one-twelfth the number of males and Calcutta supports a very much larger number of non-working dependents. The proportion

DIAGRAM No. VIII-1.

Distribution by sexes of 1,000 of the total population of each district and state as earners, working dependents and non-working dependents, 1931.



returned as earners is smallest in Eastern Bengal and in the Tripura State. It is as low as 173 males and 11 females in every 1,000 in Noakhali where no more than two persons in every 1,000 were returned as working dependents and where every worker of whatever sex maintains on an average more than four dependents who are not returned as contributing their work in his assistance. Murshidabad is the median of all the areas shown with 291 workers of both sexes compared with the average for the whole of Bengal of 288. Two other features of this statement are of interest. One is the comparatively large number of female working dependents in Bankura, Hooghly, Birbhum, Burdwan, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Tripura State and Midnapore, the only districts in which the proportions run into two figures. The other is the relatively large number of non-working male dependents in Chittagong, Tripura State, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Tippera, Mymensingh and Noakhali, in all of which more than 30 per cent. of the population consists of males not returned as working. There are nearly three times as many female earners in every 1,000 of the population in Sikkim as in Birbhum, Darjeeling or Jalpaiguri, the three districts with the highest proportion in Bengal and well over 30 times as many as in Khulna, where there are only 10 females in every 1,000 of the population who are earners and where there are no more than 1 of both sexes returned as working dependents.

256. **General distribution of occupations.**—Diagram No. VIII-2 includes and illustrates a statement showing the numbers returned as being occupied in each sub-class compared with numbers occupied in a number of principal occupational groups. These figures include as workers the numbers of convicted prisoners in jail undergoing rigorous imprisonment who are shown as working dependents in the body of table X, both parts, but excluded in other estimates of the total number of workers. Pasture and agriculture with fishing and hunting are the occupations of more than two-thirds of the workers of the province and 99 in every 147 of the workers are actually engaged in cultivation of some kind. Industries, trade and domestic service are the most popular employments after agriculture. Almost five in every 100 workers are employed in domestic service and out of 941,000 engaged in trade 509,000 are occupied in trade in food-stuffs.

257. **General variations in figures for dependence, 1921-1931.**—The figures for which a summary is included in diagram No. VIII-2 are given in full in subsidiary table IV where a comparison is also given with the numbers returned in 1921, so far as it is possible to adjust the groups appearing on the present occasion under different combinations. The returns show a decrease of over two million workers between the figures of 1921 and 1931. A decrease is found in every sub-class except Nos. VII, VIII, IX, X and XI, namely, public administration, professions and the liberal arts, persons living on their income, domestic service and insufficiently described occupations. There is no doubt that this decrease does not correspond to any actual diminution in the number of workers employed. The explanation almost certainly is to be sought partly in the change in the particulars recorded on the present occasion when the figures for workers were distributed amongst earners and working dependents. A full account has already been given of the distinction drawn, but it was reported in more than one district that very great difficulty was experienced in making the enumerators understand the circumstances in which a person recorded as a dependent in one column of the schedule might be entered in any column at all as having an occupation. This was a departure from the procedure on previous occasions and evidently left the enumerators in some cases bewildered. This explanation of the decrease in the total number of earners is entirely consistent with the fact that it is just in those occupational categories in which working dependents are expected to exist either not at all or in the smallest proportion, that an increase has been recorded. By far the greater part of the decrease

DIAGRAM No. VIII-2.

Distribution of workers (earners, principal occupation and working dependents) by occupational sub-classes (on left) and principal groups (on right), 1931.

Figures are given in thousands

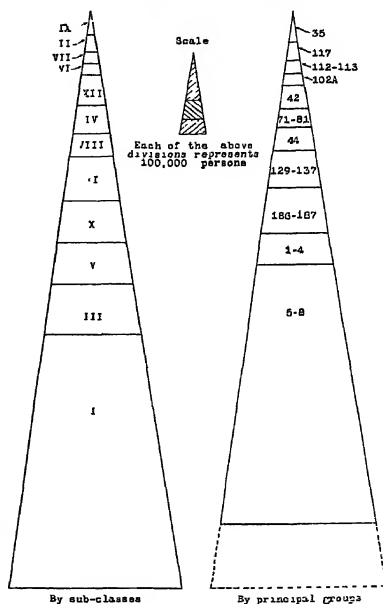
Total workers 14,704

By occupational sub-classes

IX Persons living on their income	35
II Exploitation of Minerals	43
VII Public Administration	50
VI Public Force	59
XII Unproductive	211
IV Transport	203
VIII Professions and Liberal arts	284
XI Insufficiently described occupations	627
X Domestic service	610
V Trade	911
III Industry	1,282
I Exploitation of animals and vegetation	10,081

By principal groups

75 Coal mining	41
117 Trade in Textiles	64
112-113 Railway employees	69
102A Inland Water Transport	71
42-43 Cotton ginning, spinning, etc.	178
71-81 Preparation of foods & food stuffs	179
44 Jute pressing, spinning, etc.	262
129-137 Trade in food stuffs	509
186-187 Domestic service	610
1-4 Non-cultivating proprietors and labor agents	678
5-8 Cultivators	9,799



occurs in sub-class I including the occupations of pasture and agriculture, fishing and hunting, and amongst these particularly in pasture and agriculture; it is here pre-eminently that a worker relies upon the assistance of his family, and it is very probable that here the numbers show a decrease because persons who have previously been recorded as "workers" in virtue of the help they give in the family cultivation, etc., have in many instances on the present occasion been rightly returned as "dependents" but have escaped return as following a subsidiary occupation, the method adopted to secure their inclusion as workers whilst differentiating them from those who work for some specific return in cash or kind. The figures for earners may be taken in general as being reasonably accurate, but it is probably correct to say that those for working dependents err very considerably on the side of a deficit. On the other hand there has been some omission for which this explanation does not account. A comparison between subsidiary table VI and imperial table X shows that a number of workers included in subsidiary table VI cannot be accounted for in the table of occupations. This discrepancy, however, is less than might appear at first sight, because subsidiary table VI includes under the same category persons shown under the scheme of classification explained at the end of part I of this chapter in more than one group or order in the table. The returns in imperial table XI however also display certain inconsistencies. There are for instance more Barui females engaged in their traditional occupation as earners, principal occupation, and more of both sexes who follow it as a subsidiary occupation than the total of those shown under group 13, *pan-vine* cultivators, in table X. Similarly there are more Napit female earners following their traditional trade as principal occupation and more males following it as subsidiary than the total numbers under these heads in group 186, barbers, hairdressers and wig-makers.

258. General variation in occupational sub-classes, 1921-1931.—For the occupational sub-classes a comparison with 1921 is afforded in statement No. VIII-3 illustrated in diagram No. VIII-3 overleaf. This statement and

STATEMENT No. VIII-3.

Distribution of workers (earners and working dependents) of each sex by occupational sub-classes, 1931 and 1921.

Sub-class.	Number of workers			Percentage on all persons occupied of—		
	Both sexes	Male	Female.	Workers in each sub-class.	Male workers.	Female workers.
1931.						
All occupations	14,420,461	12,522,213	1,898,248	100 00	87	13
I—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	9,856,461	9,030,185	826,276	68 54	92	8
II—Exploitation of minerals	43,074	25,388	17,686	0 29	39	41
III—Industry	1,269,073	982,182	286,891	8 80	77	23
IV—Transport	278,931	206,466	72,465	1 93	50	4
V—Trade	925,102	728,893	196,209	6 43	84	16
VI—Public Force	57,697	57,640	57	0 41	100	..
VII—Public Administration	48,329	48,968	801	0 35	99	1
VIII—Professions and liberal arts	260,230	259,678	552	1 82	93	7
IX—Persons living on their income	24,946	4,469	20,477	0 17	83	18
X—Domestic service	803,998	384,043	419,955	5 58	48	52
XI—Insufficiently described occupations	622,838	559,328	63,510	4 32	90	10
XII—Unproductive	308,924	103,960	204,964	2 13	50	50
1921.						
All occupations	16,414,810	14,199,441	2,215,369	100 00	86 5	13 5
I—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	11,805,319	10,570,279	1,235,040	71 92	90	10
II—Exploitation of minerals	67,328	35,255	32,073	0 41	57	43
III—Industry	1,642,004	1,230,771	411,233	10 00	73	26
IV—Transport	364,870	346,914	17,956	2 22	95	5
V—Trade	969,076	791,489	177,587	5 91	82	18
VI—Public Force	67,031	67,061	0	0 41	100	..
VII—Public Administration	47,176	46,772	404	0 29	99	1
VIII—Professions and liberal arts	249,694	232,988	16,706	1 52	93	7
IX—Persons living on their income	13,511	10,092	3,419	0 08	75	25
X—Domestic service	450,113	334,949	115,164	2 74	74	26
XI—Insufficiently described occupations	459,823	405,239	54,584	2 80	88	12
XII—Unproductive	279,368	125,242	154,126	1 70	45	55

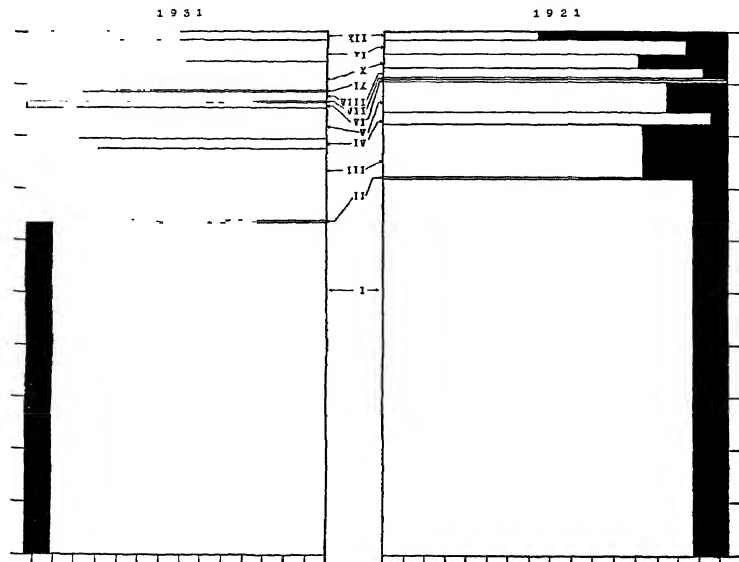
the diagram illustrating it refer to British districts in Bengal only and include amongst workers those persons undergoing hard labour in jails. The figures are given by sexes and two proportionate distributions are given; one showing the percentage of all persons occupied who are engaged in each of the twelve occupational sub-classes; and another showing in each occupational sub-class the proportion employed who are respectively males and females. The relative order of the occupational sub-classes in each year is less disturbed than might have been expected from the inconsistencies introduced

into the returns owing to the circumstances mentioned in the last paragraph. As was to be expected sub-classes VII, VIII, IX, X and XI are now shown to employ each a larger percentage of the total workers in the province than in 1921, whilst the proportions are smaller in every other sub-class with the exception of public force (VI) which is the same and trade (V) which shows an increase. In the order of numbers employed however the occupational

DIAGRAM No. VIII-3.

Distribution of workers (earners and working dependents) by occupational sub-classes, 1921 and 1931.

NOTE.—That portion of each block standing upon one of the horizontal divisions marked on the base represents 1,000,000 persons. The vertical divisions each represent 10 per cent of the total number of workers. The shaded portion of each strip represents female and the unshaded portion male workers.



sub-classes still show generally the same disposition. More, however, are now employed as domestic servants than those returned under insufficiently described occupations; the professions and liberal arts employ more persons now than transport or unproductive occupations; and the exploitation of minerals now finds employment for more people than only private means though it was a larger employer than either public force or public administration in 1921. Otherwise the general order according to the number of persons employed is the same as it was a decade ago.

259. **General proportions of female workers in occupational sub-classes.**—

A large proportion of domestic servants is naturally women but in 1921 there were almost three males returned in this sub-class to every female, whereas on the present occasion the females outnumber the males. Amongst the unproductive workers, mainly beggars, vagrants and prostitutes, the proportion of females in 1921 was 55 per cent. but has been reduced to 50 per cent. on the present occasion. This decrease has been brought about partly by an increase in the male population in jails and partly by a very much larger decrease amongst females in the numbers returned as vagrants, beggars and prostitutes. Women, both in 1921 and 1931, contribute over 40 per cent. of the total number employed in the extraction of minerals. In other sub-classes women contribute a considerable proportion of those returned as workers only amongst persons living on their income (where the proportion is now 18 per cent. compared with 25 per cent. in 1921) and

in trade (where their proportion is now 16 per cent. compared with 18 returned as workers in 1921). In addition a comparatively large number (12 per cent. in 1921 and 10 per cent. on the present occasion) were females amongst those who returned themselves under insufficiently described occupations.

260. Proportion of workers in cities.—The percentage of workers recorded in cities and outside cities is indicated in subsidiary table I. Only in the case of persons living on their income do more than half of those returned in any occupational sub-class live in cities. Very nearly half of those engaged in public administration however are also to be found in cities; and it is in cities that 29 per cent. of those persons also reside who returned themselves under insufficiently described occupations. All these categories, however, in the aggregate employ a comparatively small proportion of the total workers in Bengal and of the whole only 5 per cent. are found in cities. It is natural that a larger proportion of the population of cities are workers than of those residing elsewhere and the cities in Bengal, in which are concentrated 5 per cent. of the workers, account for only 3 per cent. of the total population. In Calcutta, for instance, the number of non-working dependents in every thousand of the population is less than in any other part of Bengal. The same conditions, however, do not apply in the cities of Howrah and Dacca, where 64 and 73 per cent. of the population respectively are non-working dependents. Even so, however, in Howrah the proportion of workers is well above the average for Bengal (288).

STATEMENT No. VIII-4.
Occupational distribution by divisions, 1931.

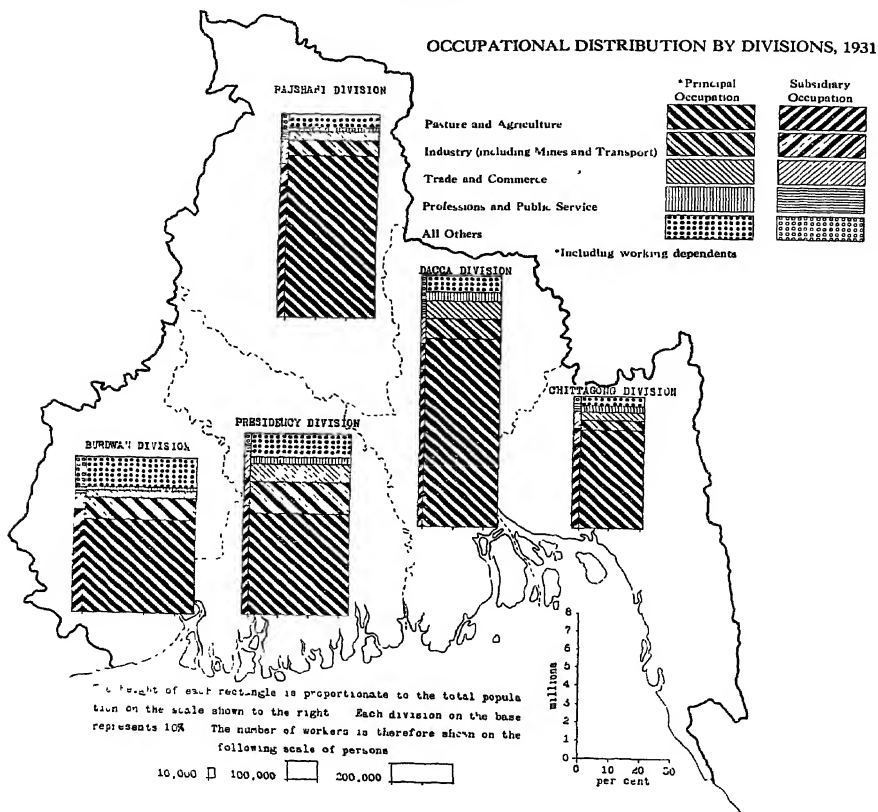
Occupation	All Bengal	Burdwan Division.	Presidency Division.	Rajshahi Division with Cooh Behar	Dacca Division	Chittagong Division with Tripura State
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TOTAL POPULATION	51,087,338	8,647,189	10,108,229	11,258,952	13,864,104	7,208,864
Number of *workers, all occupations	14,704,079	3,164,308	3,334,348	3,384,213	3,284,343	1,518,867
Pasture and agriculture	10,885,153	1,922,205	1,850,015	2,053,157	2,460,501	1,141,532
Industry including mines and transport	1,605,185	444,445	500,174	237,013	254,301	113,132
Trade and commerce	941,088	158,333	285,787	137,101	231,387	93,770
Professions and public service	393,178	62,616	129,987	65,214	60,983	60,989
Other occupations	1,673,525	596,129	476,064	251,700	242,669	109,004
Percentage of *workers on total population	28.8	36.8	33.0	30.0	23.7	21.0
Percentage on *workers, all occupations, of those engaged in—						
Pasture and agriculture	69	60	56	70	73	75
Industry including mines and transport	14	17	17	7	8	8
Trade and commerce	6	5	9	5	7	6
Professions and public service	3	2	4	2	3	4
Other occupations	11	19	14	7	7	7
Number of workers engaged as subsidiary occupation in—						
All occupations	1,205,891	337,828	221,630	288,133	220,881	137,419
Pasture and agriculture	724,262	179,574	131,742	154,058	139,311	57,377
Industry including mines and transport	151,128	47,093	32,431	31,703	32,787	18,474
Trade and commerce	140,722	32,733	32,109	34,134	24,336	18,111
Professions and public service	55,823	14,612	9,999	15,250	10,318	8,705
Other occupations	139,896	63,217	15,140	23,891	28,849	6,749
Percentage on total population of workers with any subsidiary occupation.	2.4	3.8	2.2	2.6	1.6	1.9
Percentage on *workers, all occupations, of those engaged as subsidiary occupation in—						
All occupations	8.2	10.6	6.6	8.5	6.7	9.1
Pasture and agriculture	4.9	5.6	4.0	5.4	5.2	5.8
Industry including mines and transport	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.9	0.7	1.1
Trade and commerce	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.2
Professions and public service	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.6
Other occupations	0.9	2.0	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.4

*Earnings, principal occupation, plus working dependents

261. General occupational distribution by divisions.—The general occupational distribution of the population by divisions is illustrated in diagram No. VIII-4 overleaf. Occupational groups for this diagram have been combined rather differently than in the tables and they agree in general with the grouping adopted for a similar comparison in paragraph 223 of the report of 1921. Diagram No. VIII-4 can thus be compared with diagram No. 101 in that paragraph. In diagram No. VIII-4, however, the proportions engaged in pasture and agriculture are indicated without the addition of those engaged in fishing and hunting but transport as well as mines has been combined with industry. The diagram illustrates subsidiary table II and also statement No. VIII-4 above. Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions

contribute the largest number of persons engaged in pasture and agriculture. But in the Chittagong Division as well as in these two the proportion engaged is more than three-fourths of the total number of workers in all occupations. Even in the Presidency Division, however, where industries including mines

DIAGRAM No. VIII-4.



and transport occupy a greater number per cent. of the working population than in any other division, the proportion of workers engaged in agriculture is 56. In Burdwan also although industries including mines and transport and other occupations, principally domestic service employing a very large number of females, account for a considerable percentage of the workers, there are 60 per cent. of the workers employed in pasture and agriculture. Of the total population a greater percentage are workers in Burdwan than any other division and the percentage regularly decreases in the order in which the divisions are shown, being successively less in Presidency, Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions, and least in the Chittagong Division with Tripura State where the proportion is 21 per cent. only. In the Presidency Division also a considerable proportion of the workers were returned under "other occupations", principally those insufficiently described and also domestic service, but with the exception of industries including mines and transport and other occupations in these two divisions in no other division is as large a proportion as 10 per cent. of the total workers engaged in any other occupation except pasture and agriculture. The diagram as well as the statements which it illustrates includes particulars of those workers

who also have some subsidiary form of occupation. These are shown by reversed hatchings on the left of the columns showing the principal occupation. In the whole of Bengal only 2·4 per cent. of the population has any subsidiary occupation. The proportion is highest (3·9 per cent.) in the Burdwan Division where there are also the largest proportion of workers and it decreases roughly in the same manner as the proportion of total workers with the exception that a larger proportion in Rajshahi and Chittagong have subsidiary occupations than in the Presidency and Dacca Divisions, respectively. Pasture and agriculture are here again the principal subsidiary occupations. The average number of workers who have some form of agriculture as a subsidiary occupation is nearly 5 per cent. throughout the whole province. It is higher in the Chittagong Division but the variation between the divisions is no greater than 1·8 per cent. In the Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions less and in the Dacca Division scarcely more than 20 per cent. of the total workers have no concern with agriculture either as a principal or as a subsidiary means of livelihood; and even in the Presidency Division as many as 60 per cent. of the total number of workers rely principally or in part upon pasture and agriculture. As many as 1 per cent. of the total number of workers look as a subsidiary means of livelihood to industries including mines and transport in the Burdwan, Presidency and Chittagong Divisions and to trade and commerce in the Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions: but except in Burdwan, where other occupations, principally domestic service and occupations insufficiently described, form a subsidiary means of livelihood for as many as 2 per cent. of the workers, no other occupation of those illustrated attracts as many as 1 per cent. of the workers as a subsidiary occupation.

262. General occupational distribution by districts.—Figures somewhat similar to those above discussed are shown for districts in statement No. VIII-5 illustrated by diagram No. VIII-5. Here the grouping of occupations

STATEMENT No. VIII-5.

Distribution by main occupational categories of (A) workers (i.e., earners, principal occupation and working dependents) and (B) workers with a subsidiary occupation in each district and state, 1931.

District	A. Persons engaged as earners (principal occupation) and working dependents in sub-classes						B. Earners engaged as a subsidiary occupation in sub-classes					
	Description of sub-classes:											
	I	II-IV	V	VI-VIII	Others.		I	II-IV	V	VI-VIII	Others.	
Burdwan	300,775	87,444	20,914	8,593	125,709	27,071	7,299	5,544	1,931	12,424		
Birbhum	231,842	19,093	15,954	5,730	57,051	10,313	1,775	5,105	2,251	4,772		
Bankura	348,444	45,096	25,562	7,743	77,309	20,553	0,673	5,494	2,317	9,811		
Midnapore	665,377	74,648	25,530	16,134	133,320	34,404	10,102	7,736	3,090	28,888		
Hoochly	259,366	10,951	26,056	13,515	89,919	24,251	9,924	4,410	2,044	8,355		
Howrah	121,461	109,713	39,506	9,570	62,431	14,400	2,803	3,323	933	2,067		
24-Parganas	308,432	223,869	54,568	21,719	87,807	47,464	10,674	8,769	1,973	3,272		
Calcutta	13,329	105,017	96,954	57,053	27,438	1,833	614	907	231	2,819		
Nadia	301,318	61,815	29,973	10,513	38,990	19,037	2,971	4,752	1,330	2,250		
Murshidabad	272,901	41,924	40,703	9,016	33,774	17,668	4,560	0,963	1,742	1,445		
Jessore	431,644	40,750	34,736	11,241	32,730	24,436	5,807	0,057	2,661	2,400		
Khulna	352,444	27,368	25,868	10,536	10,536	1,284	7,005	5,081	1,950	873		
Rajshahi	345,554	32,188	14,095	9,900	39,473	31,355	7,284	4,535	3,250	4,534		
Dinajpur	430,115	23,575	20,069	5,533	45,364	20,166	3,462	4,157	5,143	4,284		
Jaipagura	362,523	15,944	12,564	6,172	18,323	10,754	2,025	1,404	891	2,233		
Darjeeling	95,407	6,707	6,400	2,859	14,716	2,311	960	543	60	678		
Raipur	550,231	37,821	26,037	12,029	41,657	54,049	5,139	1,183	5,092	5,092		
Bogra	277,704	24,386	11,097	6,672	16,496	27,962	4,221	4,111	1,823	3,843		
Pabna	260,527	25,913	8,796	3,436	34,516	15,413	3,713	3,080	1,303	1,351		
Maida	214,218	32,035	33,130	6,326	24,914	14,333	5,424	7,069	870	1,057		
Dacca	349,323	83,026	79,833	26,475	71,626	44,031	6,663	7,303	2,486	4,275		
Myemensingh	884,063	64,254	70,475	26,696	104,820	45,730	7,207	9,231	15,010	15,010		
Fardpur	459,715	47,093	35,070	14,115	34,705	20,177	3,302	2,363	1,617	3,455		
Bakarganj	567,490	35,990	50,100	23,706	31,939	28,953	6,605	4,780	2,850	1,176		
Tippura	531,434	33,729	37,029	17,727	32,239	24,749	5,219	7,890	3,326	1,444		
Noakhali	242,223	25,668	14,707	15,263	18,467	23,007	5,114	3,489	2,840	1,755		
Chittagong	220,529	45,431	30,729	17,838	40,664	23,909	5,739	4,460	2,458	3,130		
Chittagong Hill Tracts	57,604	1,916	2,052	549	2,133	2,099	214	1,916	75	142		
Cooch Behar	142,430	8,565	9,793	3,927	10,820	3,815	1,086	2,037	1,727	730		
Triprura State	88,262	8,521	3,163	1,935	5,201	8,928	189	346	811	219		
Sikkim	69,810	965	882	253	1,321	2,091	464	94	262	670		

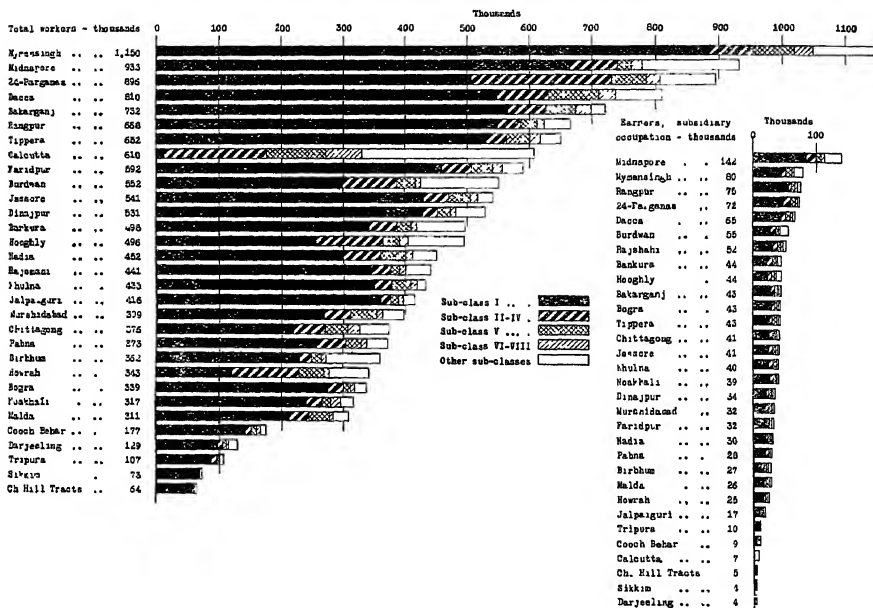
is explained in the headings to both the statement and the diagram. Hunters and fishers are included with agriculturists and herdsmen; industries including mines and transport are again grouped together; trade and

commerce and the professions and public service are again shown in two combinations. The only difference, therefore, between the grouping adopted for this and for the previous statement is the inclusion amongst agriculturists of fishers and huntsmen shown amongst other occupations in diagram No. VIII-4 and the statement on which it is based. In diagram No. VIII-5

DIAGRAM No. VIII-5.

Numbers and distribution by principal occupational categories of workers (earners and working dependents) and (inset) of those having a subsidiary occupation by districts.

NOTE.—The following are the descriptions of the categories shown —
 Sub-class I — Exploitation of animals and vegetation
 Sub-classes II-IV — Exploitation of minerals, industry and transport
 Sub-class V — Trade and commerce
 Sub-classes VI-VII — Public force and administration and the professions and liberal arts



the districts are arranged in the order of their total workers, on the one hand, and in the order of their earners having a subsidiary occupation, on the other. Mymensingh, the largest district, supplies also the largest number of workers, but the different proportion of workers in each district, to which reference has already been made, results in the remaining districts appearing in a very different order from the order of their total population. The actual figures given in the statement can be conveniently read with and interpreted by the percentage figures given in subsidiary table II. With the exception of Calcutta and Howrah in every district, even where as in the 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah, industries including mines and transport occupy a large number of workers, pasture and agriculture with fishing and hunting are the occupations of the majority of the population. Trade and commerce employ considerable numbers only in Calcutta, 24-Parganas, Dacca and Mymensingh. In no other district except Calcutta, where 48 per mille of the population are employed in public service or in the professions and liberal arts, does the number thus employed reach 1 per cent. of the population except in Hooghly and on the average in the whole of the province only 9 persons in every 1,000 of the population are engaged in these occupations.

263. General distribution of subsidiary occupations.—In every district except Calcutta agriculture supplies a greater proportion of the population with a subsidiary means of livelihood than any other category of occupations; and except in the districts of Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions, where a certain proportion of the population turn to industry and transport and to domestic service as a subsidiary means of livelihood, trade is the only occupation attracting any considerable proportion of the population as an auxiliary source of income. A greater proportion of the population follows this occupation in addition to their principal employment in Chittagong Hill Tracts, but the actual numbers are so small that they cannot be represented in the graph included in diagram No. VIII-5. Elsewhere between 4 and 5 persons in every 1,000 adopt some form or other of trade as a subsidiary means of livelihood in Birbhum, Bankura, Hooghly, Murshidabad, Jessore and Bogra districts. The numbers of workers with a subsidiary occupation are naturally to some extent controlled by the total number of workers: but the proportions of workers adopting some subsidiary occupation varies considerably. Scarcely 1 in 90 workers in Calcutta has any subsidiary means of livelihood but on the other hand in Rajshahi very little less than 1 in every 8 has some form of subsidiary occupation and similar proportions are in Bogra 1 in 7, in Noakhali 1 in 8, in Tippera 1 in 15 and in Bakarganj 1 in 17. In the whole of Bengal there are more than 18 earners without any subsidiary occupation for every 1 with. On the average in Western Bengal the proportion of workers with a subsidiary occupation is highest, being about 1 in every 15, but in the Presidency Division it is as low as 1 in about every 25.

Part III.—Detailed figures of occupations

264. Class A : Production of raw materials.—The production of raw materials is the first class in the occupational classification. It provides occupation for 10,131,227 persons compared with 12,156,549 in 1921. It comprises sub-classes I—Exploitation of animals and vegetation and II—Exploitation of minerals. Sub-class I employs 10,088,153 persons as well as providing subsidiary means of livelihood for 724,262 more. It provided employment for 12,089,218 in 1921.

265. Order 1 : Pasture and agriculture.—Pasture and agriculture give employment to 9,895,728 persons in Bengal, a number representing 1,937 in every 10,000 of the total population amongst whom 1,855 per 10,000 or a total of 9,477,076 are employed in ordinary cultivation. In addition to those persons who pursue pasture and agriculture as their principal occupation there are 697,656 who turn to it as a subsidiary means of livelihood and of these ordinary cultivation is followed by 674,718. In the total population there are 2,878 persons in every 10,000 who are workers, and pasture and agriculture consequently forms either the principal or subsidiary means of livelihood for 2,074 or nearly three-quarters of them. There were 11,907,784 persons employed under this order in 1921.

266. Difficulties in the classification of agricultural occupations: landlords, owners and tenants.—Attention has been drawn in previous reports to the difficulty of fitting conditions in Bengal readily into the scheme of classification adopted for agricultural occupations and this has been accentuated by the modifications within this sub-class introduced at the present census. In Bengal the agriculturist of any class, if asked what is his occupation, will immediately reply by stating his status in the system of land tenure current in the province and will describe himself as a *rayat*, *patnidar*, *talukdar*, etc. It has never been possible to use these returns in the census schedules for two reasons, first because the actual terms used connote a different status in different parts of the province, and secondly because they convey no definite indication of the actual work or occupation followed by the individual concerned. On previous occasions and particularly in 1921 attention was concentrated upon the distinction between those who live on the rent of land

and those who live by cultivating land for which they pay rent. It was possible by the use of comparatively simple conventional terms to preserve the distinction required. The enumerators were instructed to return as a *rent-taker* persons who let out their land, and as a *tenant* or *rent-payer* persons who paid rent for land which they cultivated; but on the present occasion the introduction of a distinction between cultivating owners and cultivating tenants has added a further difficulty. The primary distinction in the classification is between non-cultivators deriving income from agricultural land, cultivators of land permanently under cultivation and cultivators of *jhum*, *taungya* and other shifting areas. The last division is new but presents no difficulties in Bengal and such cultivation is restricted to areas like the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Darjeeling and the Tripura State. The distinction between rent-receivers and cultivating rent-payers is not indeed readily apparent from the terms ordinarily in common use but can be secured by the use of fairly simple conventional terms. Those used in 1921 were *bishay bhogi* and *praja* and although the word *praja* is liable to the criticism that in many parts of Bengal it is used in a distinctively technical sense in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Act, probably no better terms can be devised if this is the only distinction required. On the present occasion also the word *bishay bhogi* was retained to indicate persons living on the rent of land and shown in group 1 as non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind. Similarly, agricultural labourers shown in group 7 presented no difficulty. Under the Bengal Tenancy Act, indeed, certain persons who cultivate land on condition of giving a share of the actual produce of the year to the person from whom they hold possession of the land are at law agricultural labourers, although for census purposes they are tenant cultivators. But in this case also the distinction between agricultural labourers and persons recorded in group 6 as tenant cultivators was not difficult to enforce. The instruction already quoted was supplemented by instructions given below in detail to the effect that those persons were to be returned as agricultural labourers who had no kind of right, title or interest even to the possession of their land, and cultivated merely for wages in cash or kind. The difficulty comes with the introduction of a distinction between owners and tenants. So long as it was a case of distinction between landlord and tenant it was comparatively simple to lay down that both these classes fall within the body of those who hold a right, title or interest in their land and that the distinction between them was whether they got their livelihood or the greater part of it from rent or the actual cultivation of land either by themselves or by servants and labourers. Into this distinction the question of proprietary right does not enter at all and this is a very great advantage in Bengal where a feature of the land tenure system is the great number of intermediate tenures existing in regular dependence, one on another, from the person paying revenue for the estate direct to the crown to the actual cultivating *rayat* and where even the terms used for these intermediate tenures differ from district to district and may be identical in form but different in connotation from one district to another. The difficulty is created by the need for a definition of "owner" which is required if a distinction is to be made between cultivating owners and cultivating tenants.

267. **Ownership of land in Bengal.**—The actual term land-owner is not a term bearing any definite meaning in the land law of Bengal. The accepted law appears to be that interests which would be combined if there were an absolute estate in the land are divided between the paramount title of the crown to receive revenue, the proprietary right of the zemindar to receive rent and the right of the *rayat* to be left in beneficial possession of the land he holds subject to the payment of rent. The composite nature of any estate in land is considered to have survived through the period of Muslim rule actually from Shastric times. In the earliest times the orthodox opinion is that the right of the land was divided between the king and the actual cultivator. In Mogal times the only claim to the land made by the ruler was to a tax or a sum payable on what had been originally a proportionate share of the produce, whilst the tax collectors (often conquered *rajas*) were looked upon as being merely officials of the revenue administration without rights in the land unless

they had received grants as payment for their services. The Permanent Settlement did indeed set up in Bengal a class of landed proprietors who were owners of their estates but they were not recognised as being possessed of an absolute estate in their zemindary and as a judicial decision expresses it—

“ the notion of an absolute estate in land is as alien from the Regulation Law as it is from the old Hindu and Muhammadan law of the country ” (Thakurani Dasi *versus* Bhisweswar Mukherjee)

A proprietor under the Bengal Tenancy Act is indeed defined as “ a person owning (sic) an estate or part of an estate,” i.e., (a) included under one entry in any of the registers of revenue-paying or revenue-free lands ; or (b) forming a government *khas mahal* ; or (c) which is revenue free and not entered in any register [Bengal Tenancy Act, section 3(ii) and 4]. But nothing gives him an absolute estate in his land. There are even “ landholders’ constituencies ” (not landowners’ constituencies) in the Legislative Assembly and Bengal Legislative Council where the qualification is either to have a proprietary right in an estate or share of an estate or to hold a permanent tenancy from such proprietor and to pay a minimum amount of revenue towards roads and public work cess. In the case of *khas mahals* directly administered by government the legal position is that government holds an estate under itself so that the proprietary right merges with the paramount title : in this case the rent of the tenants becomes revenue but the tenants do not necessarily become proprietors or permanent tenancy holders.

268. Difficulty of defining cultivating owners.—In Bengal it consequently appeared at first that the most satisfactory meaning to give to cultivating owners would be the sense borne by the word proprietor in the Bengal Tenancy Act ; and it is clear that any other criterion inevitably results in figures entirely out of relation to the land tenure system. On the other hand the difficulties of such a definition are considerable. The number of cultivating proprietors thus defined is negligible in Bengal and the figures which would have been yielded in group 5 by such a definition would probably have been entirely out of comparison with those in such other parts of India as have no proprietors in the sense defined in the Bengal Tenancy Act and where intermediaries for the collection of government dues have the status only of tax farmers. It would include only a class probably not existing anywhere outside the operations of the Permanent Settlement Regulation (Regulation I of 1793). The figures would be equally misleading in comparison with those in European countries where cultivating owners would presumably be peasant proprietors whose status more nearly resembles the permanent *rayat* in Bengal than any other class in the land-tenure system.

269. The distinction adopted.—On these considerations it was decided that a clean sweep would have to be made of the existing terms and notions current in Bengal and that attention would have to be concentrated principally upon the actual work or occupation followed by the agriculturist concerned. If he cultivated his land either personally or by means of hired servants he was to fall in either class 5 or 6 irrespective of his status in the land-tenure system. Equally irrespective of his status in the land-tenure system if he derived returns from his land not by actual labour put into them by himself or by his own hired labourers but from rent he was to go into class 1 as a non-cultivating proprietor. Excluding the agricultural labourers who are shown in group 7, between actual cultivators, i.e., persons who themselves cultivate their lands either with their own hands or by hired labourers and servants, the only distinction possible was according to permanence of tenancy. It has already been said that the nearest analogy to the peasant proprietor elsewhere is in Bengal a tenant with a permanent or semi-permanent right, and it was this distinction which was used to differentiate between groups 5 and 6. If the cultivator had a permanent title to the possession of his land he was regarded as a cultivating owner and returned as *cultivator with permanent rights*, even if at law he was not entitled to the privileges of a permanent or settled *rayat*

under the Bengal Tenancy Act. Similarly, even if the cultivator was not a tenant under the definition in that Act, he was still to be regarded as a cultivating tenant and returned as a *cultivator but without permanent rights* if he was entitled to remain in possession of his land during the season in which crops sown and tended by him were in the ground although he might be liable at the end of the season to make over a proportion of the crops to the person with a title in the land. It was considered immaterial whether the amount made over should be at law considered rent for occupation of the land or the amount retained should be considered wages for cultivating the land. The criterion was whether during the season of cultivating the land he was entitled to remain in possession of it. In cases in which the person with the title to the land supplied plough and bullocks and seed such a cultivator was clearly an agricultural labourer only. But where he entered into possession of the land with an oral or other agreement from the person entitled to cultivate it to the effect that he should cultivate for a period and at stated times render a share of the produce, he was recorded as an *agriculturist without permanent title*. The application of this distinction therefore secures the principal distinction between agriculturists, namely, that arising from the work actually done by them, and in addition provides for groups 5 and 6 the best distinction possible which corresponds with actual conditions in the province. The detailed instructions issued in elaboration of those given to the enumerators and conveyed to them by the superior census agency are reproduced below :—

“ The tables of occupation to be compiled from the census returns have been brought into line with the classification adopted in European and other countries and for this purpose it is necessary to make some distinctions in the return of occupations which are not familiar in Bengal. Thus in order to make possible a distinction amongst those who live from agricultural land between actual cultivators and those who live on income derived from their land it is necessary to enter in the schedules some terms not ordinarily used in Bengal and to avoid the use of expressions commonly employed to describe the status of tenure or tenancy-holders by reference to the nature of their title to the land, such as *zaminidar, talukdar, pattanidar, haoladar, shikmidar, einamdar, chukanidar, jotdar, rayat, dar-rayat, korfa-adhvar, bagadar, bhagdar*, etc. Great care should be taken not to confuse the meaning of terms as used for census purposes with the same terms if they occur in the Bengal Tenancy Act.

The primary test is whether the person to be enumerated actually cultivates his land or not

Those who have any kind of right, title or interest in agricultural land but who derive the greater part of their livelihood not from actually cultivating the land either themselves or by servants or hired labourers but from leasing it out and getting rent for it are to be entered as ‘*landlords*’ (*bishay-bhogi*). Landlords of house property or land in towns which is not agricultural land will also be entered as ‘*landlords*’ but a distinction must be made between these two classes and the entry ‘*landlord*’ must always be followed either by ‘(*agricultural land*)’ or by ‘(*town or house property*)’. Amongst those who actually do the work of cultivation again a further distinction is to be made. Those who have no right, title or interest in the land and cultivate for wages in cash or kind are to be entered as ‘*agricultural labourers*’ (*krishimagur*). Those who have a right, title and interest of any kind in the land and actually cultivate it either themselves or by servants or by hired labourers are to be entered as ‘*cultivators*’ (*krishak*). If they have a tenure (*madhyastha svatva*) or a permanent tenancy or a tenancy with occupancy rights they must be entered as ‘*cultivators* (*tenure-holders or with permanent interest*)’ (*krishak, madhyastha svatva bishista or sthayi svatva bishista*). If they have no tenure and no permanent right or interest but have a temporary or oral lease, or a lease as a *korfa* or *dar-rayat* or other description of under-tenant without permanent title or have not any lease at all but merely right to possession of the land by virtue of a mortgage or an *utbandi* or *barga* or *adhari* or *bhag* settlement even though they may not be ‘*tenants*’ under the Bengal Tenancy Act they must be entered as ‘*cultivators* (*without permanent interest*)’ (*krishak, sthayi svatva bishista nahe*).

In many cases persons having a title to land lease out some part of it and keep the rest *khas* for their own cultivation. Such persons must be entered both in column 10 and in column 11. In column 10 if the greater part of their livelihood comes from their rents they will be shown as ‘*landlords*’ but if it comes from their cultivation they will be shown as ‘*cultivators* (*with or without permanent interest*)’. In column 11 they will also be shown, unless they have some other more important subsidiary occupation which should be entered in column 11, as ‘*cultivators* (*with or without permanent interest*)’ if they have been entered in column 10 as ‘*landlords*’ and as ‘*landlords*’ if entered in column 10 as ‘*cultivators*’.

Agents and managers of Government estates are to be distinguished from those of private estates.

Where the method of cultivation is similar to the *jhum* cultivation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts the entry for cultivators should be 'cultivator (*jhum*)'. Such cultivation is not likely to be met except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Darjeeling, probably in Tripura State, and perhaps in the Madhupur jungle of Mymensingh and parts of Chittagong.

270. Preponderance of agricultural occupations.—In the whole of the province there are nearly 25 persons following an agricultural occupation for every one employed in government service or in the professions and liberal arts. Omitting Calcutta which is a city and in which conditions are clearly unsuitable for the comparison, there are in every district except Chittagong, Howrah, Noakhali and Hooghly at least 20 workers engaged in agricultural pursuits for every government servant or professional man. In Sikkim the proportions are 159 to 1, a figure not nearly approached in Bengal where the highest, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, is 90. The proportion is in general lowest in districts of the Chittagong and Presidency Divisions and highest in districts of the Rajshahi Division where, with the exception of Malda, there are in every district about 30 agriculturists for every person employed in public administration and the liberal arts. As a measure of the ratio of agriculturists to unproductives the figures under sub-class XII should be added to those under sub-classes VI-VIII. If this is done and the term unproductive is interpreted to exclude persons engaged in transport and trade, there are 16 agriculturists for every unproductive in Bengal. The largest number, 68, is found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and with the exception of Calcutta the smallest, 8, 9 and 11, respectively, are found in Chittagong, Howrah and Noakhali. The figures here given have been calculated on the percentages shown in subsidiary table II, and a calculation upon the actual numbers engaged might give slightly different results but in general the proportions will be found to hold.

271. Ordinary cultivation.—Cultivation of special crops, forestry, stock raising and the raising of small animals contribute comparatively small numbers to the total employed in pasture and agriculture. The great majority are engaged in "ordinary cultivation" which finds employment for 9,477,076 persons as well as providing a subsidiary means of livelihood for 674,718 more. More than one half of these are cultivating owners, for every two of whom there is one agricultural labourer. The figures for cultivating tenants are less than one-sixth those of cultivating owners, and there is only one landlord for more than ten cultivating owners. Cultivating owners and tenant cultivators were not distinguished in 1921: together they number 6,041,495 compared with 9,274,924 in 1921 a decrease of about 35 per cent. On the other hand agricultural labourers have increased by 50 per cent. and now number 2,718,939 compared with 1,805,502 farm servants and field labourers in 1921. There has been a considerable increase in the numbers returned as non-cultivating proprietors (from 390,562 to 633,834) and a small decrease in the number of their agents, rent collectors, etc., from 46,181 to 44,586. The decrease in the number of landlords' agents was commented upon in the last census report as having been on the last occasion noticeable in those districts in which settlement operations had been conducted in the preceding decade. It is in the group "pasture and agriculture" that the most notable decrease occurs from the figures of 1921. The variations under ordinary cultivation account for all but just over 28,000 of the decrease (2,068,441) in the number of all workers between 1921 and 1931. Variations as considerable as those shown by the figures cannot occur in a predominantly agricultural country where the *rayat* has the strongest possible attachment to his holding and are evidently due to differences in obtaining the returns.

272. Distribution of returns from land between cultivators and non-cultivators.—The variations in the figures of cultivators and of non-cultivators, respectively, lead to very different figures in the proportions in each of these classes in 1931 compared with 1921. A further difference is introduced owing to the fact that in 1921 it was possible to estimate the number dependent upon workers in each group which is not possible on the present occasion. Figures for the number of cultivators per 100 landlords and their agents given

STATEMENT No. VIII-6.

Number of cultivators per 100
landlords and their agents.

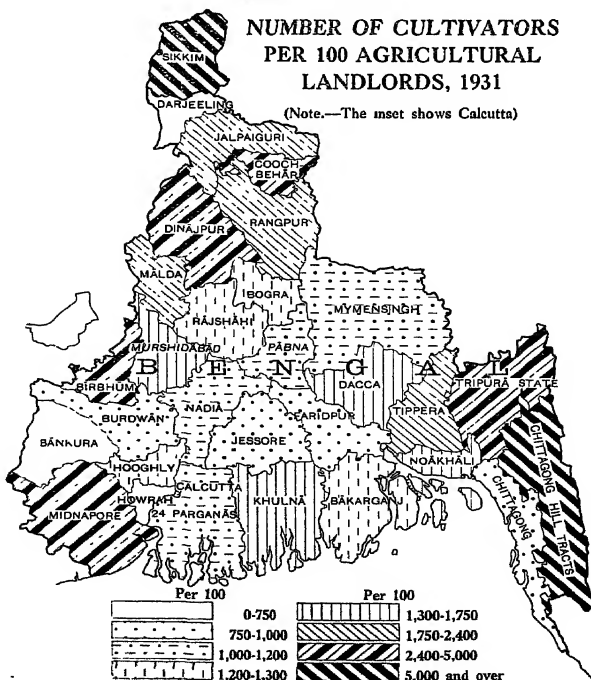
BENGAL	1,297
BRITISH TERRITORY	1,276
Burdwan Division	1,115
Burdwan	983
Birbhum	3,698
Bankura	419
Midnapore	2,062
Hoochly	1,213
Howrah	733
Presidency Division	1,102
24 Parganas	1,129
Calcutta	24
Nadia	1,109
Murshidabad	1,509
Jessore	904
Khulna	1,841
Rajshahi Division	1,644
Rajshahi	1,264
Dinajpur	3,265
Jalpaiguri	1,760
Darjeeling	350
Rangpur	2,208
Boaga	1,216
Pabna	1,040
Malda	1,773
Dacca Division	1,190
Dacca	1,746
Mymensingh	1,087
Faridpur	960
Bakarganj	1,208
Chittagong Division	1,584
Tippera	2,174
Noakhali	1,541
Chittagong	808
Chittagong Hill Tracts	11,046
BENGAL STATES	3,768
Cooch Behar	3,380
Tripura	4,781
SIKKIM	186,764

in statement No. VIII-6 and illustrated in diagram No. VIII-6 do not therefore correspond in any way with the similar figures given in thereport for 1921. Groups 1 to 4 are included as landlords and their agents and groups 5-8 as cultivators. On the average there are approximately 13 cultivators for every landlord, landlord's agent, rent-collector, clerk, etc. The proportion of those drawing their income from agriculture direct from the soil is highest in Sikkim and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In these two places there is one landlord or landlord's agent only to every 1,868 cultivators in Sikkim and to every 110 cultivators in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Cooch Behar, Dinajpur, Birbhum, Midnapore and Tripura State there are between 24 and 50 cultivators to every person deriving his income from rent or by the collection of rent for the land. In Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Malda as well as in Tippera district the proportion is between 175 and 240 cultivators for every 10 landlords and middlemen with their agents. Excluding Calcutta where conditions are not representative there is the smallest number of cultivators to every landlord or agent in Bankura and Darjeeling where the numbers are 419 and 550 per 100, respectively, but there are less than 10 to 1 also

in Howrah, Burdwan, Jessore, Faridpur and Chittagong. If we assume that each worker maintains a family of $5\frac{1}{2}$ persons including himself these proportions imply that on an average the work put into the fields by every cultivator is expected to support directly or indirectly almost 6 persons whilst the number of persons looking to support in the same way from his labours in Burdwan would be almost 7.

273. Group 7 includes some working dependents of cultivating owners and tenants.—Under occupational group 7 the figures for working dependents include 138,551 persons of both sexes who are members of families of cultivating owners and cultivating tenants, but who assist in the actual cultivation of the family property and are included in this group as agricultural labourers

DIAGRAM No. VIII-6.



by directions of the Census Commissioner. For some purposes, however, it is of interest to be able to distinguish the extent to which cultivating owners and cultivating tenants rely for their cultivation upon members of

STATEMENT No. VIII-7.

Persons shown in the imperial table X as working dependents under occupational group 7 (agricultural labourers) who are members of the families and assist in the cultivation of persons returned as—

Division, district, city or state	Cultivating owners (group 5).		Cultivating tenants (group 6)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5
BENGAL	93,584	20,673	19,750	4,544
BRITISH TERRITORY	90,318	17,334	19,335	4,533
Burdwan Division	10,100	3,527	1,611	244
Burdwan	1,993	724	517	64
Burhum	978	272	81	8
Bankura	1,514	445	197	15
Midnapore	4,333	1,784	567	112
Hooghly	1,194	285	307	15
Howrah	88	19	42	2
Howrah City	3		0	
Presidency Division	5,417	1,148	2,592	225
24 Parganas	624	228	57	1
<i>Calcutta Suburbs</i>	-	-	-	-
Calcutta	960	52	546	17
Nadia	208	22	182	3
Murshidabad	3,410	674	1,774	208
Jessore	206	174	2	1
Rajshahi Division	52,967	5,692	6,542	167
Rajshahi	7,020	2,261	728	17
Dinajpur	10,020	1,075	938	70
Jalpaiguri	733	6	183	23
Darjeeling	89	2	1	0
Rangpur	416	85	1,140	0
Dogra	33,012	295	2,417	20
Palna	471	23	454	4
Malda	1,106	36	671	1
Dacca Division	16,743	1,979	6,848	1,262
Dacca	1,658	956	2,327	622
<i>Dacca City</i>	-	-	-	-
Mymensingh	10,092	780	3,594	144
Faridpur	630	511	553	1
Bakarganj	4,363	23	439	151
Chittagong Division	5,151	4,998	1,742	2,635
Tippera	2,514	305	1,385	2,596
Noakhali	1,528	24	262	1
Chittagong	1,093	149	134	24
Chittagong Hill Tracts	101	4,428	21	14
BENGAL STATES	3,266	3,339	415	11
Cooch Behar	327	1,607	593	
Tripura	2,939	1,732	22	11
SIKKIM	14		12	6

their families as opposed to hired labourers and servants. During enumeration, therefore, members of the families of cultivating owners and cultivating tenants were so recorded in the schedules that it was possible at the stage of compilation to separate them from other working dependents shown as agricultural labourers. Details of such persons are given in statement No. VIII-7 above.

274. **Cultivation of special crops, etc.**—The only two occupations of importance under this category are tea plantations and the growing of *pan*-vine. There were 28,210 persons returned as workers engaged in the cultivation of the *pan*-vine. The occupation is practically entirely in the hands of the Baruis whose traditional occupation it is and the actual figures given in the imperial table XI amount to rather more than those shown in the occupational table. There is, therefore, some doubt whether the figures under this occupation are correct, but the discrepancy is not so great as to equal the figure for 1921. Tea cultivation is practically confined to Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tippera. It offers employment to 258,865 persons, the majority of whom are found in Jalpaiguri and amongst whom female workers number almost 80 for every 100 males. In the Jalpaiguri district there are 146 tea gardens and new gardens are projected.

275. **Forestry.**—Only 6,392 persons were returned under the category Forestry in groups 17 to 20, a figure considerably less than half of the number returned in 1921 and including forest officers of Government recorded in group 17.

276. **Stock raising.**—Stock raising affords employment to 118,262 persons. The figure shows an increase on that of 1921 entirely accounted for by an increase in the numbers returned as breeders and keepers of cattle and buffaloes. The figure in 1921 showed a great decrease from the corresponding figure in the previous decade which was explained as being due to numbers of herdsmen returning themselves as sellers of milk, butter, *ghee*, etc., and it is possible that the returns on the present occasion are more accurate. They are now higher than the figure of 1911 which was 25,595. The occupation is distributed over the whole province and the greatest numbers professing it are found in the Dacca and the Presidency Divisions as opposed to group 23 including herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals, i.e., cattle, buffaloes, and transport animals, whose numbers are over $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many as those employed in group 21, and who are chiefly found in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions.

277. **Raising of small animals.**—Amongst the persons employed in raising of small animals, the decrease in the number returned as cultivating silk worms is noticeable. The occupation is practically confined to Murshidabad and to Malda where it is entirely in the hands of females and a larger number use it as a subsidiary means of livelihood—most of these being males. The returns for lac cultivation (group 26) are clearly incomplete. The group was new at the present census and, although it is probable that comparatively few persons rely upon it as their principal means of livelihood, it is certain that in a district like Malda in spite of the reported falling off in the trade a certain proportion of the population find a subsidiary occupation in this group.

278. **Order 2: Fishing and hunting.**—In order 2, fishing and hunting, the principal occupation is fishing and pearling (group 27), which employs 191,770 persons as earners' principal occupation, or working dependents. The figures show an increase on those of 1921. The occupation is principally followed in the Presidency Division. The total extent to which fishing is followed as an occupation cannot be estimated on the present occasion owing to the amalgamation of group No. 131 of 1921 reserved for fish dealers. Many of the fishing castes also sell the fish they catch and some of them have very probably been included in group No. 134 amongst dealers in other food-stuffs. The total number entered in 1921 as fishermen and fish dealers was 359,353 and on the present occasion the total of groups 27 and 134 is 490,865.

279. **Sub-class II: Exploitation of minerals.**—The exploitation of minerals forms the second of the 12 sub-classes of occupation and gives employment to 43,074 workers in addition to 1,519 who use it as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The only important mineral mined is coal and the coal industry finds employment for 42,166 persons as well as offering a supplementary means of livelihood to an additional 1,436. The decade has been a period of depression in the coal trade which is reflected in the decrease in the numbers employed from 67,311 the figure of 1921. The occupation is confined to Burdwan with a very small number employed also in Bankura.

280. **Class B: Preparation and supply of material substances.**—The preparation and supply of material substances forms the second of the main occupational classes and affords employment to 2,506,149 persons compared with 3,290,833 in 1921. In addition 290,331 persons find a subsidiary means of livelihood under this class. The class includes sub-classes III—Industry, IV—Transport and V—Trade.

281. Sub-class III: Industry.—Industry (sub-class III) finds employment for 1,281,808 persons in addition to 114,878 who pursue the occupation included in it as a subsidiary means of livelihood. There has been a decrease of 392,217 workers from the figures of 1921. Some part at least of the decrease is genuine. Between 1930 and 1931 the report of the Chief Inspector of Factories shows a decrease of workers in registered factories amounting to 83,438.

282. Order 5: Textile Industries—Jute.—Textile industries employ 457,622 persons and provide subsidiary employment for a further 29,313 compared with 540,137 workers in 1921. Jute pressing, spinning and weaving is the principal occupation under the textile order of industrial occupations and employs 261,703 persons as well as furnishing subsidiary employment to an additional 5,748. The figures show a decrease on those of 1921 which were 293,469. The industry is practically confined to the towns along both sides of the Hooghly in the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly districts. The subsidiary figures shown as group 44A in imperial table X show the numbers employed in jute pressing but they are incomplete and as they stand cannot be reconciled with those of 1921. In that year the numbers were 34,750 whereas on the present occasion the numbers returned as being employed in jute pressing are 177,252. This leaves 84,451 only employed in jute spinning and weaving compared with 258,719 in 1921. The depression in the jute trade immediately before the census probably affected more the spinning and weaving than the jute pressing industries and as has been mentioned (in Chapter I) a considerable number of employees of jute mills were dismissed just before the census took place. The reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories also show a decrease in the number of jute mill employees and there were nearly 63 thousand less on the employment rolls of registered jute mills and presses in 1931 than in 1930, and nearly 16 thousand less in 1930 than in 1929, but it is unlikely that the relative proportions employed in pressing and in spinning and weaving jute are correctly represented by the figures.

283. Cotton.—The cotton industry is the only other textile industry of importance in Bengal. It offered employment to 172,798 persons as well as subsidiary occupation to 19,791 persons, but, in spite of a continuously prosperous decade, the numbers were less than at the census of 1921 when they amounted to 225,333. Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving are mainly found in the Dacca and the Burdwan Divisions and more than 10 per cent. of the persons following the occupation are found in the Dacca district, but numbers were returned in all districts except the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing, on the other hand, employ now 5,263 persons compared with 1,609 in 1921 and of these the great majority are found in the Presidency Division and particularly in the 24-Parganas.

284. Rope-making, etc.—Rope-making which employs 9,433 persons and working in hair which employs 828 are cottage industries and in each of these cases between two and three times as many women are employed in them as men.

285. Silk, etc.—Silk spinning and weaving employs 4,822 persons and provides subsidiary occupation for 820 more but the figures are considerably less than they were in 1921. This, together with wool carding, spinning and weaving which employs no more than 763 persons, is also a cottage industry. Wool textiles are practically confined to the three districts of Murshidabad, Burdwan and Bankura.

286. Order 6: Hides, skins, etc.—Workers in leather number 8,436 and in bone, ivory, horn, etc., 3,583. No leather workers were returned from the Chittagong Division and comparatively few from the Burdwan Division, so that the occupation is principally confined to Presidency, Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions, and it is in the Dacca Division that the largest number of workers in bone, ivory, horn and shell are found, principally concentrated in Dacca district itself.

287. Order 7: Wood—Carpenters, basket-makers, sawyers.—Carpentry was returned as their principal means of occupation by 78,468 workers and as a subsidiary means of occupation by an additional 10,788. The occupation is found in all parts of the province, but principally in the Dacca and the Presidency Divisions. Basket-makers, etc., numbered 55,359 principally found in the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions in addition to 9,375 who follow this occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood. Sawyers, principally returned from the Dacca Division, number 6,285 in addition to 1,290 who use this occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood.

288. Order 8: Metals.—Amongst the workers in metals the greatest proportion are blacksmiths and other workers in iron. They number 38,731 in addition to 4,112 following the occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The largest number of them is found in the Presidency Division, and particularly in the 24-Parganas district; but the blacksmith is an essential constituent of the village community and no district is without some considerable number of them. Workers in brass, copper and bellmetal amount to 6,567 and workers in other metals except gold, silver, etc., to 3,323.

289. Order 9: Ceramics.—The most notable peculiarity about the return for workers in ceramics is the fact that only 180 in the whole of the Chittagong Division are returned under this order compared with 11,781 persons returned in 1921. Such as were returned appear in group 64 as brick and tile makers, so that not a single potter or maker of earthenware was returned in this division on the present occasion. On the other hand the figures for vendors of pottery, bricks and tiles in this division were only 356 in 1921 and are now 4,002. The village potter generally sells his own wares and it appears that the potters have got themselves into group 124. The figures for the whole order are little more than half only of those in 1921. There were 79,224 persons returned in this order in addition to 9,743 for whom it was returned as the subsidiary means of livelihood compared with a total of 147,512 in 1921.

290. Order 10: Chemical products—Vegetable oils.—This order gives employment to 38,270 workers in addition to 4,168 who find a subsidiary occupation amongst the groups included in it. The manufacture and refining of vegetable oils is the only occupation of importance in the order. It employs 33,934 persons in addition to giving a subsidiary occupation to 3,904 more, and is chiefly found in the Presidency Division particularly in the Nadia district in which almost half of those returned under this group are concentrated. The figures in this district are well over five times as many as were recorded on the previous occasion, but the total number of workers in this group was much higher (52,113) in 1921 and the district figures show very considerable variations in the two years.

291. Order 11: Food industries—Rice-husking, flour-grinding, tobacco, grain-parching, etc.—This order gives employment to 179,023 persons and provides a subsidiary means of livelihood for an additional 11,895. Rice-husking and flour-grinding, the manufacture of tobacco and the parching of grain are the principal food industries in Bengal. Paddy-husking finds employment for 143,146 persons and is almost entirely a woman's occupation for there over 13 women are employed in it to every man. The manufacture of tobacco employs 11,320 persons. Grain-parching, like paddy-husking, but to a less degree, is principally a woman's occupation and for every 17 persons employed in it 14 are women. Sweetmeat and condiment makers number 6,303 one of the most numerous groups in this order but with the sole exception of the manufacturers of tobacco, who, on the present occasion, number more than three times as many as those recorded in 1921 when opium and ganja were included with tobacco all groups in this order show a decrease in the numbers returned compared with 1921. The increase in the numbers employed in the manufacture of tobacco is an interesting commentary on the boycott of foreign cigarettes.

292. Order 12: Industries of dress and the toilet.—This order finds employment for 172,449 person workers and subsidiary employment for an additional 20,162. Tailors, milliners and dressmakers and darners are the most numerous group in the order and total 43,926. Embroiderers and makers of hats and other articles of wear who number 2,917 were included with them in 1921 when the aggregate total was 47,650, rather larger than the total number now. Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers number 62,370 and the occupation is practically confined to members of the Napit caste. The figures for this occupation are indeed clearly incomplete since in imperial table XI a larger number of Napits are shown following the caste occupation than the total given under group 86, whereas the occupation is also followed by Muslim groups as well as others. Washermen and cleaners number 39,487 of whom 36,650 shown in imperial table XI are of the Dhobi caste. The only other group employing any considerable number of persons in this order is number 82 for the manufacturers of foot-wear who number 23,281 in addition to 1,316 who pursue this employment as a subsidiary occupation.

293. Order 13 : Furniture industries.—This order employs 2,905 persons compared with 1,883 in 1921. The majority of those returned are cabinet-makers, carriage-painters, etc.

294. Order 14 : Building industries.—Various groups shown under the order building industries in 1921 have now been combined into a single group. All persons concerned with building from lime-burners and cement-workers to tilers, plumbers and house-decorators are now included in this group which provides employment for 54,402 persons and subsidiary employment for 4,048. The figure is scarcely two-thirds of that for 1921.

295. Order 15 : Construction of means of transport.—Returned under the order, construction of the means of transport, are 5,320 workers or scarcely more than half the figure of 1921. The number of persons returned as employed in the manufacture of motor vehicles, carriages, carts, etc., has increased but there has been a very considerable decline in the numbers in group 93 comprising builders of ships, boats and aeroplanes. The figures are obviously incomplete since not a single person was returned under this group in places like Mymensingh or even in Noakhali and Chittagong, though this was also a feature of the returns in 1921.

296. Order 16 : Production and transmission of physical force.—There were 3,329 persons employed in the production and transmission of physical force and as is to be expected the majority of these are found principally in Calcutta, but also to some extent in the districts of Howrah and Dacca and the 24-Parganas.

297. Order 17 : Other miscellaneous and undefined industries.—These accounted for 86,400 workers and provided subsidiary employment for an additional 7,237. The figures are less than those of 1921 when the workers returned numbered 110,697. In both years makers of jewellery and ornaments were the most numerous group in the order. They number 44,836 on the present occasion and are distributed fairly evenly throughout the province—the largest number being in the Dacca, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions with a considerable concentration, which might be expected in Calcutta. Scavenging was returned as their occupation by 22,464 persons compared with 27,895 in 1921. Almost one-third of those returned are occupied in Calcutta. The only other considerable group in this order is that for printers, engravers, book-binders, etc., who numbered 14,025 compared with a total of 13,506 in 1921. As is to be expected 5 of every 7 returned in this group were found in Calcutta.

298. Sub-class IV : Transport.—Transport provides employment for 283,283 persons and subsidiary employment for 34,731. The figures for workers in 1921 were 371,803. Those returned under transport by air (order 18) are employees at the aerodrome at Dum Dum and their numbers have increased from 22 in 1921 to 107 on the present occasion.

299. **Transport by water.**—The numbers for transport by water (order 19) show a decrease from 109,226 in 1921 to 82,474 on the present occasion, but the order provides a subsidiary occupation for 8,088 others. The greater part of transport by water is concerned with the inland water transport services of Bengal which account for 70,740 workers returned compared with 94,439 in 1921. Dacca, the Presidency and Chittagong Divisions show the highest returns under this subsidiary group and as many as 12,026 persons were recorded under it in Calcutta city alone. Taking into account persons connected with sea-going vessels the total number employed is 78,381 compared with 105,715 in 1921 and of the difference between this figure and that for inland transport almost the whole is accounted for by the district of Calcutta whilst the figures for Chittagong, which has also been declared a major port during the decade, do not include a single entry in addition to those allocated to inland water transport.

300. **Transport by road.**—In transport by road (order 20) 120,541 workers are employed and an additional 24,572 find in some group included in it a subsidiary means of occupation. The figure of workers was 173,047 in 1921. The largest number now as then is returned under group 106 by labourers employed on the construction of roads and bridges. Their numbers are 51,563 workers with 10,322 following this employment as a subsidiary occupation. There has been an increase from 6,771 to 8,304 workers connected with mechanically driven vehicles but although private motor drivers and cleaners fall into a different group (No. 186) it is doubtful whether these figures accurately reflect the enormous increase in motor transport which has taken place during the decade. Persons connected with other vehicles are now returned at 28,972 compared with 41,974 in 1921 and there has been a similar decrease in the number of persons owning and carrying *palkis* from 44,559 in 1921 to 20,599 in 1931, a decrease partly accounted for by the increase of mechanical transport and the decrease in the number of immigrants from Bihar who are pre-eminently the *palki*-bearers of Bengal. Porters and messengers have declined from 15,294 in 1921 to 10,433 on the present occasion, but there is no doubt that a considerable number of those returned under group No. 191 as labourers and workers otherwise unspecified should properly have been returned in this group. Rail transport employs 69,328 persons compared with 75,236 in 1921 of whom 3 in every 7 were labourers, coolies and porters. These figures may be compared with those given in subsidiary table VI. The figures supplied by the railway companies themselves show a total of 157,910 persons employed on the date of the census, and even if this include coolies and labourers, the figures are very much more than twice the total number of persons returned as being employed in transport by rail including those for whom this employment is only a subsidiary occupation. A similar discrepancy is revealed in the figures for order 22 (post-office, telegraph and telephone services). The numbers returned are 10,833 but the figures given in subsidiary table VI are considerably more than twice this number and do not include employees of the telephone services.

301. **Sub-class V : Trade.**—This sub-class finds employment for 941,058 persons compared with 984,005 in 1921. Trade in food-stuffs is the most important occupation in this sub-class. Order No. 31 (hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.) provides occupation for 14,386 persons and subsidiary occupation for 970 others and order 32 (other trade in food-stuffs) employs 508,732 persons as well as providing a subsidiary occupation for 78,853. In addition group 150 under order 39 (trade of other sorts) in which it forms the principal item comprising general store-keepers and shopkeepers, otherwise unspecified, is the occupation of 146,011 persons and a subsidiary occupation for an additional 12,348. The variations between 1921 and 1931 in the groups forming order 32 are very considerable. Groups have been recast and the only ones nearly identical with those of 1921 are Nos. 131 (dealers in dairy products, eggs and poultry) and No. 133 (dealers in fodder for animals). The restriction of group 132 to dealers in animals specifically sold for food has contributed to the enormous reduction in the numbers

from 180,354 to 1,040. Even this explanation, however, is probably not the sole cause of the enormous decrease and it is doubtful whether the numbers actually represent the total number of butchers and other dealers in animal food in the province. The classification of traders into groups within orders 32 and 39 is clearly one of some difficulty and is bound to differ from census to census particularly when so many of the shops in rural areas are general stores and may at the prejudice of the enumerator be returned in various ways. Trade in textiles (order 25) employs 63,630 persons and finds subsidiary occupation for 14,523 more. The subsidiary figures for trade in jute given as group 117A are astonishingly low and amount to only 3,898 compared with 16,860 in 1921; but although the reduction of numbers to scarcely more than one-fifth of their figure in 1921 is very large, there has been at least some reduction owing to the depression in the trade and to the reduction of staff before the census took place. There were 49,793 persons returned as bank managers, money-lenders, exchange and insurance agents, etc., and their employees compared with 51,149 in 1921, but in addition almost one-fourth as many workers in this group were returned as following the occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The trade in skins, leather and furs employs almost the same number of persons in 1931 as in 1921, namely, 24,469 workers, and in addition 3,041 who follow this trade as a subsidiary means of livelihood compared with 25,897 workers in 1921. Trade in articles of luxury (order 38) employs an increasing number of people as workers, viz., 39,351 compared with 28,891 in 1921. There are three groups in this order and only one of them (dealers in common bangles, etc.) now employs a fewer number of workers than were returned in 1921, the figures being for 1931, 4,910 and for 1921, 5,072. On the other hand, there is an increase of over 4,000 workers returned as publishers, book-sellers, stationers, etc., and of nearly 6,500 returned as dealers in precious stones, jewellery, etc. Amongst the other groups in this sub-class only one appears to call for special attention. Group No. 124 (trade in pottery, bricks and tiles) shows an increase of workers from 1,885 in 1921 to 9,343 in 1931; this is due perhaps to differences of classification and to the inclusion of persons previously entered either as potters in what corresponds to groups 63 to 65 or as sellers of crockery, etc., in what corresponds to group No. 140. In all these three groups there has been a considerable decrease in the number returned as workers during the decade.

302. Class C : Public administration, professions and liberal arts.—This class is shown on the present occasion as employing rather more than those returned as workers in 1921. The figures are 393,178 in 1931 and 370,239 in 1921. The figures for the imperial army (group No. 153) have decreased from 4,293 to 2,544 while the numbers in Indian state armies have increased from 373 to 420, a figure still considerably less than the total military forces in the two states in Bengal, Cooch Behar and Tripura, which amounted at the end of 1930 to 700 men. The discrepancy was, however, similar in 1921 when the military strength of these two states amounted to 519. Figures for the police also show a decrease from 22,912 to 21,811, which does not reflect the necessity during the decade of an increase in the police force. The sanctioned strength of the police both in Calcutta and elsewhere in Bengal was over 29 thousand in 1930. Public administration (order VII), on the other hand, provides employment for 50,297 workers compared with 48,297 in 1921, the increase being entirely confined, apart from the increase of more than 100 per cent. in the numbers of village officials other than chaukidars, to the increase in state servants from 34,763 to 38,769. In sub-class VIII, the professions and liberal arts, which provide occupation for 283,851 persons and subsidiary occupation for 43,843, the largest contributions are made by religion (order 45—82,351 workers), medicine (order 47—68,369 workers) and instruction (order 48—74,323 workers). Teaching, medicine and the law (which now employs 30,835 workers compared with 24,456 in 1921) have all shown increases during the decade but there has been a decrease in the numbers returned as priests, ministers, etc., from 90,793 in 1921 to 80,199 on the present occasion although a large number (13,192) look to religion as a subsidiary means of occupation. Within the

orders for medicine and letters, arts and sciences there has been some splitting up of the groups used in 1921. Registered and unregistered medical practitioners are now separated and the numbers are found to be fairly equal. Registered medical practitioners rather surprisingly total nearly 7 thousand more than those who are not registered, and the total registered and unregistered amounts to nearly 10 thousand more in 1931 than in 1921. Dentists and veterinary surgeons have also been separately recorded for the first time on the present occasion. Similarly groups 178, 179, 180 and 181 represent the separation of a single group No. 177 corresponding to them in 1921. The principal group within the order for letters, arts and sciences is No. 182 (Musicians, actors, dancers, etc.) which employs 18,594 persons compared with 20,969 in 1921.

303. Class D : Miscellaneous.—The remaining class “miscellaneous” includes persons living on their income, those employed in domestic service, persons with insufficiently described occupations and persons pursuing unproductive occupations. In each of these sub-classes except the last, there has been an increase of the returns since 1921, perhaps most noticeable in the case of domestic service in which 809,715 persons are occupied and an additional 71,129 persons find a subsidiary means of livelihood compared with the total occupied in 1921 of 455,246. An increase in sub-class XI (insufficiently described occupations) is probably partly due to increased indefiniteness in the returns but might, perhaps, have been lessened had time and cost permitted a more careful scrutiny and verification of the returns. It is particularly noticeable in the group of unspecified labourers and workmen, which now includes 405,344 workers compared with 277,517 in 1921, but is also considerable in those returning clerical occupations (group 189) who total 205,538 workers on the present occasion compared with 164,019 in 1921. On the other hand, indefinite returns of mechanics show a decrease from 12,557 to 9,040. The jail population has increased from 13,692 to 20,863 but there has been a decrease in the return of beggars, vagrants and prostitutes from 272,264 to 190,619. The figure for 1921, however, includes a number returned as wizards, witches and mediums now shown in group 181, but even so, there would appear to have been no ground for anticipating such a decrease and it is probable that the figures are incomplete.

Part IV.—Employment of females and occupation by caste and other groups

304. Employment of females.—Subsidiary table III shows for all groups the distribution of male and female workers with the ratio of females to males. Apart from group 194 (procurers and prostitutes) under which no male appears to have chosen to have himself returned, occupational groups in which women are principally employed are those for paddy-huskers and flour-grinders (group 71), grain-parchers (group 72), trade in thatches and other forest produce (group 122), manufacture of rope, twine, string and other fibres (group 45), upholsterers, tent-makers, etc. (group 89), rearing of silk worms (group 25), workers in hair, etc. (group 48), the group including midwives, vaccinators, nurses, compounders, etc. (group 172) and domestic service (group 187). In all of these groups female workers outnumbered the males by anything up to nearly 14 to 1. The number of female workers is relatively high also in the tea gardens where the labourers live with their families and the women contribute by plucking tea as well as cultivating the gardens and in coal-mining where there are 72 female workers for every 100 males. They are also numerous (71 in every 100 males) amongst toy-makers, taxidermists, etc. In contrast to coal-mining and indeed to mining generally, in which the average is 715 female for every 1,000 male workers the proportion employed in the textile industries particularly jute pressing and spinning and weaving is comparatively small. There are only 14 women to every 100 men employed in jute textile manufactures, 31 for every 100 in cotton spinning and 11 for every 100 in cotton ginning, cleaning

and pressing; and the returns of the Chief Inspector of Factories show a very marked and progressive decline in the employment of women and children in factories. On the average taking all occupations together there are only 15 women for every 100 men employed. The cultivator's womenfolk evidently give him less assistance in his work than the fisherman's, for there are only 79 women for every 1,000 men employed in ordinary cultivation as compared with 188 women for every 1,000 men employed in fishing and pearling. The potter's womenfolk give him even greater assistance than the fisherman's and for every 1,000 males employed in the manufacture of ceramics 229 women are employed, the proportion being highest (256 females to a 1,000 males) amongst the makers of earthenware and pottery. Women contribute also a comparatively large proportion of those employed in basket-making and similar occupations (group 56) where they number 558 for every 1,000 males. They are also numerous as workers in the industries of dress and the toilet (order 12). Within this order 418 women for every 1,000 men are employed in the unspecified industries included in (group 87), 272 for every 1,000 men in washing and cleaning and 268 for every 1,000 men in embroidery, hat-making, etc. As labourers they are also relatively numerous, for instance, in group 106—labourers employed on roads and bridges—where there are 236 for every 1,000 males and in group 191, including labourers and workmen unspecified, where there are 158 females for every 1,000 males. They have a very considerable share in the trade in wood and pottery and also in the trade in food-stuffs. In the trade in wood, bark, bamboos and canes there are between 284 and 571 women to every 1,000 men, whilst the potter's womenfolk not only assist in the manufacture but also in the sale of his products, and under group 124 for sale of pottery, bricks and tiles there are 486 workers who are females to every 1,000 who are males. An unusually large proportion of the dealers in grain and pulse (505 for every 1,000 males) turn out to be females and similarly an unexpectedly large proportion (437 for every 1,000 males) are recorded as dealers in fodder for animals. The comparatively large number of dealers in dairy produce (315 to 1,000 males) and the proportion amongst dealers in other food-stuffs where there is more than one woman worker for every 4 males are also not unexpected. There are 399 women dealing in fire-wood, charcoal, etc., for every 1,000 males and 257 for every 1,000 dealing in common bangles, toys, etc. Some groups under letters, arts and sciences have a comparatively large percentage of women. Dancing and singing girls for instance bring the number of women up to 1 for every 3 men employed as conjurers, acrobats, etc. There is also rather more than 1 woman for every 4 men returned as public scribes and rather more than 1 for every 10 returned as artists, sculptors and image-makers. Amongst persons living principally on their income there is more than 1 female for every 5 males. The profession of beggars and vagrants is almost a family occupation and there are 940 females returned in this group for every 1,000 males.

305. Employment of women and children in industry.—In 1921, 428,691 women were returned as being employed in industry. On the present occasion 306,536 only is the total of women employed either as principal or subsidiary occupation and including working dependents. The decrease is 122,155 or 28½ per cent. and it certainly represents a genuine trend. Between 1930 and 1931 the number of women working in registered factories was reduced by over 12 thousand. There are no figures on the present occasion for the employment of children. Here also, however, the returns of the Inspector of Factories show that there is a progressive decline. Between 1930 and 1931 the numbers of children employed in registered factories decreased from 16,630 to less than half that number, viz., 7,281.

306. Occupation by caste and other groups.—Subsidiary table V based on imperial table XI shows the proportionate distribution by occupational sub-classes and the ratio of female to male earners in selected caste or other groups. The lower castes and those whose traditional occupation is agriculture as well as those with a highly specialised traditional

occupation naturally show the largest percentage employed in traditional occupations. Amongst the Bagdis, for instance, 697 in every 1,000 earners follow the traditional occupation of the caste. Amongst the Bauris who are traditional growers and sellers of *pan-vine* more than half the earners are still employed in the caste occupation. In every 100 Jalia Kaibartta earners 60 are fishermen and in every 100 Mahishyas 59 are cultivators. The Lepchas and the Bauris also show a high proportion of earners engaged in the traditional occupations of the caste. The case is similar with the artisan classes. In every 100 Kumhar earners 59 are potters; in every 100 Dhobi earners 49 are washermen; in every 100 Kamar earners 44 are blacksmiths and in every 100 Napit earners 45 are barbers. Similarly, amongst the weaving groups there are 41 Jogi weavers out of every 100 earners and 38 "Mumin" (Jolaha) weavers in every 100 earners in the group. Muchis and Chamars amongst the artisan groups chosen have apparently broken away most extensively from their traditional crafts, but, whereas the Muchis appear to have taken to agriculture or similar occupations in the greatest numbers, the Chamars have taken more readily to other industrial occupations. About the same proportion of Baidya and Brahman earners were returned under their caste occupations, the figure being in every 1,000 earners of the same caste 188 Baidyas and 166 Brahmans. Similarly, amongst the Kayasthas 127 in every 1,000 earners were returned under the traditional caste occupation. In all these cases a larger proportion of the earners was returned outside the caste occupation in agricultural and similar occupations than in any other group, but there was also a considerable proportion returned in other learned or insufficiently described occupations. Amongst the groups first mentioned as having departed least from their traditional occupation, the occupation most frequently adopted in place of it is some form of pastoral or agricultural pursuit. Thus amongst the Bagdis all the earners except 148 in every 1,000 pursue in addition to the traditional pastoral and agricultural occupations of the caste some other form of agricultural pursuit. Similarly, amongst the Bauris only 193 earners in every 1,000 are employed outside sub-class I, including the groups engaged in the exploitation of animals and vegetation. Similar proportions are also shown amongst the Jalia Kaibarttas, the Khambus and the Mahishyas as well as amongst the Bauris who, however, have also in a considerable proportion of cases adopted mining as an occupation. The tendency to adopt an agricultural occupation, where possible, is in fact, generally amongst all groups, if Anglo-Indians, Armenians and Europeans are excluded; and the only extent to which, amongst those groups chosen, any considerable number seeks occupations outside sub-class I occur amongst the Bauris and Chamars already mentioned and the Jogis, "Mumins" (Jolahas), Kamars and Muchis, all of whom in roughly from 10 to 14 per cent. of the cases have adopted some other industrial occupation than that traditional to the caste. Rather more than 10 per cent. of the Kayasthas have adopted trade as their occupation, but apart from the groups already mentioned and excluding differences amongst those of the same group professing different religions no others, amongst the groups chosen for imperial table XI, show as many as 10 per cent. of the earners in any other occupation than that traditional to the caste except agriculture.

307. Occupations of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Armenians.—A larger percentage of the returns of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Armenians was made under insufficiently described terms than for any other of the groups shown in imperial table XI. If these are omitted Europeans are found to be principally employed in industry, public force and the arts and professions. The high proportion under the order public force is due to the detachments of British troops which form a considerable proportion of the whole European population. Anglo-Indians are largely employed in the railways and in the telegraph and postal services and nearly one-quarter of the workers of this class were returned under the sub-class transport in which these occupations fall. Next to transport the largest proportions are employed in the arts and professions, in trade and in industry. In the professions more than half as many again are women than men in this community. Armenians engage principally in industry, in trade and in the arts and professions.

308. Female workers in caste or other groups.—Of the castes chosen there are or approach 1 female earner to every 3 males only amongst the Bauris, Khambus, Doms, Haris, Lepchas, Bagdis and Indian Christians. The smallest proportion of female to male earners is that returned amongst the Mahishyas where there is only 1 female for every 20 males. In general the proportion is lowest in the highest castes. Thus there are only 7 female workers for every 100 amongst the Brahmans and only 8 amongst the Kayasthas and Baidyas ; but these proportions are not by any means confined to the highest classes and similar are found also amongst the Namasudras and Napits as well as amongst both the Muslim groups chosen for this table. There are curious differences in the extent to which women of the caste assist their men folk in the traditional occupations of the caste. Amongst the Haris and Doms, for instance, in the traditional occupation there is more than 1 female to every 2 males. In other castes a comparatively high proportion is reached only amongst Bauris and Khambus where there are 42 and 40 female earners, respectively, for every 100 males. Amongst the Bagdis 26 earners are females for every 100 males and between 20 and 22 females to every 100 male earners are found in the traditional occupations amongst the Dhobis, Goalas, Lepchas and Kumhars. Outside the traditional occupation the proportions are very irregular. Amongst the Bauris, for instance, 9 times as many women as men were returned as earners in the arts and professions and more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many women as men in trade, but the total numbers engaged are in both these cases comparatively small. More women than men amongst the Bagdis and Jalia Kaibarttas are found in domestic service and there is also higher proportion of women than men amongst the Jalia Kaibarttas engaged in mining. Amongst the Bagdis nearly twice as many women as men are engaged in trade and the numbers in each case run into several thousands. Twice as many Chamars and considerably more Muchis returned under the arts and professions are females than males : as in the case of the Bauris and Haris, to whom reference has already been made, persons under this occupational sub-class fall principally into the residuary order (49) and may be taken almost certainly to be drummers and musicians or other entertainers. Amongst the Doms, Haris and "Mumins" (Jolahas) the comparatively small numbers living on their income include more women than men.

Part V.—Educated unemployed

309. Method of enquiry.—At the present census an attempt has been made to discover the number of educated adult males who are unemployed. Information was collected, not on the general schedule, but upon a special return similar to that approved by the Government of India and providing for the record of the following details :—

- (1) Name and caste.
- (2) Residence (village and district).
- (3) Father's profession.
- (4) Age (to nearest birthday).
- (5) Duration of period without employment.
- (6) University (if any), name and (if foreign) country.
- (7) Degree or other highest examination passed with date.
- (8) Capacity in which employed, if employed at all.
- (9) Employment for which fitted by education.

The filling of the return was not made a statutory obligation under the Census Act and such information as was given was therefore voluntary. The forms were distributed by the ordinary enumerating agency, were filled in by the

person concerned and were returned to the enumerator at or before the final enumeration. For the compilation of the figures two terms required definition. These were "educated" and "unemployed." It was decided to ignore the returns from persons who had not at least passed the matriculation or school-leaving certificate examination. On the other hand it was thought that resentment might be aroused by any inquisition on the part of the enumerator into the standard of education actually reached by persons wishing to fill in the return, and that it was consequently inadvisable to restrict the issue of forms to those who could satisfy the enumerator that they had reached the standard required. The enumerators were accordingly directed to give a form of return to any male person whom they entered in the general schedule as being literate in English and who stated that he was not employed or not suitably employed but would like employment, and the instructions for filling up the form contained a similar direction. The entries in the form itself (line 7) made it possible to discard all returns not properly sent in. During the sorting and compiling of the forms those returned by persons below the matriculation standard were ignored. Forms illegibly filled up or filled up in other languages than English were also similarly rejected.

310. Persons included in the returns.—The enquiry was confined to those "educated unemployed" who had tried in vain to obtain suitable employment and therefore excludes those persons who have no occupation but are content, as not infrequently happens, under the joint family system to live upon "the earning members" of the family. For the purposes of the enquiry "unemployed" was interpreted as including also those who considered themselves "not suitably employed" and the last question of the form provided for the entry by the person filling it up of what he considered to be the employment for which he was fitted. The replies to this question naturally had no value except as a measure of the individual's modesty in estimating his own capacities and no use was made of them. Returns for persons whose educational qualifications were no higher than matriculation or school-leaving certificate standard were also set aside if they showed any employment at all, but a note was kept of the number of such returns. The figures actually extracted therefore may be taken to include—

- (a) persons who, not having proceeded with their education further than passing the matriculation or school-leaving certificate examination, have no employment at all; and
- (b) persons of higher qualifications who are either unemployed or dissatisfied with their present employment.

311. Incompleteness of the returns.—Considerable misunderstanding was inevitable as to the scope of the enquiry. There is no doubt that in some cases the returns were filled up by persons who imagined or hoped that Government intended to make immediate provision of employment for those who are unemployed. Persons labouring under this delusion had almost certainly no qualification higher than the matriculation certificate and it is safe to assume that the forms for almost all of them were eliminated during sorting, either because they had not the requisite qualifications or because they were not entirely without employment. Returns received, however, by no means represent the actual extent of educated unemployment. The decision of Government to make this enquiry was reached and forms and instructions for the collection of these details were issued after the work had already begun upon the general census schedules, and obvious difficulties are involved when the distribution of fresh forms and registers and the dissemination of additional instructions cannot be incorporated with others but is made when the enumerating agency is already engaged in mastering and applying instructions already conveyed to it. Educated unemployed, however, are not likely to be encountered in large numbers in the more remote and inaccessible parts where the enumerating agency is difficult to get at and in general harder to instruct, and there is not any reason to suppose that the opportunity of making a return was to any great extent denied to the

unemployed by oversight or carelessness on the part of the enumerating agency in any area where they are likely to exist in considerable numbers. Such omissions as resulted from this cause form in any case an entirely negligible proportion of those due to other causes. In some cases there is no doubt that a sense of delicacy or shame prevented individuals from making returns which might be interpreted as a public declaration that they were parasites incapable of maintaining themselves. A short-sighted view of their own interests characterised the attitude of many persons who might have filled in the forms but argued that, as no immediate advantage would result to themselves in the way of getting employment, therefore it was not worth their while even to take the trouble of filling them up. The most powerful consideration at work, however, probably was a real or assumed suspicion of the objects of Government in making the enquiry. It was an innovation and therefore an object of the inevitable prejudice against anything new in the most conservative country in the world. A particular ground for suspicion reinforced this general distrust. The existence of a widespread revolutionary organisation in Bengal is and was a matter of common knowledge and it was known that recruits to the ranks of this organisation are principally found amongst young men of the middle classes who are educated or partially educated but without employment. A suspicion was consequently felt or professed that Government had a sinister object behind the enquiry, namely, to obtain particulars of those who might be potential revolutionaries and to make use of these details for bringing them under observation by the police. Cases occurred in which returns, filled in and made over to the enumerator, were subsequently recalled upon the ground that some entry had been erroneously made or omitted and were never returned.

312. Reasons for publishing the incomplete returns.—No accuracy whatever, therefore, can be claimed for the figures obtained as a result of this enquiry. Indeed very grave consideration was given to the question whether the results of the enquiry should be published at all. On the one hand it was felt that the publication of results so evidently incomplete would throw discredit upon the other tables compiled at the census in circumstances guaranteeing them a greater degree of accuracy. On the other hand, however, it was realised that as there was no statutory obligation to make a return of educated unemployment the deficiencies in the figures collected could not reasonably be held to cast discredit upon other details collected under the sanction of a statutory obligation. Moreover, nothing approaching the scope of this enquiry has ever previously been undertaken and the figures therefore represent the only details of this sort available up to the present, whilst by publishing them, admittedly incomplete as they are, it was felt that the charge could be escaped of having concealed the actual results of the enquiry. As a comment upon the unemployment of educated persons they are practically valueless, whilst as a comment upon the educational standard of the unemployed they suggest the cynical reflection that it has not reached the stage at which those concerned are able to realise that nothing effective can be done by Government for the relief of unemployment until the extent of the evil has been determined as accurately as possible.

313. The statistics shown.—Summary figures of the results are published as subsidiary table VII to this chapter. This table is divided into three parts. In parts (A) and (B) are shown the number of educated males aged 20 to 39, who returned themselves as being out of or anxious to secure employment. These figures include also those with higher than the minimum educational qualification, viz., having passed the matriculation, or school-leaving certificate examination who, though not actually unemployed, returned themselves as not having an employment for which their educational qualifications fitted them. In both these parts figures are given by age and period of unemployment. Additional details are given in part I by class for Bengal with Cooch Behar, Bengal British districts, the divisions of Bengal and three cities of the province. Part II shows a distribution by degrees. No returns were received from Tripura State. Within the class "depressed

Hindus " no detailed distribution was possible by individual groups and the figures were obtained by placing together returns of individuals of the following groups :—

1. Agaria.	23	Garu	45	Kichak	67. Naiya.
2 Bagri.	24	Ghusi.	46	Kochh	68 Namasudra
3 Bahela.	25	Gourlu	47	Konai	69. Nat.
4 Baiti.	26	Hadi	48.	Konwar	70 Oraon.
5 Bauri	27	Hajana	49	Kora	71. Palya
6. Berhya	28	Halalkhor.	50	Kotal	72 Pan
7. Bel-lar.	29	Haru.	51	Kurariar	73 Pasi
8. Benua.	30	Ho	52	Lalbega	74. Patni.
9 Bhatiya	31	Jaliya Kambartta	53.	Lodha.	75 Poil.
10. Bhuinmah	32	Jhalo, Molo	54	Lohar	76. Pundari.
11. Bhuiya.	33	Kailar	55	Mahar.	77 Rabha.
12. Bhumij.	34.	Kalu	56.	Mahli	78. Raju
13 Bind.	35.	Kalwar	57	Mal.	79. Rajwar
14. Binjhia	36	Kan	58.	Mallah.	80. Santal
15 Chamar.	37	Kandh	59	Malpahariya.	81 Shagirdpesha.
16. Dalu.	38	Kandra	60.	Meehh.	82. Sunri.
17. Dhami.	39.	Kaora	61.	Mehtor.	83. Teli.
18 Dhenuar.	40	Kapali	62	Much.	84. Tiyar.
19 Dhobi.	41	Kapuria.	63	Munda	85. Turi.
20. Doai	42.	Karenga.	64.	Musahar.	
21. Dom.	43.	Kaur.	65.	Nagar.	
22. Dosadh.	44	Khatik	66	Nagesia.	

In columns 2 and 3 of part (C) additional particulars by divisions are given of educated unemployed males aged respectively less than 20 years and 40 years and over. Like parts (A) and (B) this part also includes in the columns for those whose educational qualifications are higher than the matriculation or school-leaving certificate, persons not unemployed but without employment for which they consider themselves educationally qualified. In column 8 are given figures for those persons not shown either in parts (A) and (B) or in columns 2 to 7 of the supplement, who have no higher than the minimum qualification and without being unemployed are dissatisfied with their employment. Columns 4 to 7 of part (C) show the numbers of educated unemployed whose fathers were soldiers, cultivators, artisans and menials or servants. The group from which these last figures are compiled includes educated unemployed of all ages and also those with higher than the minimum educational qualifications who are dissatisfied with their present employment : it is consequently formed by the total figures in parts (A) and (B) with the addition of those in columns 2 and 3 of part (C).

314. **The value of the figures.**—These figures are presented more as a curiosity than as material for statistical deduction and no attempt is made to analyse and comment on them. They cannot be confidently used to illustrate the extent and duration of unemployment as between different localities, communities and caste groups or persons of different technical or educational qualifications. The only value which the absolute figures seem to have is to fix an irreducible minimum than which the extent of educated unemployment is certainly not less. During the course of sorting and compiling, applications for employment were received many times in excess of the total numbers appearing in these tables for the whole of Bengal. Some of the applicants were youths whose education had not been completed and whose age was not as much as 20 years whilst others undoubtedly did not possess the requisite minimum qualification required for the enquiry. But even when a reduction is made on this account the number who applied for employment during these operations was very considerably in excess of the total number of educated unemployed returned.

315. **Comparison with literacy statistics.**—The figures in Statement No. VIII-8 below give a comparison for the two main religious communities between the numbers of males aged 17 and over who have completed a

STATEMENT No. VIII-8.

Comparison of literates and educated unemployed, 1931.

NOTE—The figures refer to males only and those of literates show persons who have reached at least the primary standard of education.

Division and district	Muslims		Hindus	
	Literates aged 17 and over	Educated unemployed aged 20 and over	Literates aged 17 and over	Educated unemployed aged 20 and over
BENGAL (British Territory.)	532,239	1,072	968,093	2,398
Burdwan Division	.. 22,668	41	217,700	623
Burdwan	.. 5,668	16	42,414	240
Birbhum	.. 7,167	8	26,171	67
Bankura	.. 591	3	23,326	116
Midnapore	.. 1,864	1	42,640	67
Hooghly	.. 3,872	6	39,736	56
Howrah	.. 3,506	7	43,495	87
Presidency Division	.. 100,880	193	344,199	743
24 Parganas	.. 24,136	19	92,279	115
Calcutta	.. 30,638	45	130,672	198
Nadia	.. 7,593	42	20,462	111
Murshidabad	.. 11,850	37	28,331	162
Jessore	.. 11,067	36	26,033	79
Khulna	.. 15,574	14	37,992	48
Rajshahi Division	.. 119,301	206	90,489	236
Rajshahi	.. 23,638	54	13,479	59
Dinajpur	.. 17,969	18	12,613	20
Jalpaiguri	.. 2,911	1	8,879	11
Darjeeling	.. 846	6	3,225	12
Rangpur	.. 26,309	32	23,038	20
Bogra	.. 34,526	41	10,662	23
Farma	.. 5,656	40	12,592	61
Malda	.. 3,707	14	7,097	33
Dacca Division	.. 156,500	351	196,968	529
Dacca	.. 34,582	106	47,889	163
Mymensingh	.. 40,011	145	41,777	142
Faridpur	.. 20,062	41	36,060	115
Bakarganj	.. 52,845	59	71,440	106
Chittagong Division	.. 132,910	281	118,739	267
Tippera	.. 54,276	186	68,200	153
Noakhali	.. 54,749	57	24,952	65
Chittagong	.. 23,681	38	24,693	46
Chittagong Hill Tracts	.. 584	..	604	3

primary education and of those aged 20 and over who returned themselves as unemployed respectively. But the percentages given in columns 4 and 7 are probably an index not so much of the extent of unemployment as of the readiness to admit it in different districts.

316. **The problem of "bhadralok" unemployment.**—The failure of this enquiry can only be recorded with regret. Bengal is fortunate enough to have no problem of industrial unemployment and such mal-adjustments as occur in the supply and demand of industrial labour invariably solve themselves automatically in a short period. Bengal imports more industrial labour than it exports, and labourers thrown out of employment by contraction of industrial enterprise leave the province for their own homes. For many years previous to the census however there has actually been in Bengal a demand for more industrial labour than was available. Variations in the supply of agricultural labour may depend upon famines or floods and the type or state of harvest in the agricultural areas. But Bengal is happily free from very serious famines and these inequalities of demand and supply fairly rapidly adjust themselves and are in no sense of the term permanent. The Calcutta University Commission (1917 to 1919) found that there was no unemployment of the middle classes. Although there was no specific question on this point in the Commission's questionnaire it reported (Volume IV, part ii, chapter XXX, paragraph 14):—

"At present all the young men who have been trained at higher schools and colleges seem to find posts of one kind or another.....It is often the practice to wait a long time for a settled appointment which the applicant thinks is worth his while to accept. But apart from congestion in the legal profession we have found few signs of actual unemployment among the young men of the educated classes. No prominence is given to unemployment in the answers to our questionnaire. The matter was not mentioned to us in oral evidence during our visits to different parts of Bengal. The output of higher education is still absorbed by the Government services, by the professions and by the commercial firms."

The Commission went on to add, however :

"Nevertheless we cannot but feel that unless there are great developments of industry and commerce in Bengal and unless the educational system is adapted to the new requirements, the supply of young men trained by the high schools and colleges will be found at no distant date to have overshot the demand."

This warning very soon proved to be well founded and in less than three years, on the 30th March 1922, the problem of educated unemployment was raised by a resolution in the Legislative Council. As a result of this resolution a committee was appointed

"to investigate the problem of unemployment among the educated middle classes in Bengal and to suggest remedial measures."

The Committee reported :

"The evidence which has been placed before us to the effect that there is considerable unemployment among the Anglo-Indians of Bengal and among the educated middle-class Bengalis is overwhelming and we have been greatly impressed by the acuteness of the problem and the urgent necessity for the adoption of measures for the alleviation and removal of the present distress and for the prevention of any aggravation of the present condition of affairs in the future."

The Committee found that, apart from a general depression such as is a familiar feature of long-term trade cycles, the extent of educated unemployment was conditioned at the time when it reported by two main causes. The first was the depression in trade and industry which specifically followed the artificial stimulus to industry during the war: the abnormal demand made by the army and the reduction of supplies from Europe had led to the artificial development of industries, the employment of a large additional number of clerical workers and an increase of salaries which could no longer be kept up in altered conditions. The second cause was overproduction of the type of employee concerned. There has been a rise in the standard as well as in the cost of living whereas middle-class incomes have remained very nearly constant and in any case lag behind the rise in prices. There has also been an absorption into the ranks of the educated classes of persons previously unable as unused to enjoying the advantages of education and some indication of this absorption is given in the figures in part (C) of subsidiary table VII. The committee found that there had been a tendency for industries once founded to decay owing to failure to adopt progressive methods of meeting competition. Finally they pointed to the decay of village life with a consequent drift to towns and unwillingness to return to the *mufassal*, conditions which invariably lead to unemployment. They did not mention what is also probably a contributing cause, namely, the growing spirit of individualism in Hindu society and the gradual dissolution of the joint family system with its corporate responsibility for all its members. It is difficult to separate clearly cause and effect in this last phenomenon, but it can be confidently said that economic tension and an increasing unwillingness to support idle and incompetent or unproductive members of the joint family are found existing side by side. Interest in the problem of educated unemployed was still active whilst preparations were being made for the census and two resolutions calling for the collection of statistics of varying complexity were tabled during the sessions of the Legislative Council in 1930 and 1931.

317. Possible palliatives.—Possible lines along which a reduction of unemployment could be effected have been proposed. Education at present in Bengal leads practically to one end only, viz., the degree of master of arts or science or bachelor of laws. The Unemployment Enquiry Committee emphasised the importance of a radical change in the system of education. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca at the time of giving evidence said—

"I regard the education given now in the majority of cases of secondary and higher education in Bengal as tending to diminish the intellectual energy of those who receive it. It is sterilising. I think that the education at present imparted is in many cases a positive disadvantage to those who receive it, and tends to render the students more worthless in the market than if they had worked by themselves."

The committee recommended the increase of facilities for technical education and the development of rural industries: and they concluded that the prosperity of Bengal in general including the class of educated unemployed lay entirely

“in the intensive economic development of the country, in the entrance of Bengali *bhadralok* into industry, trade and commerce of the country and in the immediate acceleration of development schemes which will train the *bhadralok* to effect this entrance.”

The committee also emphasised what is common conviction in Bengal that these improvements are conditional upon a change in the attitude of the middle-classes to manual labour. Bengal in some ways has one advantage over some parts of India in that its caste system is not so rigorous. As education spreads amongst all castes, the restrictions in the way of any individual adopting any particular trade or occupation are being reduced (Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Report, page 31) but there is still room for a considerable change in the social attitude towards manual work, and perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the problem is to see in what directions this change appears to be coming about.

318. Signs of a change in the attitude of the *bhadralok* to manual labour.—In the Government technical schools particularly in Calcutta and Kanchrapara it is reported that *bhadralok* young men gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of technical instruction, although practical experience in training is insisted upon. The experimental research tannery attached to the Bengal Tanning Institute has already trained a number of *bhadralok* young men, some being of the higher castes, who have gone through all the processes of leather manufacture from dehairing and defleshing of the raw hide to its final emergence as finished leather. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, which owes its existence to young middle-class Bengalis who had received technical training at the Calcutta University employs as skilled and unskilled operatives a not inconsiderable proportion of workers drawn from the Bengali *bhadralok* classes to whom until recently the idea of manual labour as a means of subsistence would never have occurred. Perhaps the most interesting example, not only of the change which is taking place in the attitude of the Bengali middle-classes, but also of the extent to which success may attend their efforts, is provided by the House of Labourers at Comilla. This was founded in 1922 by young *bhadralok* Bengalis with a capital of not more than Rs. 210 and after a number of false starts and in spite of a series of disappointments the venture has achieved very considerable success during the period in which it has been in existence. Its employees are practically all *bhadralok* young men who carry into practice their professed belief in the dignity of labour by themselves excavating earth, laying bricks, casting concrete blocks, erecting and roofing steel buildings and carrying out all processes in the manufacture of iron and steel. It appears that the number of applicants from these classes for employment with this concern is larger than can be accepted. None of these ventures, even if extended to other parts of Bengal, could of course absorb all the educated unemployed in the province even if they were conducted with equal ability and success. But what is significant is the changed attitude which leads to such ventures being taken up, and it gives an earnest that in other directions also with the same spirit some alleviation of the unemployment existing at present could be found in industrial development. Opportunities for technical training exist and are made use of, and in addition the Education Department has a scheme for a progressively increasing inclusion of agricultural training in the school curriculum under instructors trained by the Department of Agriculture. More than one school in the province includes industrial training in its syllabus. The most notable instance is perhaps the higher English school at Sultanpur, Birbhum, where weaving, dyeing, spinning, carpentry, blacksmithy, soap-making and the fitting of umbrellas to handles made in the school are part of the curriculum and it is proposed to introduce tanning and the manufacture of bell-metal in the future. In this school instruction in one of the industrial departments is compulsory and the training is mainly practical: and several old students of the school have set themselves up in industrial occupations.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Proportion of workers (earners and working dependents) in each occupational class, sub-class and order, with percentages employed in and outside cities, 1931.

(Note.—Out of every 10,000 of the population 712 are non-working dependents of whom 2 per cent are found in cities and 98 per cent outside cities.)

Class, sub-class and order	No per 10,000 of total population	Percentage of workers recorded		Class, sub-class and order	No per 10,000 of total population	Percentage of workers recorded	
		In cities	Outside cities			In cities	Outside cities
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
A.—Earnings (principal occupation) and working dependents.							
ALL OCCUPATIONS	2,878	5	95	V.—Trade	194	13	87
A.—Production of raw materials	1,963	100		23 Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	10	8	92
I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	1,875	100		24 Brokerage commission and export	2	01	99
1 Pasture and Agriculture	1,857	100		25 Trade in textiles	12	8	92
(a) Ordinary cultivation	1,855	100		26 Trade in skins, leather and furs	5	7	93
(b) Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers)	68	1	99	27 Trade in wood	8	6	94
(c) Forestry	1	6	94	28 Trade in metals	2	28	72
(d) Stock raising	23	100		29 Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	2	1	99
(e) Raising of small animals and insects	1	100		30 Trade in chemical products	1	14	86
2 Fishing and hunting	88	1	99	31 Hotels, Cafes, Restaurant, etc.	3	34	66
II.—Exploitation of minerals	8	1	99	32 Other trade in food-stuffs	100	8	92
3 Metallic minerals	1	100		33 Trade in clothing and toilet articles	1	31	69
4 Non-metallic minerals	8	1	99	34 Trade in furniture	2	7	93
B.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	490	13	87	35 Trade in building materials	1	10	90
III.—Industry	251	11	88	36 Trade in means of transport	1	6	94
5 Textiles	90	7	93	37 Trade in fuel	8	16	84
6 Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	2	14	86	38 Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences	30	29	71
7 Wood	27	9	91	C.—Public Administration and liberal arts	77	17	83
8 Metals	10	9	91	VI.—Public force	12	15	85
9 Ceramics	15	9	91	40 Army	1	50	51
10 Chemical products properly so called and analogous	7	4	96	41 Navy	1	50	51
11 Food industries	35	5	95	42 Air force	1	20	80
12 Industries of dress and the toilet	34	19	81	43 Police	1	13	87
13 Furniture industries	1	80	20	VII.—Public Administration	10	48	52
14 Building industries	11	29	71	44 Public Administration	10	48	52
15 Construction of means of transport	1	35	65	VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	55	13	87
16 Production and transmission of physical force	1	31	69	45 Religion	1	16	84
17 Miscellaneous and undefined industries	17	29	71	46 Law	1	33	67
IV.—Transport	55	23	77	47 Medicine	1	12	88
18 Transport by air	1	100		48 Instruction	1	15	85
19 Transport by water	16	28	72	49 Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	5	11	89
20 Transport by road	24	23	77	D.—Miscellaneous	328	19	81
21 Transport by rail	13	16	84	IX.—Persons living on their income	5	51	49
22 Post office, telegraph and telephone services	2	33	67	50 Persons living principally on their income	5	51	49
				X.—Domestic service	159	14	86
				51 Domestic service	159	14	86
				XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	123	29	71
				52 General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation	123	29	71
				XII.—Unproductive	41	8	92
				53 Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses	1	80	20
				54 Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	1	9	91
				55 Other unclassified non-productive industries	39	12	88
B.—Earnings (subsidiary occupation).							
ALL OCCUPATIONS	236	1	99	V.—Trade	28	1	99
A.—Production of raw materials	142	1	99	23 Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	2	1	99
I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	142	1	99	24 Brokerage commission and export	1	5	95
1 Pasture and Agriculture	137	1	99	25 Trade in textiles	2	1	99
(a) Ordinary cultivation	132	1	99	26 Trade in skins, leather and furs	1	1	99
(b) Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers)	2	100		27 Trade in wood	1	1	99
(c) Forestry	1	100		28 Trade in metals	1	4	96
(d) Stock raising	1	100		29 Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	1	100	
(e) Raising of small animals and insects	1	100		30 Trade in chemical products	1	97	
2 Fishing and hunting	5	100		31 Hotels, Cafes, Restaurant, etc	1	2	98
II.—Exploitation of minerals	1	1	99	32 Other trade in food-stuffs	1	1	99
3 Metallic minerals	1	100		33 Trade in clothing and toilet articles	1	99	
4 Non-metallic minerals	1	100		34 Trade in furniture	1	100	
B.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	57	1	99	35 Trade in building materials	1	99	
III.—Industry	22	1	99	36 Trade in means of transport	1	100	
5 Textiles	6	1	99	37 Trade in fuel	1	4	96
6 Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	1	96		38 Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences	1	4	96
7 Wood	1	100		39 Trade of other sorts	1	4	96
8 Metals	1	100		C.—Public administration and liberal arts	11	1	99
9 Ceramics	1	100		VI.—Public force	2	1	99
10 Chemical products properly so called and analogous	1	100		40 Army	1	100	
11 Food industries	2	1	99	41 Navy	1	100	
12 Industries of dress and the toilet	2	99		42 Air force	1	100	
13 Furniture industries	1	96		43 Police	1	100	
14 Building industries	1	96		VII.—Public Administration	6	94	
15 Construction of means of transport	1	96		44 Public Administration	6	94	
16 Production and transmission of physical force	1	96		VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	8	99	
17 Miscellaneous and undefined industries	1	96		45 Religion	1	99	
IV.—Transport	7	1	99	46 Law	1	99	
18 Transport by air	1	100		47 Medicine	1	99	
19 Transport by water	1	99		48 Instruction	1	99	
20 Transport by road	1	100		49 Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	1	99	
21 Transport by rail	1	99		D.—Miscellaneous	26	3	97
22 Post office, telegraph and telephone services	1	99		IX.—Persons living on their income	1	32	68
				50 Persons living principally on their income	1	32	68
				X.—Domestic service	14	1	99
				51 Domestic service	14	1	99
				XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	10	4	96
				52 General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation	10	4	96
				XII.—Unproductive	1	2	98
				53 Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses	1	2	98
				54 Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	1	9	91
				55 Other unclassified non-productive industries	1	10	90

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by dependence of 1,000 of the total population with numbers per 1,000 employed in each occupational sub-class.

Natural and administrative division, district and state	Earnings (Principal occupation) in all occupations.	Working depend- ents in all occupa- tions	Number per mille of the total population who are													
			A—Earnings (principal occupation) and working dependents occupied in sub-class													
			I	II	III	IV.	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX.	X.	XI.	XII		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
BENGAL ..	274	14	197	1	25	6	18	1	1	6	1	16	12	4		
West Bengal	328	40	222	5	39	7	18	1	1	5	1	41	24	3		
BURDWAN DIVISION	328	40	222	5	39	7	18	1	1	5	1	41	24	3		
Burdwan	301	50	191	25	32	9	10	1	1	4	1	75	21	3		
Birbhum	325	57	245	1	18	3	17	2	1	5	1	61	22	4		
Bankura	363	84	309	1	14	6	21	2	1	5	1	58	8	2		
Midnapore	304	29	283	1	22	5	8	1	1	7	1	21	30	2		
Hoochly	390	55	325	..	87	9	23	1	2	9	2	60	15	4		
Howrah	310	2	111	..	84	15	36	1	1	7	2	11	49	3		
Central Bengal	326	4	186	..	45	10	29	2	3	8	1	17	24	5		
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	326	4	186	..	45	10	29	2	3	8	1	17	24	5		
24-Parganas	329	1	187	..	74	8	20	1	1	6	1	17	24	5		
Calcutta	656	3	11	..	47	81	6	17	25	10	..	154	12	5		
Nadia	280	6	197	..	35	6	20	1	1	5	..	11	9	5		
Murshidabad	368	3	189	..	24	3	30	1	1	5	..	1	5	3		
Jessore	311	13	253	..	22	3	21	1	1	7	..	1	5	3		
Khulna	267	1	217	..	14	3	18	1	1	7	..	4	2	2		
North Bengal	286	15	238	..	16	4	14	1	1	4	..	12	5	6		
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	286	15	238	..	16	4	14	1	1	4	..	13	4	5		
Rajshahi	283	16	242	..	19	4	10	2	1	4	..	16	4	5		
Dinajpur	281	27	245	..	10	3	11	2	1	3	..	19	3	5		
Jalpaiguri	416	7	369	..	10	6	13	1	1	3	..	8	7	4		
Darjeeling	401	3	393	..	13	8	20	1	1	4	..	12	31	4		
Rangpur	250	7	212	..	10	4	10	1	1	3	..	8	1	7		
Bogra	262	50	356	..	18	4	10	1	1	4	..	16	2	6		
Fabna	222	6	180	..	28	6	17	1	1	4	..	12	5	3		
Malda	286	9	203	..	23	2	31	2	1	4	..	17	4	3		
COOCH BEHAR STATE	280	9	243	..	10	4	17	1	2	4	..	7	3	8		
East Bengal	222	6	171	..	14	3	16	1	..	6	..	7	6	4		
DACCA DIVISION	231	6	178	..	15	3	17	1	1	5	..	8	5	4		
Dacca	230	6	100	..	21	3	23	1	1	6	..	10	7	4		
Mymensingh	218	6	173	..	11	2	14	1	1	4	..	11	4	3		
Fardpur	248	2	195	..	16	4	15	..	..	5	..	6	0	3	
Bakarganj	242	7	193	..	15	5	17	1	1	4	..	4	4	3		
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	261	5	184	..	13	4	13	1	..	6	..	4	7	4		
Tippera	265	5	171	..	9	2	12	1	..	5	..	3	4	3		
Noakhali	184	2	142	..	10	4	9	1	..	5	..	2	4	4		
Chittagong	205	4	123	..	24	6	20	1	..	2	..	6	10	5		
Chittagong Hill Tracts	254	46	271	..	6	3	10	1	..	2	..	2	6	1		
TRIPURA STATE	235	45	231	..	18	5	8	2	..	3	..	4	6	3		
SIKKIM	650	17	636	..	4	5	9	..	1	3	..	11	..	..

Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number per mille of the total population who are													Non-work- ing depend- ents.
	B—Earnings (subsidiary occupation) occupied in sub-class.													
	I	II	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII	VIII	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.		
1	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
BENGAL ..	14	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	712
West Bengal	21	..	4	1	4	..	..	1	..	4	3	..	632
BURDWAN DIVISION	21	..	4	1	4	..	..	1	..	4	3	..	632
Burdwan	18	1	3	1	3	..	..	1	..	7	1	..	649
Birbhum	11	..	4	1	5	..	..	2	..	3	2	..	618
Bankura	18	..	9	1	5	..	..	1	..	3	1	..	653
Midnapore	30	..	4	2	5	..	..	1	..	6	1	..	667
Hoochly	29	..	4	2	5	..	..	1	..	0	1	..	655
Howrah	13	..	3	1	3	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	688
Central Bengal	13	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	670
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	13	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	670
24-Parganas	17	..	3	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	670
Calcutta	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	491
Nadia	12	..	1	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	704
Murshidabad	13	..	4	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	708
Jessore	14	..	3	1	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	676
Khulna	16	..	4	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	732
North Bengal	16	..	2	..	3	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	699
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	17	..	2	..	3	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	700
Rajshahi	22	..	4	1	3	1	..	1	..	2	1	..	691	
Dinajpur	11	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	698
Jalpaiguri	11	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	677
Darjeeling	7	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	596
Rangpur	21	..	4	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	743
Bogra	20	..	4	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	698
Fabna	18	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	745
Malda	14	..	2	1	7	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	705
COOCH BEHAR STATE	6	..	1	..	3	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	701
East Bengal	11	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	772
DACCA DIVISION	10	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	763
Dacca	13	..	2	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	764
Mymensingh	9	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	776
Fardpur	8	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	789
Bakarganj	10	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	751
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	11	..	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	704
Tippera	8	..	1	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	790
Noakhali	15	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	814
Chittagong	14	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	704
Chittagong Hill Tracts	13	..	..	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	697
TRIPURA STATE	23	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	780
SIKKIM	12	..	3	1	1	..	1	2	..	6	..	..	331

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Distribution of male and female workers with ratio of females to males by occupational classes, sub-classes, orders and groups, 1931.

Group No	Occupation (CLASS, Sub-class, ORDER and group).	Males		Females		Number of females: per 1,000 males	
		Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ALL OCCUPATIONS	12,770,435	13,870,520	1,933,644	2,039,450	152	147
	A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	9,268,746	9,961,018	862,481	895,990	93	90
	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	9,243,358	9,934,471	844,795	877,944	91	88
	1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE	9,081,316	9,748,205	814,412	845,179	90	87
	(a) Ordinary cultivation	8,784,686	9,429,849	692,399	721,845	79	77
1	Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind	463,415	610,999	170,419	170,988	368	295
2	Estate agents and managers of private owners	1,100	1,290	39	35	35	44
3	Estate agents and managers of government	92	100	—	—	—	—
4	Rent collectors, clerks, etc.	43,175	51,653	171	180	4	3
5	Cultivating owners	4,980,474	5,920,047	219,915	290,868	44	44
6	Tenant cultivators	797,448	854,075	33,600	35,323	42	41
7	Agricultural labourers	2,161,890	2,662,657	257,008	284,011	104	99
8	Cultivators of <i>ghos, tauapua</i> and other shifting areas	27,045	29,037	11,177	11,501	418	397
	(b) Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers).	177,580	188,684	115,837	116,613	651	615
9	Cinchona	353	382	348	348	996	961
10	Cococnut	13	13	—	—	—	—
11	Coffee	1	1	1	1	1,000	1,000
12	Gums	39	1,082	1	1	26	80
13	Pea-vine	27,120	35,692	790	924	29	26
14	Rubber	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	Tea	144,523	148,094	114,342	114,161	791	784
16	Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers	5,228	5,527	208	241	39	44
	(c) Forestry	6,125	7,692	267	268	44	37
17	Forest officers, rangers, guards, etc.	1,256	1,585	73	87	58	55
18	Wood cutters and charcoal burners	4,711	5,923	190	194	401	388
19	Collectors of forest produce	116	122	4	4	34	33
20	Collectors of lac	42	59	—	—	—	—
	(d) Stock raising	112,724	121,049	5,538	6,364	49	52
21	(cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	29,470	32,406	3,417	3,925	110	121
22	Breeders of transport animals	39	39	—	—	—	—
23	Riders-men, shepherds and breeders of other animals	83,224	88,661	2,121	2,379	25	27
	(e) Raising of small animals and insects	201	940	536	632	2,637	672
24	Birds, bees, etc.	2	2	—	—	—	—
25	Silkworms	198	934	580	682	2,677	677
26	Lac cultivation	1	—	—	—	—	—
	2.—FISHING AND HUNTING	162,042	168,268	30,383	32,745	187	176
27	Fishing and Pevring	161,440	165,577	30,380	32,709	188	179
28	Hunting	602	690	53	56	88	81
	II.—Exploitation of minerals	25,368	26,547	17,668	18,046	697	680
	3.—METALLIC MINERALS	698	779	23	23	33	30
29	Gold	—	—	2	2	—	—
30	Iron	—	—	—	—	—	—
31	Lead, silver and zinc	—	—	—	—	—	—
32	Manganese	462	619	21	21	43	41
33	Tin and wolfram	206	201	—	—	—	—
34	Other metallic minerals	—	—	—	—	—	—
	4.—NON-METALLIC MINERALS	24,980	25,768	17,663	18,023	715	699
35	Coal	24,522	25,598	17,644	18,004	720	707
36	Petroleum	12	13	5	5	417	417
37	Building materials (including stone, materials for cement manufacture and clays)	—	—	—	—	—	—
38	Mica	6	7	4	4	697	571
39	Precious and semi-precious stones	3	3	—	—	—	—
40	Salt, saltpetre and other saline substances	147	148	—	—	—	—
41	Other non-metallic minerals	—	—	10	10	—	—
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	2,049,851	2,317,074	456,298	479,406	223	207
	III.—Industry	986,819	1,090,150	294,989	306,536	299	281
	5.—TEXTILES	374,793	400,590	82,829	85,345	221	213
42	Cotton spinning, cleaning and pressing	4,750	5,293	513	516	108	98
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	132,032	150,065	40,786	42,504	309	283
44	Jute pressing, spinning and weaving	229,573	268,569	32,130	32,812	140	137
44A	Jute pressing	155,772	179,312	21,180	21,576	133	136
45	Rope, twine, string and other fibres	2,365	3,034	7,028	7,453	2,989	2,438
46	Wool carding, spinning and weaving	680	781	73	73	106	106
47	Silk spinning and weaving	8,640	4,394	1,170	1,248	323	284
48	Hair (horse-hair), etc.	235	270	678	617	2,247	2,285
49	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles	324	347	130	134	370	357
50	Lace, crepe, embroideries, fringes, etc., and insufficiently described textile industries.	1,182	1,263	440	494	390	385
	6.—HIDES, SKINS AND HARD MATERIALS FROM THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.	11,593	13,038	453	488	39	37
51	Workers in leather	8,144	9,815	292	318	36	34
52	Furriers and persons occupied with feathers and bristles; brush makers.	16	15	2	2	133	138
53	Workers (except button makers) in bone, ivory, horn, shell, etc.	3,424	2,708	159	168	46	45
	7.—WOOD	114,726	140,046	26,387	21,539	170	154
54	Sawyers	6,558	7,648	27	29	4	4
55	Carpenters, turners and joiners, etc.	77,281	88,646	537	610	7	7
56	Basket-makers and other workers in woody materials (including leaves) and thatchers and builders working with bamboo, reeds or similar materials.	35,536	43,894	19,333	20,900	358	477

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Distribution of male and female workers with ratio of females to males by occupational classes, sub-classes, orders and groups, 1931.

Group No.	Occupation (CLASS, Sub-class, ORDER and group).	Males		Females.		Number of females per 1,000 males.	
		Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
III.—Industry—concluded.							
	8.—METALS	49,505	54,621	1,211	1,443	24	26
57	Smelting, forging and rolling of iron and other metals	1,728	1,796	8	4	5	4
58	Makers of arms, guns, etc.	255	205	18	18	71	67
59	Blacksmiths, other workers in iron and maker of implements	37,767	41,661	904	1,122	26	23
60	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	3,388	7,095	179	101	28	27
61	Workers in other metals (except precious metals)	2,291	3,712	42	144	18	12
62	Workers in tints, die-sinkers, etc.	88	89	..	..	..	..
	9.—CERAMICS	34,459	73,428	14,745	15,539	229	212
63	Potters and makers of earthenware	34,922	39,102	5,942	9,363	256	237
64	Brick and tile makers	17,927	19,834	3,346	3,812	200	192
65	Other workers in ceramics	11,610	14,132	2,237	2,364	195	167
	10.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO CALLED AND ANALOGOUS.	35,846	39,839	2,424	2,599	68	65
66	Manufacture of matches, fireworks and other explosives	1,078	1,163	51	59	30	51
67	Manufacture of acrid and mineral waters and ice	484	343	101	164	20	18
68	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils	31,693	35,330	2,241	2,390	71	63
69	Manufacture and refining of mineral oils	139	152	67	31	41	46
70	Other chemical manufactures	2,421	2,813	115	124	47	49
	11.—FOOD INDUSTRIES	36,636	42,985	142,367	147,923	3,893	3,440
71	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	9,796	10,004	153,250	132,390	13,612	12,621
72	Grain parchers, etc.	1,354	2,015	7,007	7,110	4,423	5,672
73	Butchers	3,474	3,044	148	147	43	41
74	Makers of sugar, molasses and gurh	1,969	1,971	67	82	34	21
75	Restroom and condiment makers	5,861	7,234	425	325	34	45
76	Toddy drawers	385	674	11	11	29	16
77	Brewers and distillers	26	30	1	1	38	33
78	Manufacturers of tobacco	9,010	10,709	1,410	1,454	142	139
79	Manufacturers of opium	28	38	..	..	..	..
80	Manufacturers of Ganja	1	1	..	..	..	..
81	Others	4,473	3,705	71	72	20	19
	12.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET	155,653	175,210	16,596	17,491	108	99
82	Boat, shoe, sandal and dog makers	21,296	23,005	1,575	1,592	73	69
83	Tailors, milliners, dressmakers and darters	41,007	43,967	2,659	2,496	64	64
84	Embroiderers, hat makers and makers of other articles of wear	2,309	2,361	617	603	268	264
85	Washing and cleaning	3,049	3,149	3,458	3,413	272	251
86	Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers	59,216	70,103	3,134	3,953	52	48
87	Other industries connected with toilet	359	365	138	155	418	425
	13.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES	2,160	2,278	745	769	345	338
88	Cabinet-makers, carriage painters, etc.	1,839	1,947	314	323	171	167
89	Upholsterers, tent-makers, etc.	321	339	431	446	1,343	1,316
	14.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES	50,219	54,160	4,183	4,290	83	79
90	Lime burners, cement workers; Excavators and well sinkers; stone cutters and dressers; brick layers and masons; Builders (other than buildings made of bamboo or similar materials), painters, decorators of houses, tilers, plumbers, etc.	50,219	54,160	4,183	4,290	83	79
	15.—CONSTRUCTION OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT	5,239	6,111	21	22	4	4
91	Persons engaged in making, assembling or repairing motor vehicles or cycles	1,720	1,976	1	1	1	..
92	Carriage, cart, palan, etc. makers and wheel-wrights	1,163	1,359	10	10	9	7
93	Ship, boat, aeroplane builders	2,416	2,796	10	11	4	4
	16.—PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF PHYSICAL FORCE	3,327	3,337	2	2	1	1
94	Heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.; Gas works and electric light and power	3,327	3,337	2	2	1	1
	17.—MISCELLANEOUS AND UNDEFINED INDUSTRIES	77,414	84,461	5,985	9,176	116	108
95	Printers, engravers, book-binders, etc.	15,967	14,139	38	62	4	4
96	Makers of musical instruments	1,989	2,102	14	14	5	5
97	Makers of clocks and surgical or scientific instruments, etc.	888	998	50	50	56	53
98	Makers of jewellery and ornaments	43,172	43,616	1,664	1,705	39	38
99	Other miscellaneous and undefined industries (toy-making, taxidermy, etc.)	1,299	1,577	565	944	707	592
100	Scavenging	16,154	18,731	6,310	6,493	391	387
	IV.—Transport	270,295	303,152	12,988	14,862	48	49
	18.—TRANSPORT BY AIR	102	124	5	5	49	40
101	Persons concerned with aerodromes and aeroplanes	102	124	5	5	49	40
	19.—TRANSPORT BY WATER	82,234	90,255	250	307	3	3
102	Ship-owners, boat-owners and their employees, officers, mariners, etc ships' brokers, boatmen and townmen.	78,169	86,185	212	268	3	3
102A	Ship-owners, boat-owners and their employees, officers, mariners, etc. ships' brokers, boatmen and townmen of sea-going vessels.	7,641	7,873	..	..	..	..
103	Persons (other than labourers) employed in harbours, docks, rivers, and canals, including pilots	2,142	2,130	38	39	18	18
104	Labourers employed on harbours, docks, rivers and canals	1,913	1,920	..	..	..	..
	20.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD	108,716	132,599	10,225	12,604	99	85
105	Persons (other than labourers) employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges	431	496	10	12	23	24
106	Labourers employed on roads and bridges	41,708	50,337	9,655	11,545	236	229
107	Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with mechanically driven vehicles (including trams)	6,575	8,294	29	35	3	4
108	Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with other vehicles	28,950	38,645	52	56	2	1
109	Palis, etc., bearers and owners	20,508	24,372	93	98	5	4
110	Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers	1,258	1,258	1	2	8	8
111	Porters and messengers	9,648	10,124	765	853	81	84

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Distribution of male and female workers with ratio of females to males by occupational classes, sub-classes, orders and groups, 1931.

Group No.	Occupation (CLASS, Sub-class, ORDER and group)	Males		Females		Number of females per 1,000 males	
		Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents.	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary occupation and working dependents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
IV.—Transport—concluded.							
21.—TRANSPORT BY RAIL							
112	..	57,453	58,779	1,575	1,912	28	28
113	..	38,758	39,376	619	824	16	16
114	..	28,653	20,208	1,256	1,258	44	44
22.—POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES							
114	..	10,800	11,485	33	34	3	3
114	..	10,800	11,485	33	34	3	3
V.—Trade							
23.—BANKS, ESTABLISHMENTS OF CREDIT, EXCHANGE AND INSURANCE.							
115	..	45,436	56,771	4,357	4,915	96	87
115	..	45,436	56,771	4,357	4,915	96	87
24.—BROKERAGE COMMISSION AND EXPORT							
116	..	8,384	9,569	213	246	24	28
116	..	8,384	9,569	213	246	24	28
25.—TRADE IN TEXTILES							
117	..	57,499	71,539	6,131	6,614	107	92
117A	..	57,499	71,539	6,131	6,614	107	92
117A	..	5,849	6,361	49	58	13	10
26.—TRADE IN SKINS, LEATHER AND FURS							
118	..	23,622	26,632	847	878	36	33
118	..	23,622	26,632	847	878	36	33
27.—TRADE IN WOOD							
119	..	12,255	16,375	5,734	6,907	468	422
119	..	9,735	12,819	3,805	4,015	370	326
120	..	70	70	40	40	571	571
121	..	2,143	3,598	909	729	334	308
122	..	307	898	1,460	4,321	5,462	5,462
28.—TRADE IN METALS							
120	..	2,095	2,223	45	48	21	21
120	..	2,095	2,223	45	48	21	21
29.—TRADE IN POTTERY, BRICKS AND TILES							
124	..	6,288	7,331	3,055	3,233	488	441
124	..	6,288	7,331	3,055	3,233	488	441
30.—TRADE IN CHEMICAL PRODUCTS							
125	..	3,655	4,185	173	180	47	43
125	..	3,655	4,185	173	180	47	43
31.—HOTELS, CAFES, RESTAURANT, ETC.							
126	..	13,352	14,302	1,034	1,054	77	74
126	..	4,507	4,793	408	425	97	89
127	..	8,944	9,502	611	614	68	66
127	..	201	217	15	15	75	69
32.—OTHER TRADE IN FOOD-STUFFS							
129	..	389,016	471,878	108,716	115,707	275	245
129	..	63,921	77,122	32,260	33,429	505	433
130	..	32,460	37,096	4,727	4,929	140	131
131	..	47,449	58,290	14,950	16,124	315	276
132	..	983	1,255	65	64	56	52
133	..	1,002	1,342	460	464	437	346
134	..	245,456	282,773	56,639	60,029	234	211
135	..	9,022	10,653	547	627	65	59
136	..	363	618	20	22	35	34
137	..	1,108	1,141	18	19	16	17
33.—TRADE IN CLOTHING AND TOILET ARTICLES							
138	..	7,341	8,057	220	225	30	28
138	..	7,341	8,057	220	225	30	28
34.—TRADE IN FURNITURE							
139	..	10,859	11,999	1,338	1,374	123	114
140	..	1,039	1,255	597	614	565	489
140	..	9,821	10,744	749	760	76	71
35.—TRADE IN BUILDING MATERIALS							
141	..	2,600	3,122	517	574	199	184
141	..	2,600	3,122	517	574	199	184
36.—TRADE IN MEANS OF TRANSPORT							
142	..	5,532	7,201	392	484	71	64
143	..	418	437	..	..	15	15
143	..	4,858	6,426	387	459	78	71
37.—TRADE IN FUEL							
145	..	10,341	12,961	4,122	4,555	399	351
145	..	10,341	12,961	4,122	4,555	399	351
38.—TRADE IN ARTICLES OF LUXURY AND THOSE PERTAINING TO LETTERS AND THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.							
146	..	9,953	10,590	146	154	15	15
147	..	3,905	4,399	1,005	1,107	257	252
148	..	22,894	24,961	1,408	1,800	61	64
39.—TRADE OF OTHER SORTS							
149	..	147,167	156,657	7,670	8,175	53	51
149	..	61	57	12	12	285	210
150	..	138,693	150,739	7,328	7,620	53	51
151	..	7,556	7,521	471	481	64	64
152	..	1,077	1,840	59	62	55	48

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		Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents	Earners, Principal occupation and working dependents	Earners, Principal occupation and subsidiary working dependents
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	0.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS	372,023	429,558	21,155	22,443	57	52
	VI.—Public force	58,973	71,296	57	57	1	1
	40.—ARMY	2,863	3,003	1	1	..	..
163	Imperial Army	2,844	2,507	..	..	..	..
154	Indian State Armies	19	436	1	1	2	2
	41.—NAVY	10	16	..	..	..	..
155	Navy	10	16	..	..	..	..
	42.—AIR FORCE	15	22	..	..	..	..
156	Air force	15	22	..	..	..	..
	43.—POLICE	55,970	69,255	56	56	1	1
157	Police	21,811	23,501	..	..	..	..
158	Village watchmen	34,168	45,754	56	56	2	1
	VII.—Public Administration	49,928	52,582	369	372	7	7
	44.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	49,928	52,582	369	372	7	7
159	Service of the State	38,630	40,292	13	15	3	3
160	Service of Indian and Foreign States	844	979	214	214	23	22
161	Municipal and other local (not village) service	9,334	10,819	13	13	11	11
162	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	1,114	1,652	..	..	..	..
	VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	263,122	305,680	20,729	22,014	79	72
	45.—RELIGION	77,346	92,246	3,088	3,297	38	36
163	Priests, ministers, etc.	77,420	90,157	2,770	3,036	36	34
164	Monks, nuns, religious mendicants	790	803	148	148	178	178
165	Other religious workers	380	874	13	15	45	40
166	Servants in religious edifices, burial and burning grounds, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers, etc.	840	912	18	51	41	89
	46.—LAW	30,814	32,385	21	21	1	1
167	Lawyers of all kinds, including Quazis, Law Agents and Mukhtars	17,102	17,990	4	4	..	..
168	Lawyers' clerks, petition-writers, etc.	13,652	14,605	17	17	1	1
	47.—MEDICINE	56,998	67,452	11,371	12,079	199	179
169	Registered medical practitioners including oculists	29,052	32,883	550	578	19	17
170	Other persons practicing the healing art without being registered	21,555	26,855	797	877	36	38
171	Dentists	1,142	1,194	23	30	23	25
172	Midwives, Vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	4,405	4,680	9,684	10,537	2,255	2,250
173	Veterinary surgeons	644	652	13	62	114	95
	48.—INSTRUCTION	69,275	66,890	5,048	5,291	73	66
174	Professors and teachers of all kinds	68,352	70,607	5,002	5,243	73	66
175	Clerks and servants connected with education	923	1,092	46	46	50	42
	49.—LETTERS, ARTS AND SCIENCES (OTHER THAN 44)	26,689	32,088	1,284	1,328	48	40
176	Public scribes, stenographers, etc.	713	740	189	190	265	257
177	Architects, surveyors, engineers and their employees (not being State servants)	2,233	2,761	48	52	32	19
178	Authors, editors, journalists and photographers	614	657	9	9	15	13
179	Artists, sculptors and image-makers	1,850	2,118	209	218	105	101
180	Scientists (astronomers, botanists, etc.)	15	16	..	..	..	..
181	Horoscope casters, astrologers, fortune-tellers, wizards, witches and mediums	1,790	1,978	41	41	28	21
182	Musicians (composers and performers other than military), actors, dancers, etc.	18,038	22,924	556	588	31	26
183	Managers and employees of places of public entertainments, race courses, societies, clubs, etc.	563	585	4	4	7	7
184	Conjurors, acrobats, reciters, exhibitors of curiosities and wild animals, etc.	753	859	228	229	30	287
	D.—MISCELLANEOUS	1,079,815	1,162,870	593,710	641,611	550	552
	IX.—Persons living on their income	20,725	23,181	4,536	4,800	219	207
	50.—PERSONS LIVING PRINCIPALLY ON THEIR INCOME	20,725	23,181	4,536	4,800	219	207
185	Proprietors (other than of agricultural land) fund and scholarshipholders and pensioners	20,725	23,181	4,536	4,800	219	07
	X.—Domestic Service	369,037	417,547	420,878	463,297	1,081	1,110
	51.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	369,037	417,547	420,878	463,297	1,081	1,110
186	Private motor-drivers and cleaners	7,571	7,003	173	177	23	21
187	Other domestic service	381,666	409,882	420,505	463,120	1,102	1,130
	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	563,408	610,963	63,525	66,848	113	109
	52.—GENERAL TERMS WHICH DO NOT INDICATE A DEFINITE OCCUPATION.	563,408	610,963	63,525	66,848	113	109
188	Manufacturers, businessmen and contractors otherwise unspecified	6,941	7,497	70	75	10	10
189	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices and warehouses and shops.	107,562	207,820	8,156	9,216	41	44
190	Mechanics otherwise unspecified	9,027	9,098	13	13	1	1
191	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	850,968	387,088	55,356	37,514	158	149
	XII.—Unproductive	106,645	111,179	104,971	106,866	984	959
	53.—INMATES OF JAILS, ASYLUMS AND ALMS HOUSES	29,672	20,672	191	191	9	9
192	Inmates of jails, asylums and alms houses	29,672	20,672	191	191	9	9
	54.—BEGGARS, VAGRANTS AND PROSTITUTES	85,843	90,850	164,778	196,671	1,281	1,178
193	Beggars and vagrants	85,843	90,850	30,712	81,977	240	..
194	Procurers and prostitutes	..	..	24,058	24,464	..	..
	55.—OTHER UNCLASSIFIED NON-PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES	130	157	4	4	31	2
195	Other unclassified non-productive industries	130	157	4	4	31	25

*No males were returned under this group and the proportion of females to males is therefore indeterminate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921.

Group No.	Occupation	1931		1921
		Earners (principal occupation and working dependents)	Earners (subsidiary occupation)	Workers.
1	2	3	4	5
	ALL OCCUPATIONS	14,704,079	1,205,881	16,772,520
	A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	10,131,227	725,781	12,156,549
	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	10,088,153	724,262	12,089,218
	1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE	9,895,728	697,656	11,907,784
	(a) Ordinary cultivation	9,477,076	674,718	11,517,168
1	Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind	688,834	157,144	800,502
2	Pe-tate agents and managers of private owners	1,148	18	
3	Pe-tate agents and managers of government	92	8	40,181
4	Plant collectors, clerks, etc.	49,346	8,487	
5	Cultivating owners	5,210,389	240,681	9,274,024
6	Tenant cultivators	331,100	58,292	
7	Agricultural labourers	2,718,939	207,729	1,805,502
8	Cultivators of <i>jhum</i> , <i>taungya</i> and other shifting areas	38,232	2,350	(a)
	(b) Cultivation of special crops, fruits, etc. (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers)	293,267	11,430	256,147
9	Cinchona	701	9	
10	Cocconut	13	5	
11	Coffee	2		223,141
12	Ganja	89	1,076	
13	Pan-vine	28,210	8,306	33,006
14	Rubber	4		(b)
15	Tea	258,865	1,093	(c)
16	Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers	5,433	337	
	(c) Forestry	6,392	1,585	13,247
17	Forest officers, rangers, guards, etc.	1,929	843	2,618
18	Wood cutters and charcoal burners	4,901	1,210	10,684
19	Collectors of forest produce	130		
20	Collectors of lac	42	17	45
	(d) Stock raising	118,262	9,082	115,419
21	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	32,897	3,444	1,826
22	Breeders of transport animals	30	13	
23	Herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals	85,345	5,625	113,593
	(e) Raising of small animals and insects	731	841	5,802
24	Birds, bees, etc.			5
25	Silkworms	728	835	5,797
26	Lac cultivation	1	3	(d)
	II.—FISHING AND HUNTING	192,425	26,608	181,434
27	Fishing and pearling	191,770	26,510	180,159
28	Hunting	655	90	1,275
	III.—Exploitation of minerals	43,074	1,519	67,331
	3.—METALLIC MINERALS	721	81	..
29	Gold	2		..
30	Iron	..	..	..
31	Lead, silver and zinc	..	..	..
32	Manganese	513	28	..
33	Tin and wolfram	208	55	..
34	Other metallic minerals	..	..	..
	4.—NON-METALLIC MINERALS	42,353	1,438	67,331
35	Coal	42,160	1,436	67,311
36	Petroleum	17	..	1
37	Building materials (including stone, materials for cement manufacture and clays)	..	..	..
38	Mica	10	1	10
39	Precious and semi-precious stones	..	..	..
40	Salt, saltpetre and other saline substances	147	1	9
41	Other non-metallic minerals	10	..	(e)
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES	2,506,149	290,331	3,029,833
	III.—Industry	1,281,808	114,878	1,674,025
	5.—TEXTILES	457,622	28,313	540,137
42	Cotton spinning, cleaning and pressing	5,263	536	1,609
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	172,798	19,791	225,338
44	Jute pressing, spinning and weaving	261,709	5,748	288,489
44A	Jute pressing	177,252	3,536	34,750
45	Rope, twine, string and other fibres	9,433	1,076	10,340
46	Wool carding, spinning and weaving	703	41	699
47	Silk spinning and weaving	4,822	820	7,828
48	Hair (horse-hair), etc.	828	59	
49	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles	444	27	867
50	Lace, crepe, embroideries, fringes, etc., and insufficiently described textile industries	1,568	213	492
	6.—HIDES, SKINS AND HARD MATERIALS FROM THE ANIMAL KINGDOM	12,036	1,488	16,708
51	Workers in leather	8,480	1,197	13,388
52	Furriers and persons occupied with fashers and bristles; brush makers	17		127
53	Workers (except button makers) in bone, ivory, horn shell, etc.	3,588	291	3,244
	7.—WOOD	140,112	21,453	168,593
54	Sawyers	6,285	1,290	7,247
55	Carpenters, turners and joiners, etc.	78,468	10,788	92,610
56	Basket-makers and other workers in woody materials (including leaves) and thatchers and builders working with bamboo, reeds or similar materials	55,359	9,375	68,736

(a) Included in figure against 5 and 8.

(b) Included in figure against 9, 10, 11 and 12.

(c) Included in figure against 13.

(d) Included in figure against 24.

(e) Included in 37, 38 and 39.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921.

Group No.	Occupation.	1931		1921.
		Earners (principal occupation and working dependent).	Earners in (subsidiary occupation).	
1	2	3	4	5
III.—Industry—concluded.				
8.—METALS				
57	Smelting, forging and rolling of iron and other metals	50,716	5,348	75,783
58	Makers of arms, guns, etc.	1,730	63	13,231
59	Blacksmiths, other workers in iron and makers of implements	271	15	4,462
60	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	39,741	1,112	43,443
61	Workers in other metals (except precious metals)	4,367	719	12,451
62	Workers in mints, die-sinkers, etc.	3,323	433	3,062
		83	1	105
9.—CERAMICS				
63	Potters and makers of earthenware	78,224	9,743	147,512
64	Brick and tile makers	48,864	4,901	91,105
65	Other workers in ceramics	21,313	2,183	56,133
		33,847	2,649	534
10.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO CALLED AND ANALOGOUS				
66	Manufacture of matches, fireworks and other explosives	38,270	4,168	56,785
67	Manufacture of acetate and mineral waters and ice	1,122	60	620
68	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils	504	45	302
69	Manufacture and refining of mineral oils	33,934	3,904	52,113
70	Other chemical manufactures	154	23	88
		2,566	101	3,387
11.—FOOD INDUSTRIES				
		179,023	11,695	238,285
71	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	143,146	0,208	137,635
72	Grain parchers, etc.	8,591	237	9,261
73	Butchers	3,624	164	4,546
74	Makers of sugar, molasses and <i>gurh</i>	2,154	2,710	2,685
75	Sweetmeat and condiment makers	6,803	1,256	10,277
76	Tobacco drawers	896	293	498
77	Brewers and distillers	27	48	48
78	Manufacturers of tobacco	11,329	873	3,480
79	Manufacturers of opium	38	1	1
80	Manufacturers of <i>ganga</i>	1	1	1
81	Other food industries	3,544	280	20,003
12.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET				
		172,449	20,162	212,730
82	Boot, shoe, sandal and clog makers	23,281	1,310	28,976
83	Tailors, milliners, dressmakers and darters	3,624	164	4,546
84	Embroiderers and makers of hats and other articles of wear	2,617	257	47,600
85	Washmen and cleaners	89,457	4,474	20,214
86	Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers	62,677	11,084	75,689
87	Other industries connected with the toilet	468	52	5
13.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES				
88	Cabinet-makers, carriage-painters, etc.	2,995	140	1,883
89	Upholsterers, tent-makers, etc.	2,168	107	1,425
		732	28	456
14.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES				
90	Lime burners, cement workers, excavators and well sinkers, stone cutters and dressers, brick-layers and masons, builders (other than of buildings made of bamboo or similar materials), painters, house decorators, tilers, plumbers, etc.	54,402	4,648	91,754
15.—CONSTRUCTION OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT				
		5,320	813	10,089
91	Manufacture, assembly or repair of motor vehicles or cycles	1,721	256	1,270
92	Makers of carriages, carts, bakkis, etc. and wheel-wrights	1,173	176	755
93	Ship, boat and aeroplane builders	2,426	381	8,074
16.—PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF PHYSICAL FORCE				
		3,329	70	3,085
94	Heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc. (gas works and electric light and power)	3,329	70	3,085
17.—MISCELLANEOUS AND UNDEFINED INDUSTRIES				
		86,400	7,237	110,697
95	Printers, engravers, book-binders, etc.	14,025	186	13,500
96	Makers of musical instruments	1,973	129	585
97	Makers of clocks and surgical or scientific instruments, etc.	936	59	1,443
98	Makers of jewellery and ornaments	44,839	5,513	66,952
99	Other miscellaneous and undefined industries (toy-making, taxidermy, etc.)	2,161	308	363
100	Scavenging	23,464	690	27,895
IV.—Transport				
		283,283	34,731	371,803
18.—TRANSPORT BY AIR				
101	Persons connected with aerodromes and aeroplanes	107	22	22
		107	22	22
19.—TRANSPORT BY WATER				
		82,474	8,088	109,226
102	Ship-owners, boat-owners, and their employees, officers, mariners, etc., ships' brokers, boatmen and townmen of inland water transport	78,381	8,072	105,715
102A	Ship-owners, boat-owners and their employees, officers, mariners, etc., ships' brokers, boatmen and townmen of inland water transport	70,740	8,010	94,429
103	Persons (other than labourers) employed in harbours, docks, rivers and canals, including pilots	2,180	9	1,898
104	Labourers employed on harbours, docks, rivers and canals	1,013	7	2,113
20.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD				
		120,541	24,572	173,047
105	Persons (other than labourers) employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges	441	67	2,018
106	Labourers employed on the construction of roads and bridges	51,608	10,322	62,232
107	Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with mechanically driven vehicles (including trams)	3,804	25	6,771
108	Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with other vehicles	25,972	9,722	41,974
109	Owners and bearers of palkees, etc.	20,599	3,871	41,659
110	Owners and drivers of bullock-carts, camels, mules, asses and bullocks	829	11	1,115
111	Porters and messengers	10,433	344	15,294
21.—TRANSPORT BY RAIL				
		69,328	1,363	75,336
112	Railway employees of all kinds other than coolies	39,417	738	48,422
113	Labourers employed on railway construction and maintenance and coolies and porters employed on railway premises	29,911	580	31,814
22.—POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES				
		16,833	666	14,272
114	Post office, telegraph and telephone services	10,833	666	14,272

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921.

Group No.	Occupation.	1931.		1921
		Earners (principal occupation and working dependents).	Earners (subsidiary occupation)	
1	2	3	4	5
	V.—Trade	941,058	140,722	984,005
	23.—BANKS, ESTABLISHMENTS OF CREDIT, EXCHANGE AND INSURANCE	49,793	11,893	51,149
115	Bank-managers, money-lenders, exchange and insurance agents, money-changers and brokers and their employees	49,798	11,898	51,149
	24.—BROKERAGE COMMISSION AND EXPORT	9,097	718	13,168
110	Brokers, commission agents, commercial travellers, warehouse owners and employees	9,097	718	13,169
	25.—TRADE IN TEXTILES	63,630	14,523	87,153
117	Trade in piece goods: jute, wool, cotton, silk, hair and other textiles	63,630	14,523	70,293
117.1	Trade in jute	3,898	1,718	16,860
	26.—TRADE IN SKINS, LEATHER AND FURS	24,469	3,041	25,897
118	Trade in skins, leather, furs, feathers, horn, etc., and articles made therefrom	24,469	3,041	25,897
	27.—TRADE IN WOOD	17,989	5,293	15,425
119	Trade in wood (not firewood)	18,340	2,994	15,425
120	Trade in bark	110		
121	Trade in bamboos and canes	2,752	1,570	
122	Trade in thatches and other forest produce	1,787	729	
	28.—TRADE IN METALS	2,143	126	4,044
123	Trade in metals, machinery, knives, tools, etc.	2,148	126	4,044
	29.—TRADE IN POTTERY, BRICKS AND TILES	9,343	1,221	1,885
124	Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	9,348	1,221	1,885
	30.—TRADE IN CHEMICAL PRODUCTS	3,828	537	7,419
125	Drugs, dyes, paints, petroleum, explosives, etc.	3,828	537	7,419
	31.—HOTELS, CAFES, RESTAURANTS, ETC.	14,380	970	15,250
126	Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters and ice	4,815	593	7,056
127	Owners and managers of hotels, cook-shops, sarais, etc., (and employees)	9,555	361	8,194
128	Hawkers of drink and food-stuffs	218	19	
	32.—OTHER TRADE IN FOOD-STUFFS	508,732	78,853	619,058
129	Grain and pulse dealers	96,181	14,870	110,122
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices	37,187	5,438	249,476
131	Dealers in dairy products, eggs and poultry	62,369	12,021	65,592
132	Dealers in animals for food	1,049	4	180,891
133	Dealers in fodder for animals	1,512	294	2,720
134	Dealers in other food-stuffs	299,095	44,707	
135	Dealers in tobacco	9,609	1,653	
136	Dealers in opium	558	87	12,794
137	Dealers in ganja	1,126	84	
	33.—TRADE IN CLOTHING AND TOILET ARTICLES	7,561	721	9,814
138	Trade in ready-made clothing and other articles of dress and the toilet (hats, umbrellas, socks, ready-made shoes, perfumes, etc.)	7,561	721	9,814
	34.—TRADE IN FURNITURE	12,195	1,178	17,646
140	Trade in furniture, carpets, curtains and bedding	1,625	244	4,284
141	Hardware, cooking utensils, porcelain, crockery, glassware, bottles, articles for gardening, etc.	10,570	934	13,362
	35.—TRADE IN BUILDING MATERIALS	3,117	579	2,639
141	Trade in building materials (other than bricks, tiles and woody materials)	3,117	579	2,639
	36.—TRADE IN MEANS OF TRANSPORT	5,924	1,741	5,131
142	Dealers in and hirers of mechanical transport motors, cycles, etc.	418	19	155
143	Dealers in and hirers of other carriages, carts, boats, etc.	221	62	659
144	Dealers in and hirers of elephants, camels, horses, cattle, asses, mules, etc.	5,225	1,960	4,317
	37.—TRADE IN FUEL	14,463	3,053	18,045
145	Dealers in firewood, charcoal, coal, cowdung, etc.	14,463	3,053	18,045
	38.—TRADE IN ARTICLES OF LUXURY AND THOSE PERTAINING TO LETTERS AND THE ARTS AND SCIENCES	39,351	3,480	28,891
146	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, etc.	10,099	645	8,640
147	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc.	4,910	596	5,072
148	Publishers, book-sellers, stationers, dealers in music, pictures, musical instruments and curiosities	24,342	2,239	20,179
	39.—TRADE OF OTHER SORTS	155,037	12,795	61,190
149	Dealers in rags, stable refuse, etc.	68	6	688
150	General store-keepers and shop-keepers otherwise unspecified	146,011	12,348	54,379
151	Itinerant traders, pedlars and hawkers (of other than food, etc.)	7,827	175	5,016
152	Other trades (including farmers of pounds, tolls and markets)	1,136	206	1,157
	C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS	393,178	58,823	370,239
	VI.—Public force	59,030	12,323	68,565
	40.—ARMY	2,964	40	4,672
153	Imperial Army	2,964	23	4,296
154	Indian States armies	420	17	876
	41.—NAVY	18	..	14
155	Navy	18	..	14
	42.—AIR FORCE	18	7	..
156	Air Force	15	7	..
	43.—POLICE	54,035	12,278	63,879
157	Police	21,811	690	22,912
158	Village watchmen	34,224	11,588	40,967

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Number of workers employed in each occupational group in 1931 compared with 1921.

Group No.	Occupation.	1931.		1921
		Earners (principal occupation and working dependents).	Earners (subsidiary occupation)	
1	2	3	4	5
	VII.—Public Administration	50,297	2,657	48,297
	44.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	50,297	2,657	48,297
159	Service of the state	38,769	1,078	34,763
160	Service of Indian and foreign states	848	70	1,185
161	Municipal and other local (not village) service	9,548	455	11,829
162	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	1,192	465	620
	VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts	283,851	43,843	253,379
	45.—RELIGION	82,351	13,192	94,171
163	Priests, ministers, etc.	80,189	13,016	90,763
164	Monks, nuns, religious mendicants	809	17	1,254
165	Other religious workers	351	14	654
166	Servants in religious edifices, burial and burning grounds, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers, etc.	905	85	1,114
	46.—LAW	39,835	1,721	24,456
167	Lawyers of all kinds, including <i>kazis</i> , law agents and <i>mukhtars</i>	17,166	82	12,604
168	Lawyers, clerks, petition-writers, etc.	13,969	953	11,762
	47.—MEDICINE	68,369	11,162	57,238
169	Registered medical practitioners including oculists	20,092	4,609	15,000
170	Other persons practising the healing arts without being registered	22,632	2,213	14,172
171	Dentists	1,170	54	1,214
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	14,559	581	14,000
173	Veterinary surgeons	806	104	1,114
	48.—INSTRUCTION	74,323	11,667	44,227
174	Professors and teachers of all kinds	73,354	11,405	41,175
175	Clerks and servants connected with education	969	109	1,052
	49.—LETTERS, ARTS AND SCIENCES (OTHER THAN 44)	27,973	6,641	33,285
176	Public scribes, stenographers, etc.	902	25	900
177	Architects, surveyors, engineers and their employees (not being state servants)	2,271	102	1,114
178	Authors, editors, journalists and photographers	628	73	1,114
179	Artists, sculptors and image-makers	2,189	112	1,114
180	Scientists (astronomers, botanists, etc.)	16	1	1,114
181	Horoscope casters, astrologers, fortune-tellers, wizards, witches and mediums	1,811	124	5,024
182	Musicians (composers and performers other than military), actors, dancers, etc.	15,564	4,915	20,909
183	Managers and employees of places of public entertainments, race courses, societies, clubs, etc.	367	22	265
184	Conjurors, acrobats, rectors, exhibitors of curiosities and wild animals, etc.	981	107	1,149
	D.—MISCELLANEOUS	1,673,525	130,956	1,215,899
	IX.—Persons living on their income	25,261	2,720	13,646
	50.—PERSONS LIVING PRINCIPALLY ON THEIR INCOME	25,261	2,720	13,646
185	Proprietors (other than of agricultural land), fund and scholarships holders and pensioners	25,261	4,720	13,646
	X.—Domestic Service	809,715	71,129	455,246
	51.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	809,715	71,129	455,246
186	Private motor drivers and cleaners	7,544	298	927
187	Other domestic servants	802,171	70,831	454,319
	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	626,933	50,878	480,923
	52.—GENERAL TERMS WHICH DO NOT INDICATE A DEFINITE OCCUPATION	626,933	50,878	480,923
188	Manufacturers, business men and contractors otherwise unspecified	7,011	501	6,810
189	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops	205,525	10,005	164,016
190	Mechanics otherwise unspecified	9,040	60	12,757
191	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	403,944	39,239	277,317
	XII.—Unproductive	211,616	6,229	236,084
	53.—INMATES OF JAILS, ASYLUMS AND ALMS HOUSES	20,863	..	13,692
192	Inmates of jails, asylums and alms houses	20,863	..	13,692
	54.—BEGGARS, VAGRANTS AND PROSTITUTES	190,619	6,202	272,264
193	Beggars and vagrants	186,561	5,760	(?)236,385
194	Procurers and prostitutes	24,058	436	35,929
	55.—OTHER UNCLASSIFIED NON-PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES	134	27	128
195	Other unclassified non-productive industries	134	27	128

(f) Included in 169, 170 and 171.

(g) Including figures of witches and wizards shown in group 181 in 1931.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Distribution for selected groups of 1,000 earners (principal occupation by occupational sub-classes, and ratio of female to male earners (principal occupation) in each sub-class.

Note.—The figures in brackets represent those engaged in the traditional occupation of the caste and are in addition to the figures in the sub-class not within brackets.

(CASTE or other GROUP and religion.	Distribution by sub-classes of 1,000 earners (principal occupation)												
	All sub-classes	I—Hydation of animals and vegetation	II—Extraction of minerals.	III—Industries.	IV—Transport.	V—Trade.	VI—Public Force.	VII—Public Administration.	VIII—Arts and Professions.	IX—Persons living on their income.	X—Domestic Service.	XI—Insufficiently described occupation.	XII—Unproductive.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	1,000 18	15	103	241	108	15	63	118	28	41	243	5	14
ARMENIAN—Christian	1,000 83	9	223	86	150	10	75	129	48	31	136	8	5
BAGDI—Hindu	1,000 135 (697)	3	30	13	13	4	1	2	2	33	13	13	13
BAIDYA—Hindu	1,000 230	10	65	37	50	21	83	130 (188)	20	33	88	10	6
BARBI—Hindu	1,000 261 (546)	4	40	10	44	2	8	30	5	17	24	1	1
DAURI—Hindu	1,000 290 (408)	104	41	11	8	3	1	8	2	67	58	4	4
BRAHMAN—Hindu	1,000 334	5	70	30	63	14	27	90 (166)	21	75	62	13	6
CHAMAR—Hindu	1,000 135	20	340 (306)	57	18	7	13	10	17	42	181	10	6
DHORI—Hindu	1,000 327	5	56 (487)	7	35	3	9	10	37	23	23	1	1
DOM—Hindu	1,000 121	29	53 (206)	10	14	12	3	10	0	69	61	11	11
EUROPEAN—Christian	1,000 47	30	311	23	93	187	56	110	13	80	156	5	5
GOVLA—Hindu	1,000 453 (218)	8	77	73	33	8	3	8	6	60	64	6	6
HARI—Hindu	1,000 491	12	73 (153)	37	23	10	7	57	7	70	36	16	16
INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	1,000 611	54	131 (438)	12	52	12	3	14	12	67	67	10	4
JALITA KAIBARTIA—Hindu	1,000 233 (901)	3	48	9	22	1	1	1	1	1	23	1	1
JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	1,000 294	6	97 (408)	7	87	3	3	27	8	22	17	21	21
KAMAR—Hindu	1,000 203	10	131 (438)	12	52	12	3	14	12	67	67	10	4
KAYASTHA—Hindu	1,000 376	74	13	106	18	3	9	10	16	37	20 (127)	1	1
KHAMBU—All religions—Hindu	1,000 632 (268)	3	31	21	12	1	4	3	7	9	3	6	6
KHAMBU—Hindu	1,000 632 (268)	3	31	21	12	1	4	3	7	9	3	6	6
KUMAR—Hindu	1,000 439 (120)	5	89	5	23	1	40	1	5	40	181	1	1
LEPCHA—All religions—Hindu	1,000 360 (320)	10	16	31	5	2	8	9	5	17	17	5	5
LEPCHA—All religions—Hindu	1,000 217 (399)	230	1	1	1	1	119	1	43	30	2	2	2
LEPCHA—Hindu	1,000 378 (377)	1	63	10	43	12	12	12	3	26	19	3	3
MAHISHYA—Hindu	1,000 195 (588)	10	103 (254)	14	32	1	1	1	4	40	30	10	10
MUGHI—Hindu	1,000 366	7	137 (379)	14	49	2	1	7	6	23	15	10	10
MUMIN (JOLAH)—Muslim	1,000 824	32	32	14	31	3	12	12	6	22	18	1	1
NAMASUDRA—Hindu	1,000 324	61 (454)	8	24	66	10	16	98	14	84	30	80	80
NAPIT—Hindu	1,000 604	6	63	24	66	10	16	98	14	84	30	80	80
SATYAD—Muslim	1,000 604	6	63	24	66	10	16	98	14	84	30	80	80

(CASTE or other GROUP and religion.	Number of female earners (principal occupation) per 100 males in the same occupational sub-class.												
	All sub-classes	I—Hydation of animals and vegetation	II—Extraction of minerals.	III—Industries.	IV—Transport.	V—Trade.	VI—Public Force.	VII—Public Administration.	VIII—Arts and Professions.	IX—Persons living on their income.	X—Domestic Service.	XI—Insufficiently described occupation.	XII—Unproductive.
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	25	45	2	9	10	15	..	19	158	41	53	23	200
ARMENIAN—Christian	21	18	8	13	18	18	..	10	103	30	103	20	232
BAGDI—Hindu	28	16 (30)	76	74	3	182	..	1	6 (5)	61	103	20	232
BAIDYA—Hindu	7	2	3	3	3	3	..	1	6 (5)	10	36	2	118
BARBI—Hindu	7	2	3	3	3	3	..	1	6 (5)	10	36	2	118
DAURI—Hindu	52	38 (42)	89	01	42	..	12	90	..	22	90	89	111
BRAHMAN—Hindu	7	14	2	6	2	2	..	1	22 (4)	11	12	1	107
CHAMAR—Hindu	17	10	62	36 (4)	..	..	..	..	..	33	33	10	139
DHORI—Hindu	16	6	212	10 (25)	..	..	..	..	..	20	33	7	144
DOM—Hindu	33	15	47	46 (52)	10	7	..	4	57	103	64	63	104
EUROPEAN—Christian	16	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
GOVLA—Hindu	14	80 (22)	16	15	15	15	..	7	150	24	14	10	168
HARI—Hindu	32	11	67	54 (54)	71	1	..	18	243	137	54	55	317
INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	27	2	20	20	14	..	..	7	61	27	11	13	133
JALITA KAIBARTIA—Hindu	19	13 (15)	135	44	6	41	..	..	38	55	122	11	215
JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	13	5	7	10 (16)	3	8	..	1	3	14	34	5	92
KAMAR—Hindu	11	10	15	10 (2)	1	15	..	..	..	35	67	10	167
KAYASTHA—Hindu	8	9	3	9	3	9	..	..	..	30	3	2 (3)	139
KHAMBU—All religions	61	60 (40)	18	2	24	6	..	..	..	2	3	4	16
KHAMBU—Hindu	61	60 (40)	18	2	24	6	..	..	..	2	3	4	16
KUMAR—Hindu	108	264 (200)	..	..	..	200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
LEPCHA—All religions—Hindu	17	8	40	10 (21)	..	12	..	8	8	43	58	6	140
LEPCHA—Hindu	32	68 (22)	..	7	4	12	..	..	..	..	18	..	..
MAHISHYA—Hindu	36	25 (10)	..	27	2	28	..	..	..	..	150	..	155
MUGHI—Hindu	5	9 (5)	..	31	4	30	..	..	..	..	34	5	232
MUMIN (JOLAH)—Muslim	13	6	37	34 (7)	6	80	..	9	140	65	51	86	149
NAMASUDRA—Hindu	9	5	8	17 (9)	8	1	3	4	105	21	10	10	80
NAPIT—Hindu	7	4	11	12 (6)	4	18	..	1	2	38	51	7	158
SATYAD—Muslim	8	7	11	12 (6)	4	18	..	1	2	38	51	7	158
SATYAD—Muslim	8	7	11	12 (6)	4	18	..	1	2	38	51	7	158

*Under the sub-class the occupation of public force is traditional to the Baris, but those following is not so separately on record and are included in the numbers shown under sub-class I which includes the other traditional occupations of the caste viz. agriculture and earthwork.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Number of persons employed on the 26th February 1931 on Railways and in the Irrigation, Telegraph and Postal Departments in Bengal.

Class of employee	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indians	Class of employee	Post office		Telegraph Department	
				Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indians	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indians.
A.—RAILWAYS—			C.—POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT—				
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED ..	4,080	183,880	TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED ..	42	26,987	317	3,397
Officers ..	355	199	(1) TELEGRAPHISTS ..	42	17,973	317	3,397
Subordinates on scales of pay rising to Rs 250 per month or over ..	1,354	802	Supervising officers (including probationary Superintendents and Inspectors of post offices and Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Telegraphs and all officers of higher rank) ..	5	141	58	45
Subordinates on scales of pay rising from Rs 80 to Rs 240 per month ..	2,281	58,549	Postmasters, including Deputy Assistant and Sub and Branch Postmasters ..	4	1,222	..	..
Subordinates on scales of pay under Rs 80 per month ..	..	04,310	Signalling establishment including warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, military telegraphists and other employees ..	..	..	110	842
B.—IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT—			Miscellaneous agents, school masters, station masters, etc.— ..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED ..	45	4,674	Clerks of all kinds ..	21	3,407	20	424
PERSONS DIRECTLY EMPLOYED ..	18	2,238	Postmen ..	..	5,962	..	..
Officers ..	16	97	Skilled labourers establishment including foremen, instrument makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, sub-inspectors, linemen, line riders and other employees ..	..	..	14	1,506
Upper subordinates ..	..	2	Unskilled labourers establishment including line coolies, cable guards, battery men, telegraph messengers, peons and other employees ..	2	1,700	..	1,003
Lower subordinates ..	..	190	Road establishment consisting of overmen, runners, clerks, and booking agents, boatmen, ayahs, coachmen, barbers, and others ..	..	2,605	..	17
Clerks ..	..	846	(2) RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE ..	1	1,188	..	..
Peons and other servants ..	..	1,707	Supervising officers (including Superintendents and Inspectors of sorting) ..	..	1	12	..
Cookhs ..	..	16	Clerks of all kinds ..	..	..	21	..
PERSONS INDIRECTLY EMPLOYED ..			Sorters ..	..	..	602	..
Contractors ..	20	408	Mail guards, mail agents, van peons, porters, etc. ..	..	..	465	..
Contractors' regular employees ..	..	551	(3) COMBINED OFFICERS ..	1	926	..	..
Cookhs ..	..	867	Signallers ..	..	1	383	..
			Messengers and other servants ..	..	..	545	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Educated unemployed.

A.—Aged 20-39, by locality, class, age and period of unemployment.

Serial.	Locality.	District, State or City.	Age and period of unemployment										Age and period of unemployment.										Serial.
			All ages (20-39) and unemployed for any period.	Aged 20-24 and unemployed for—		Aged 25-29 and unemployed for—		Aged 30-34 and unemployed for—		Aged 35-39 and unemployed for—		All ages (20-39) and unemployed for any period.	Aged 20-24 and unemployed for—		Aged 25-29 and unemployed for—		Aged 30-34 and unemployed for—		Aged 35-39 and unemployed for—				
				Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.		Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.					
1	All classes		3,521	273	1,340	130	1,163	68	434	23	152	882	52	267	39	367	10	103	5	39	1		
2	Brahmins		800	53	328	26	206	23	86	7	41	142	9	44	1	53	5	21	2	7	2		
3	Buddhs		64	7	30	3	17	2	4	1	1	32	1	10	2	6	3	2	2	7	3		
4	Kaishias		605	41	242	23	181	19	66	3	16	109	3	51	10	61	21	11	4	6	6		
5	Deceased Hindus		197	7	71	2	67	8	28	3	23	73	3	23	3	29	3	11	1	0	0		
6	Other Hindus		729	35	279	22	227	15	80	9	38	123	16	37	9	53	2	14	4	6	7		
7	Muslims		1,079	72	379	43	389	11	149	7	7	351	27	99	14	165	2	33	1	10	7		
8	Anglo-Indians		24	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
9	All other classes		10	2	7	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
10	All classes	BENGAL WITH DOON AND NEPAL	3,510	273	1,327	120	1,100	66	431	23	151	553	51	262	30	367	7	76	4	22	10		
11	Brahmins		798	53	320	26	206	23	80	7	41	55	6	30	3	15	1	4	1	5	11		
12	Buddhs		64	7	30	3	17	2	4	1	1	11	1	10	2	6	3	2	2	7	3		
13	Kaishias		604	43	244	23	190	9	66	5	16	109	3	51	10	61	21	11	4	6	6		
14	Deceased Hindus		197	7	71	2	67	8	28	3	23	73	3	23	3	29	3	11	1	0	0		
15	Other Hindus		729	35	279	22	227	15	80	9	38	123	16	37	9	53	2	14	4	6	7		
16	Muslims		1,072	72	379	43	389	11	147	7	7	351	27	97	14	165	2	33	1	10	7		
17	Anglo-Indians		24	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
18	All other classes		10	2	7	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
19	All classes	BENGAL WITH DOON AND NEPAL	671	50	304	15	191	16	63	5	27	268	38	120	11	58	5	21	1	13	19		
20	Brahmins		269	29	127	7	64	8	21	3	10	65	8	24	5	17	5	3	1	8	20		
21	Buddhs		11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
22	Kaishias		68	6	44	1	26	2	10	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
23	Deceased Hindus		15	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
24	Other Hindus		230	14	97	6	76	4	20	1	1	62	5	29	2	12	1	8	1	2	24		
25	Muslims		133	14	78	8	43	4	32	0	0	10	1	1	2	8	1	1	1	1	1		
26	Anglo-Indians		41	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
27	All other classes		10	2	7	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
28	All classes	BURDWAN DIVISION.	962	110	394	40	233	28	106	5	46	42	5	17	16	1	2	1	1	28	1		
29	Brahmins		242	31	98	12	67	0	28	1	10	23	6	9	0	1	1	1	1	1	19		
30	Buddhs		12	1	0	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
31	Kaishias		104	23	65	7	43	3	10	1	11	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
32	Deceased Hindus		47	2	19	1	13	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
33	Other Hindus		252	25	96	11	71	5	33	1	12	6	3	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1		
34	Muslims		133	14	78	8	43	4	32	0	0	10	1	1	2	8	1	1	1	1	1		
35	Anglo-Indians		41	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
36	All other classes		10	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
37	All classes	PRESIDENCY DIVISION.	442	30	170	5	126	5	53	4	17	51	6	27	1	13	1	1	1	2	27		
38	Brahmins		74	8	37	2	17	1	17	1	8	13	1	7	2	2	1	1	1	2	28		
39	Buddhs		5	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
40	Kaishias		51	2	19	1	17	1	1	1	1	6	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1		
41	Deceased Hindus		11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
42	Other Hindus		205	10	34	2	25	2	17	1	0	13	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	1		
43	Muslims		96	7	51	2	43	1	30	3	7	14	1	0	1	5	1	1	1	1	1		
44	Anglo-Indians		20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
45	All other classes		10	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		

B.—Aged 20-39, by degree, age and period of unemployment.

Degree or other qualifications	Age and period of unemployment.							
	All ages (20-39) and unemployed for any period.		Aged 20-24 and unemployed for—		Aged 25-29 and unemployed for—		Aged 30-34 and unemployed for—	
	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.	More than one year.	Less than one year.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
All qualifications	3,521	1,340	273	1,103	130	434	68	152
British degrees	10	..	..	4	1	4	4	1
Continental degrees	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
American degrees	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other foreign degrees	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Indian degrees	692	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical	102	7	1	32	11	31	9	11
Legal	94	1	1	20	2	2	16	17
Agricultural	19	9	..	2	..	..	..	..
Commerce	51	14	..	1	..	..	..	..
M.A.	49	..	..	13	2	22	..	9
M. Sc.	61	1	1	4	1	7	1	..
B. A.	243	47	20	41	14	6	15	4
B. Sc.	96	27	6	48	14	1	..	1
B. Eng. or L. C. E.	17	2	1	12	1	..	..	..
B. T. or L. T.	30	6	1	16	1	2	..	..
Matriculation or school leaving certificate	2,707	1,220	241	841	02	277	29	85

C.—Miscellaneous details.

Division, District or State.	Total number of educated unemployed.						Persons with no higher qualification than matriculation or school leaving certificate, not unemployed but returned as having failed to get employment for which they consider themselves educationally qualified.	
	Aged.		All ages whose fathers were—					
	Less than 20 years.	40 years and over.	Soldiers.	Cultivators.	Artisans.	Menials or servants.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
BENGAL	..	433	132	..	821	79	318	287
BRITISH TERRITORY	..	433	132	..	821	79	318	287
Bombay Division	..	61	118	..	162	..	..	85
Bombay District	..	139	44	..	..	..	..	87
Bombay District	..	38	8	..	..	..	..	181
Bombay District	..	61	17	..	..	..	..	228
Bombay District	..	82	17	..	199	8	113	288

APPENDIX I.

Notes on the processes of decaying industries.

1. **Introduction.**—The Census Commissioner desired during the census operations to place on record notes on the processes of those industries which have decayed or are threatened with extinction owing to the competition of mass production. In Bengal a comprehensive investigation into "cottage industries" has been carried out by the department of industries and the results published in a *Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in Bengal* (1929). This contains much of the information which it was desired to put on record, and although it is inevitable that there should be some overlapping the following notes are intended merely to supplement this production by elaborating the description of some processes and adding such details of a "cultural" interest as came to light. The method adopted was to circulate a list of industries prepared in consultation with the Census Commissioner and the Director of Industries, Bengal, with a request for such information as could be got along definite lines. The enquiries were made through the district officers and without any agency equipped to make accurate technical descriptions of the processes described. It was received with particular enthusiasm in Nadia and acknowledgments are due to Messrs. T. C. Ray, the district officer, B. C. Ray (Rai Saheb), subdivisional officer, Ranaghat, and B. G. Kanjilal, H. Rahman, A. Sen and S. N. De, circle officers, for unusually full and detailed reports. Mention of these names, however, does not imply any deficiency in other districts, but complete indebtedness could not be acknowledged without reciting the name of almost every district census officer and of a number of other officers who made interesting reports generally accompanied by sketches or photographs and in one case even by water colour illustrations. For the scientific identification of vernacular terms acknowledgments are due to the Director of the Geological Survey of India, the Curator of the Industrial Section, Indian Museum, and the Director of Industries, Bengal.

2. **Blacksmithy.**—Blacksmiths are found practically in every district of Bengal and manufacture primitive implements required for cultivation as well as tyres for bullock carts. Three types of bellows are reported. In Murshidabad and Faridpur blacksmiths are reported to use the type of bellows more commonly associated with gold and silversmith workers. It consists of a bag of leather tapering at one end and open at the other. At the tapering end a tube is inserted and there is sown on each side of the open end a wooden or bamboo strip. These strips serve for hand hold as well as ensuring that the mouth of the bellows is securely closed. The blacksmith holds the strips in his hands and drawing them apart extends the bag to its utmost. It is thus filled with air which he encloses by bringing the strips of wood together when a downward pressure drives the air out of the tube at the tapering end. The most common form of bellows, however, is one framed of cow, goat or buffalo hide softened with curds and oil. This is placed around two or three triangular slabs of wood in such a way that a chamber is left between each two slabs when the bellows are expanded. The bottom slab of the bellows and the middle one also, if there are three, are fitted with valves opening inwards and the narrow end is attached to a tube leading on to the furnace. The bellows are supported in such a way that a rope attached to the lower slab passes overhead and into the hand of the blacksmith and by pulling on it he raises the lower slab of the bellows and drives the air through the nozzle. When pressure is released the bellows open through their own weight, the valves admit air into the chamber and the process can be repeated. The third type consists of two metal cylinders. The lower is open at the top and into it is fitted a pipe which leads out into the furnace. The upper is closed at the top and has a handle and a valve opening inwards. Water is put into the lower cylinder up to below the level of the pipe. The upper cylinder, which is smaller, is then moved up and down within the lower. As it descends the air space is lessened and the air, prevented by the water from escaping, is conducted through the pipe and thus to the fire: as the cylinder rises air flows in to replace it through the valve.

Large locks of a simple type and having only one lever are commonly made and are used by villagers. An improved type is made in the Khardah police-station of the 24-Parganas and its mechanism is rigidly kept secret by the inventor who himself inserts the five or six levers forming the locks into the shell or frame made by local blacksmiths.

3. **Blanket making.**—Blanket making is reported as an industry mainly in Western Bengal where it is carried out by the Gareri caste. The herds are shorn generally twice a year in *Jaisitha* or *Asarh* and in *Paus*, *Magh* or *Falgun*. In some cases a third shearing also takes place in the month of *Kartik*. Ordinary shears are used such as are familiar in European countries and the fleece obtained in *Falgun* after the dry weather is supposed to be the best in quality. It is teased or carded with a bow, the vibration of the string in which, breaks up the knots and loosens it. In the same way as cotton described later it is spun from a simple distaff with the familiar *charka* type of spinning wheel, wound into hanks and in some cases sized with flour or powdered rice and water. The warp is set up along pegs driven into the ground in such a way that the whole length of the warp can be set up in a very much restricted space and the blankets are woven on a very primitive type of tension handloom. The essential part of this consists of a cloth or breast-beam, *nidhani* (निधानी) or *okhar* (उखर),

and a warp-beam, *kaidhari* (কাঁঠারী). The breast-beam is supported on posts near the weaver in such a way that it can be wound round and take up the cloth as it is woven. The warp stretched between two slabs of wood is lashed to it at one end whilst the other end is carried over and tied to the warp-beam. The warp-beam is lashed to a bow shaped or triangular frame, *ohari* (ওহারী), which is made fast to a post by a rope which is led back to the seat of the weaver and can be regulated in length by him. The odd threads are caught up in leases or loops of string attached to a bar or heddle rod, *daynat* (দ্যনট), so that when the heddle rod is raised only the odd threads of the warp are lifted leaving the even threads below and forming a space through which the shuttle can pass. Beyond the heddle rod a stick known as the shed stick, *sansat* (সাঁসত), is placed over the odd threads so that when the heddle rod is not elevated the weight of the shed stick also creates a space between the odd and even threads. The woof wound on a bobbin is passed alternately under and over the odd threads, which are alternately raised by the heddle rod operated by hand and depressed by the shed stick, the shed or opening between the threads being cleared by a thin slit of wood or sword, *beo* (বো), which is also used to press home each pick or length of woof drawn from side to side of the warp. As the cloth is woven the cloth beam is wound round so that an unwoven portion of the warp is always within hand of the weaver. The warp is generally set up about 18 inches in width and is the full length of the blanket which it is required to make and which is composed of three or more strips sown together. The only other portion of this simple loom appears to be a stick, *chapani* (চাপানী), used to vary the alternations of odd and even threads when it is desired to introduce some pattern or to make a fringe.

4. **Boat building.**—Bengal is remarkable for the number and variety of its boats. Wherever there is water the cultivators have small dug-outs often made of palmyra palm trunks hollowed out and the Garos are particularly expert in this work, some of the *kundas*, as the vessels are called, having a capacity of as much as a thousand maunds. Apart from dug-outs of this kind almost every variety of wood is used in the construction of larger boats. *Teak* (*tectona grandis*, Lin), *babul* (*acacia arabica*, Willd.), *sal* (*shorea robusta*, Gaertn.), *uri-am* (*magnifera longipes*), *kadam* (*anthocephalus Cadamba*, Béch and Hook), *jam* (*eugenia, jambolana*, Lam), *gab* (*Diospyros embryopteris*, Pers), *karai*, *jarul* (*lagostroemia flosreginae*, Retz.) and *sinduri* (*hemitiera littoralis*) are amongst the woods employed. In Faridpur and probably elsewhere the building of the boat is not undertaken until the *panjika* or almanac has been consulted for an auspicious day. The keel, *daura*, is laid down and the process of manufacture follows what must be the universal method throughout the world. Ribs are built up from the keel, the gunwale is fixed at the appropriate height by means of stringers, *galan*, and the sides of the boat are built up about the ribs until the level of the gunwale is reached. The curvature is given to the planks by heating them in water and affixing them to the framework. The planks are joined together either by double pointed nails or in some cases by ties. Cotton and jute are used to caulk in spaces and the whole is generally treated with coal-tar and sometimes painted with the juice of the *gab* tree. Chittagong was once famous for its ship-building and possesses a characteristic type of sea-going boats, which probably owed its construction to the Portuguese pirates, as well as the *sampan*, which is apparently of Chinese origin. But it is reported that steam and motor vessels are rendering the medium size boats unpopular.

5. **Brass and bell-metal industry.**—Indigenous brass and bell-metal industries have been seriously affected by the importation of cheap enamel, aluminium and porcelain vessels. Three alloys appear to be known to the workers: brass, made of copper and zinc in the proportions of 5 : 4 or 5 : 3, bell-metal made of copper and tin mixed in the proportions of about 7 : 2 and an alloy known in the vernacular as *bharan* composed of white metal, copper, zinc and lead. The bell-metal is said to be in process of replacement by German silver alloyed with zinc. The metal workers employ both the moulding and the hammering process to make their goods. They buy the constituents of the alloy or else obtain old and damaged utensils and scrap metal and melt them down in a furnace. The furnace consists of an oven fed with wood, coal, charcoal or coke into which a number of crucibles, locally known as *muchi* (মুচি) are placed. These crucibles are made of earth and in the Nadia district are over a foot in diameter and are reported to contain as much as one maund. After firing when the metal has melted and amalgamated the alloy is poured into receptacles and cooled with salt water. It is then taken out, heated and beaten into expanded sheets upon anvils by gangs of men generally working four or five together. The expanded sheets are then cut to suitable sizes and are again beaten out into the form of whatever vessel is required. For moulded vessels moulds are prepared of clay to which sand is added and also jute fibre or paddy chaff in order to give them strength. The moulds are made frequently from a model which is smeared with oil before the clay is attached, so that, when the clay is taken off in two or more parts, the inside is smooth whilst the outer side is rough. Impressions in clay are taken in this manner both of the inside and outside of the vessel and they are carefully joined together so that the inner and the outer portions fit together but a space is left between them. This is retained by means of wax in some districts or by carefully adjusting them on a base of clay in other places. The melted amalgam is then poured in and the moulds are left until they are dry. In some cases the appropriate amount of metal, either scrap or the constituent elements required, is placed into a small crucible, also known as a *muchi*, which is actually affixed below the prepared mould. The whole is then placed in a furnace and when the metal in the crucible has melted it is taken out of the

furnace and the crucible is inverted so that its contents flow out into the mould. Both moulded and beaten articles are finished with files or chisels. The article is affixed to a primitive lathe or *kond* (কন্ড) by a mixture of resin, mustard oil and powdered brick. The lathe consists of a circular billet of wood from which at one end an iron pin is supported by a peg in which it pivots whilst the other end rests on and projects beyond a crutch of wood permitting it to turn round. The finished article is glued to the projecting end and the billet is made to revolve by means of a string wrapped round the centre and pulled alternately, the finishing being done by chisels and files.

6. **Cart wheels.**—A peculiarity of the cart wheels made in parts of the province is that the spokes pass right through the boss of the wheel from circumference to circumference. A heavier and broader wheel is thus necessary.

7. **Conch shell industry.**—The manufacture of conch shell bangles, etc., is of very great antiquity and has been very fully described in more than one publication, for instance in *The Sacred Chank of India*, by J. Hornell (Madras Fisheries Bureau, bulletin 7), and in *The Conch Shell Industry in Bengal* by S. C. Mitter (Bengal Industries Department, bulletin 24). The Sankharis who deal in these articles are particularly notable in the district of Dacca. The implements employed as well as the method of employment are fully described in other publications and it is not proposed to repeat them here. The workers in addition to the *riswa-karma puja* on the last day of *Bhadra* also observe a holiday on the 17th *Bhadra* for the *satara kamai* and on the first *Ashwin* for the worship of *Agastha Muni*. From the central part of the shell buttons are made. The dust which results from sawing the shells into bangles and polishing them is used by *kavirajes* for medicinal purposes. It is first reduced to ashes in closed receptacles and is then administered either alone or in combination with other ingredients as a specific against liver complaints and colic.

8. **Cotton spinning and weaving.**—Cotton weaving is perhaps the most universal home industry. Cotton from Bengal is known in Lancashire and that from Tippera is a recognised kind. Dacca, Nadia and parts of Mymensingh are still famous for their cotton cloths. Amongst the varieties made may be mentioned the expensive *bhili* and *jamdani* cloths of Dacca, woven from mill-made or imported yarn, and the embroidered *bhili* cloth of the same district known as *kushida* and exported to Afghanistan, Turkey and Persia for turbans. A type of cotton known locally as *binni-tula* (বিনিতুলা) and in Lancashire as "foxy red Comilla or Tippera" resembles the "red Peruvian" cotton sometimes met with in Liverpool but is of shorter staple. The cotton is prized for its roughness and has a natural reddish colour from which it probably gets its vernacular name. Cloth made from it is valued because of the colour which resembles the ochre coloured garments of religious devotees and does not fade or show dirt. The whole process of making the finished cloth from the raw cotton is described with great clarity in the following extract communicated by Rai Sahab B. C. Ray:—

The apparatus used in India for making thread (তুলা) consists of the spinning wheel (চাকা) and *takli* (তাকলি). After the cotton is gathered from the capsules it is carded. The apparatus used for this purpose is like a bow and is known as a *dhun* (ধুন). The string of the bow is placed upon the cotton and made to vibrate by the strokes of a wooden hammer. The vibrations of the elastic cord disentangle the fibres (ফাইব্র) cleanse them from dirty extraneous matter such as the numerous black seeds separate the coarse parts and make the cotton fine and soft for spinning. Then the fibres are rolled on a stick and formed into a lap like cylinder, half a cubit long and about half an inch in diameter. The extremity of the lap (লাপ) is fastened to the spindle (স্পিন্ডল) of the spinning wheel, the wheel is turned and the lap is gently and carefully drawn out with the finger. The fibres are then twisted into a thread and when the thread is about 2 cubits long it is rolled on the spindle. The lap is then again gently drawn out and the wheel is turned as before. In this way when a piece of thread about 300 yards long is prepared it is taken out of the wheel and rolled on a whirling reel called *charki* (চারকি). The quantity of thread thus rolled is called a skein or *fet* (ফেট). Twenty such *fets* make one bigger coil called a *mora* (মোরা).

The *takli* is worked by fastening the extremity of the lap to the rot of the turning plate, the lap being drawn up and held upward with one hand while with the other, the plot is given a horizontal rotating motion by a twist.

The threads thus prepared are inter-woven into a fabric by a machine called the loom (লুই), the operation being performed in this country at a small cost in the following manner. At first in erecting the loom a rectangular space 5 cubits in length and 3 cubits wide is selected. At the four corners of this space 4 bamboo posts are pitched each about 3 cubits in height. On each side the two posts, 3 cubits apart, are joined by cross-pieces of wood; and this frame supports the working parts which are as follows:—

- (1) The yarn-beam (যার্ন-বিম) diameter 3", upon which the warp threads (ওয়ার্প তুলা) are wound is suspended from the back posts, 5 feet apart, by loops of cord on which it can revolve.
- (2) The cloth beam (ক্লোথ-বিম) diameter 3", upon which the cloth is wound as the weaving proceeds, rests in the front on two small posts each only half a cubit in height, and having V-shaped notches cut on their tops to hold the beam. These are also pitched close to the front bamboo posts.
- (3) At the centre of the rectangular space on which the frame is erected is dug a small trench, 2 cubits long, 1 cubit broad and 1 cubit deep. The weaver sits in front of the loom and placing his legs within this pit alternately raises one and lowers the other of the two thin bamboo pieces, 1½ cubits each, which compose the treadle (ট্রেডেল) for working the heddles. The simple

mechanism of the trellises is as follows. A horizontal iron rod is fixed to two pegs 4" high and 6" apart at the nearest side of the bottom of the pit and between the pegs this rod passes through holes at one end of the bamboos acting like a hinge, about which the bamboos can turn. The other ends of the bamboos are joined by stings to the heddles.

- The front beam has 4 holes on one side and its rotation can be stopped by wedging into one of these holes a plug about 9" long which is kept tied by a string to a peg on the ground. The beam can be turned when this plug is pulled out. The motion of the yarn-beam is also checked by a forked rod, one of the prongs of the rod being plugged into a similar hole at the end of the beam.
- (4) The length of the warp is determined by the length and number of the cloths, but ordinarily it is about 82 to 83 cubits long so as to yield 8 pieces of cloth each 10 cubits long. The width of each cloth 10 cubits long is about 46 inches. For this width, about 1,500 to 1,600 pairs of threads are required and the warp therefore consists of 1,500 to 1,600 pairs of threads each about 82 cubits long. In preparing this warp, bamboo splinters or thin iron rods each 3 cubits high are posted in pairs about 5 cubits apart so as to make a length of 82 cubits. Two skeins or *fatras* or yarn on two *charakis* are then taken, one in each hand, by a man who walks up and down the entire length. Each of the *charakis* is fitted with a *holpi* (হলপি) or double fork, one of which is fixed to the *charak*'s axle and the other has a glass ring fitted to it. The end of the thread passes through this ring and as the man walks along, the thread exerts a pull on the *charak* which revolves and uncoils the thread. The man places the pairs of threads alternately on each side of the pairs of posts so that near the posts the warp looks like a net-work. When the desired number of pairs of threads, i.e., 15 to 16 hundred, is stretched a certain number of coloured threads are stretched out for the borders of the cloth, and after the entire length of the warp is thus ready each pair of threads is passed through the reeds (সাঁক) in the lay (বঁধ).
- (5) The lay or batten is about 3 to 3½ cubits in length and in it the reed or slay is fitted. The reed consists of a series of parallel slips of split bamboo or flattened iron wires stretched and fitted within the batten. They are 16 to 17 hundred in number and through the openings pass the pairs of threads.

After the pairs of threads are passed through the inter-spaces of the reed the bamboo splinters are drawn out and replaced by leash-rods called *joa* (জো). Then the whole warp is wound upon the yarn-beam, the yarn-beam is placed in position in the frame and the end of the warp passing through the reed is drawn and tied tightly to the cloth-beam. Then begins the operation of passing the pairs of threads in the warp through the heddles.

- (6) The heddles are known by the name of *boa* (বো). The function of the heddles is to form the shed or passage for the shuttle. They are made of strong twisted threads and consist of two sets of parallel loops (কঁক), each set being in pairs, one above another. The warp threads passing through the reed are separated systematically into two series by them, one of the pair of threads through an interstice of the reed being held within a pair of loops of one of these sets and the other within a similar pair of the other set. Each set of loops is kept vertically stretched by two horizontal bars, one at the bottom and the other at the top between which the pair of loops forms an eye for the reception of the thread within each of them. The two bottom bars are tied to the two trellis rods, each to each, and the two top bars are tied at several places by strings to small pieces of stick, each about 4 inches long, the centres of which are suspended by strings from a piece of bamboo on the top of the frame. Thus when the loacle is worked, the two heddles move vertically in opposite directions, the upper small sticks from which they are suspended having a reciprocating motion like see-saws. These sticks are therefore called *nachnis* (নাক্‌নি, viz., "dancers"). This vertically opposite movement of the heddles creates an opening or shed between the separated ranks of the warp-threads through which the shuttle is shot by hand. After each flight of the shuttle when the weft (বঁধের) is passed through, a swinging batten is drawn and pressed forward and serves to compact the fabric by beating up the weft.
- (7) The shuttle is known as *maku* (মাকু) and is an implement of iron of the shape of a cigar and hollow within and having pointed ends. Through its centre runs an iron wire which holds the bobbin of thread and which can be taken out and replaced through a slit at the side of the shuttle. The bobbin, *chhatta nali* (ছট্টা নালি), is a thin hollow reed, about 2" long, on which the weft is wound and through which passes an iron wire. The shuttle has eyes through one of which the end of the yarn is led in and passed out through the other. As the shuttle runs through the web, the bobbin revolves and unwinds the weft.

As the cloth is woven, it is wound on the cloth-beam and in order to keep its width always fully stretched a bow with pins at each end, called the "temple" (তাম্বল), is used.

Figured borders of various kinds are made with the help of a jacquards and dobbies. But in a greater number of looms the patterns on the borders are made by the movement of rods over which the border threads pass and which are supported by strings carrying weights over the frame. These rods called *bangis* (বাঙ্গি) are moved by the hand in different order according to the pattern.

Fly shuttle looms have also been introduced and their number is increasing every year. These looms are exactly the same as the hand looms except the batten and the shuttle. The batten is thicker and has recesses at the two ends for the shuttle. The shuttle is a sort of tiny wooden car, tapering at each end, and hollowed out in the middle for holding the bobbin, in the same manner as in the ordinary shuttle. It is driven across by a smart blow imparted by a piece of wood called the picker or driver, *mera* (মেরা). There are two such pieces of wood one at each end of the batten and the two are connected by a cord passing over the frame. At the centre of this cord a handle is attached which the weaver holds in his right hand and by pulling each half of the cord with a sudden jerk drives the picker which pushes the shuttle alternately from one end to the other.

9. **Dye.**—The use of indigenous vegetable dyes is practically extinct in Bengal. In Faridpur a yellow dye was at one time obtained from the flower of the *kusum* tree (*schleicheria trijuga*, Willd.), the petals of which were dried and boiled and the solution used for colouring yarn. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts blue dye is still obtained from the indigo plant and a red dye is obtained from the roots of the tree known as *rangach* (*morinda angustifolia*, Roxb.).

The roots are first cut into small pieces and smashed into a pulp. Water into which ashes of tamarind wood have been added and carefully strained away is then added to the pulp and the yarn soaked in it for a night. It is placed three or four times into the solution and before the last dipping is smeared with vegetable oil. In the Chittagong district a chocolate colour is obtained from the bark of a tree which is cut into chips, left in cold water in a cauldron for four or five days and then boiled for at least a day. A quantity of stick lac separately boiled in water is mixed with the decoction of bark. Lime juice and lime are also added and the yarn (generally of silk) is steeped for several hours in the resulting mixture and then dried. The tree used is becoming rare owing to its indiscriminate use as a dye and it has been impossible to identify it, the only name known for it coming through a Bengali transliteration of the Burmese name which is given as *tinghat*. In Chittagong alum and lemon juice are used to give brilliance to the imported synthetic dyes in which silk yarn is coloured after being boiled with soap, washed in cold water, dried and steeped for 3 to 4 days in cold water. The black colour of hooka shells is in some cases said to be natural; in others it is obtained by burying the shells underground for some days. In some parts it is applied by burning the outer scrapings and applying the ashes or by mustard oil or by a concoction of fried rice powder added to juice extracted from fruit of the *haritaki* tree (*terminalia chebula*, Retz.) dipped in water with a piece of iron and added to *harakash* (sulphate of iron) and coconut oil.

10 **Gurh and sugar.**—*Gurh* is made from the juice of the date-palm (*phœnix sylvestris*, Roxb.) as well as from the sugarcane. The juice is boiled in shallow pots until it thickens: it is clarified by addition of soda and of lime and is sometimes cleaned and whitened by being rubbed over as it hardens with the top of a wooden "T" made of two sticks joined together. It is sometimes poured out flat as it begins to harden and cut into *patalis* or cakes. The *gurh* from date-palms and sugarcane is known *khejuri gurh* and *kushari gurh*.

Hazari gurh is made in the Manikganj subdivision of Dacca. It is obtained from the date-palm, the juice of which is obtained overnight in pots with a covering of lime to prevent fermentation. It is then boiled and clarified with milk and with soda, bone-dust or vegetable ashes (e.g., of the water-hyacinth) and formed into balls which are white in colour and much esteemed.

The green fruit or fruit stalks of the palmyra palm (*borassus flabellifer*, Linn.) is tapped in the months of May and June and the juice is boiled to the consistency of jelly. From this sugarcandy (*tal-mieri*) and *gurh* (*talpatali*) are made. To make sugarcandy the jelly is put into a pot and threads are allowed to hang into it from bamboo splits: as it cools crystals form like barley sugar which are prescribed by *kabiraj*es for coughs. To make *gurh* cakes the jelly is flipped with a wooden ladle flattened at one end and known as *tadu*. This process gives it a consistency like dough and it is then poured into a dish and cut into shape as it cools.

Sugar is made from the *gurh* of both sugarcane and date-palm. The *gurh* is broken into lumps and placed on a sieve through which the liquid (*chita-gurh*) passes away leaving the crystalline portion. Layers of a weed known as *pata-saola* (*vallisneria spiralis*) are placed on top of the whole and cause the crystals to bleach: as they bleach they are scraped off and dried in the sun and the layers of weed replaced, or they are left for about 10 days for the process to complete itself.

11. **Articles of horn.**—The manufacture of horn combs is reported from Midnapore district. Buffalo horns are sawn into blocks, boiled in water and flattened out. They are shaped by a fine chisel and the teeth are cut by saws. Combs as well as buttons and toys of horn are also made in parts of Dacca district which imports horn from Assam, Borisal, Khulna and other places.

12. **Jute weaving.**—Jute weaving was a hereditary occupation of the Kapali caste but the cloth (*chat*) and bags made by them cannot compete with the hessian and gunny bags made by the mills. The loom used was almost identical with that described for blanket weaving. Rugs or *daris* are made on a similar loom either of jute or cotton in Rangpur and from the same district loosely woven mats known as *fatias* are exported to Bombay and other provinces for packing.

13. **Khar.**—Bark of the plantain tree (*musa sapientum*), dried and burnt to ashes (*khar*), is boiled with water in earthen vessels and the decoction used as a detergent and cleansing agent.

14. **Lac toys.**—There was at one time the manufacture of lac toys in the Birbhum district, but it is said to have died out though some of the old craftsmen still exist and their handicraft is being encouraged at Bolpur.

15. **Lime.**—The preparation of lime from ghooting, i.e., *kankar* or calcareous nodules chiefly composed of calcium carbonate, has been practically supplanted by Sylhet and other kinds of rock lime, and the Baitis whose caste occupation it was are giving it up. It is said to have had the advantage of preventing saline action in buildings where it was used. Lime from shells is still prepared however and is used for consumption with betel and *pan* leaves. The indigenous method is to burn the ghooting or shells in a mud or masonry kiln in which are placed alternate layers of coke and shells, etc. The industry is still carried on in parts of Chittagong district by a class of Muslims.

16. Mats, baskets, wickerwork.—Mats are woven of rushes, reeds, strips of bark, etc. From a rush (*Cyperus ligetum*) they are interwoven with a warp formed of threads of jute. Between two pieces of bamboo horizontally pegged to vertical posts at the required distance the threads of jute are passed through a third stick or reed pierced with holes. The rushes are interwoven with the threads and the central stick sliding up and down the warp of jute-string is used to beat up the web. A similar process is used in the manufacture of mats from a grass known as *malha*, *nola* or *betti* which grows in *bil* areas in Khulna but has not been scientifically identified. The *juncellus mundatus* is also used for mat making. It is known in the vernacular as *patira* and grows wild near the edge of *khals* and in low lands in places like Bakarganj. The reeds are split and the pith carefully removed; the outer fibre is boiled to make it pliant and partly dried in the sun. Strips of it are then woven into mats, which are moistened with a wet cloth and folded without cracking. In Midnapore mats known as *machhlandas* are made similarly from reeds which are steeped in water for 24 hours, stripped, dried in the sun, dyed red and split to the required thinness. These reeds are probably the same as the rush mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph. *Kushashans* are produced similarly from *eragrostis cynosuroides*, Beauv., which is a grass known as *kusha* growing on high land and cut in *Bhadra* and *Asvin*. The grass is bleached for four or five days inside a room and is then spread out, dried and woven. *Typha elephantina*, Roxb., known in the vernacular as *hogla* or *hugla* grows in the Sunderbans areas and is used for mat making and split bamboos (*bambusa* sp.) and cane (*calamus* sp.) as well date-leaves, and a cane, *clinogyne dichotoma*, Salisb., known as *mukta* in Mymensingh, are also used. Bamboo and cane are also used for baskets, winnowing fans, sieves, measure, stools (*moras*) and fishing traps of a bewildering variety and every degree of fineness of workmanship. A kind of sun-hat known as *mathul* (মথুল) made either of rushes or of a framework of cane or bamboo strips holding together broad leaves is a very characteristic article of equipment in Malda and other parts of the province.

17. Measuring bowls.—Birbhum is noted for measuring bowls made from the wood of the jack-fruit tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, Linn.) and *sirish* tree (*Albizia lebbek*, Benth). The logs are seasoned and cut to suitable sizes, placed on a rough lathe and filed into the correct shape. They are then ornamented with brass plates on which designs have been cut with chisels.

18. Paper making.—There was at one time a paper making industry in Mymensingh which used a species of grass but this has now died out. Paper is made in Murshidabad, Dacca and also in Chittagong from jute and in some cases also from rags. The jute fibres are steeped with lime in water in a tank for two or three days and are then taken out and dried in the sun. This process is twice repeated and the jute fibres are mashed together in a mortar (*dhenki*). The pulp is then placed in a cane basket in clear water and the lime is removed by constant agitation. A split bamboo sieve is then made to scoop up the pulp which is spread over a cloth or a mat, successive layers of the pulp being added until the desired thickness of paper is obtained. The paper is dried and then placed on wooden boards, sized with the gruel of boiled *atap* rice, polished and, if desired, coloured. In Dacca it is reported that five or six reams of unbleached paper can be prepared from one maund of jute and each ream sells for five to six rupees, but the paper is everywhere reported to be of inferior quality and in Chittagong it is used mainly for making kites and indigenous fire works.

19. Pottery.—The village potter is an institution in almost all the villages in Bengal, but his trade is being threatened by the increasing popularity of cheap imported enamel, aluminium and pottery wares. Pottery is made from selected clay mixed with water to a working consistency and in some cases kept for a period under grass. According to the type of vessel being prepared sand and in certain cases paddy husks or jute fibres are mixed with the clay. The vessels are worked on a wheel of primitive design from which after being moulded they are detached with a thread. Large vessels or those of awkward shape are made in more than one part and the portions hammered together. When the vessel has been moulded it is dried sometimes in the sun and sometimes in a cool place before being fired. There was in some parts a reluctance to disclose the composition of the colouring matter applied to the vessels before firing, but where the colour is not determined by the method of firing, it is generally put on in the form of a wash made from coloured earths known as *banak mati* (brown ochre), *geru mati* (red ochreous earth), or *alio mati* (yellow ochre), anhydrous sesquioxides of iron, or sometimes by painting with a decoction of *harital* (orpiment or yellow sulphide of arsenic) or *haridra* (turmeric). Firing is done in a kiln. If ventilation spaces are left in the grass and earth or clay covering the whole heap of pots, when fired the resulting pottery will be brown, whereas closing up all the ventilation holes results in a black colour.

In Noakhali and possibly other districts also an auspicious day is chosen for firing. The potters in some parts believe that different persons have a talent for making different kinds of vessels and confine themselves to those in which they are skilled. They universally observe the month of *Baisakh* as a holiday and celebrate the *Vishwakarma Puja* and the *Astami Puja* in the month of *Asvin*, and in Nadia they are reported to burn the image of *Kali*.

The village potter is generally the craftsman who constructs clay images for worship and in Nadia ingenious figures of Indian types, etc., as well as clay models of fruits are produced and after firing are covered with paint or varnish. Tiles are also made in some districts: those made in Nadia are one inch thick with a surface 12 inches by 12 inches.

20. **Sati food.**—*Palo* (পালো) is the name of a powder resembling arrowroot and made from the roots of *curcuma zoodaria* which grows wild in Bengal and is known locally in the vernacular as *sati*. The tubers are washed and peeled with a knife, dried in the sun and then either powdered through a grater or mashed in a paddy-husking mortar (*dhenli*) (ঢেঁকী). The powder is mixed in water and strained through a cloth which allows only the finer grains to pass: these are mixed with successive washes of water which are drained away, leaving the powder after each washing whiter and with a less bitter taste. It is considered to be good for diarrhoea and dysentery and for curing worms but it is more expensive than arrowroot and the plant is never cultivated.

21. **Silk spinning and weaving.**—Silk of more than one kind (*endi*, *muga*, *mulberry*, etc.) is reeled, spun and woven in several parts of the province and reports on it were received from all districts of the Burdwan Division except Burdwan and from Murshidabad, Khulna, Malda, Rangpur and Chittagong. The silk made from cocoons through which the pupa has cut a way out is of an inferior quality. For the finest silk the chrysalis is killed before emerging from the cocoon by being suspended in a cotton cloth in the steam above a pan of boiling water. The cocoons are then boiled in water to which soda or cattle urine has been added, and after the correct time, which it is a matter of some importance to estimate as the quality of the yarn is affected by it, they are taken out and reeled. The outer layers of the cocoon are coarser than those within which make the finest thread. The reeling is generally done by the women of the family who moisten the knee with oil, soften the cocoons against it and pick out a thread of silk from each. Four to six are joined together and reeled on to a *latui* (লাটুই) or bobbin. The thread from two bobbins is sized with a concoction of fried paddy and water and re-reeled on another *latui* known as a *narma* (নর্মা). The next process is the twisting of the filatures in the yarn. A series of rods known as *thak* (থাক) are set up in pairs one above the other at intervals along the desired length. At the end furthest from the worker the rod is single and bears a number of wheels or pulleys known as *charki* (চারকী). These give the yarn passage without friction and from them the end rod is known as the *charki thak* (চারকী থাক). The rods nearest the worker are known as the *mul thak* (মূল থাক) and both they and the intermediate rods known as *bangri thak* (বাঁগ্রী থাক) are fitted with eyelets (corresponding in number to the *charkis*) below the lower and above the upper rod of each pair. The thread from the *narma* is led through the eyelets below on the bottom *mul thak*, then through those on each intervening *bangri thak* round the *charki* and back through the eyelets in the upper rods. After being brought through the upper eyelets of the *mul thak* the thread is affixed to a *bantul* (বাঁটুল). This is a kind of top made of a lump of clay pierced by a split bamboo about 8 inches long. It is kept revolving to give the filatures composing the yarn a twist. As each length is twisted it is disconnected from the *bantul* and wound again on to a *latui*. It is then ready for weaving. The setting up of the warp is known as *nuritana* (নুরিতানা) and the loom differs in no appreciable feature from that described for blanket weaving. The weavers have adopted jacquards to obtain patterned borders, but have steadily resisted the introduction of the fly-shuttle loom on the ground that it will spoil the cloth. As each foot or so of cloth is woven it is sized with rice gruel. The finished cloth is wound round a billet of wood (known as the *kol lara*) and dried for two or three days after which it is sized again, pressed and sold. The silk weavers in Birbhum on the last day of *Bhadra* worship their looms by smearing them with oil and vermilion.

22. **Sola helmets, etc.**—The pith or rather the soft white wood of the *sola* plant (*æschynomene aspera*, Linn.) is used for making pith helmets. The plant attains a height of 12 feet and a diameter of 3 inches. The rough integument is peeled off, and the stems are chipped into square sticks about one-eighth of an inch thick, and softened by passing a roller gently over them. The brim of the helmet is made by bending the sticks and pressing them together with flour or rice paste and the crown is made similarly round a frame or mould. The two parts are then pressed together and trimmed with a *katan* or big knife also used to cut the plants. With a somewhat similar *katan* the Malakars who work in *sola* are able to slice away paper-thin continuous strips from a stick of the wood and these are then glued to the inner and outer portion of the skeleton helmet. Toys, decorations, bridal crowns or *topars* (টোপার) and artificial flowers as well as decorations for the *tazias* taken out at the Muharram festival are also made from thin strips of the wood which can be made to take the shape of a mould.

23. **Vegetable oil.**—Vegetable oils are made from *kanchra* or *karanja* (*pongamia glabra*, Vent.), *nim* (*melia azadirachta*, Linn.) and *kusum* (*schleichera trijuga*, Willd.) seeds by the aborigines in Midnapore. Oil is also extracted from seeds of the *eronda* (*jatropha curcus*, Linn.), *bheronda*, (*ricinus communis*, Linn.) and *royna* (*amara rohituka*). The seeds are dried, crushed and boiled in water; the oil comes to the top, is collected and is again boiled to evaporate the water. In Noakhali the crushed *royna* seeds are placed in spherical baskets of split cane 4.5 inches in diameter with a mouth of about 2 inches wide. Two of these are placed mouth to mouth on a block of wood which is grooved to allow the oil to run away, and the oil is expressed by pressure of a heavy plank above them pivoted to a vertical post. The *royna* oil was believed to be efficacious for the itch, has a bitter taste and is used by *kabirajes* for treatment of spleen diseases. As illuminants these oils have been ousted by cheap kerosine.

APPENDIX II.

A note on industrial disputes and the welfare activities of trade unions in Bengal.

1. **Industrial disputes.**—Since the census was taken the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India has been published. This contains in volume V complete details of industrial organisation in Bengal. Some of the information there given has been brought up to date to cover the period 1921-1930 and is shown in the statements accompanying this note.

2. **Strikes in 1921-1930.**—Statement No. VIII-a shows the number of disputes in each industry with the number of men involved and the number of man-days lost by them. On an average in each year there were 63 strikes, and in the course of them over 146 thousand workers annually lost an average of well over a third of a month's pay. The figures for 1929 are diminished by the fact that the great jute mill strike of that year counts as one only although it involved a very large number of mills and a larger number of workers than any before.

STATEMENT No. VIII-a—Industrial disputes in Bengal during 1921-1930 by industries and extent.

Year	Number of disputes.								Number of men involved	Number of man-days lost
	All industries	Jute mills and presses	Cotton mills	Transport	Other factories	Con-servancy	Cango hand-ling coolies	Miscellaneous		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total 1921-1930	625	244	39	60	140	45	43	54	1,462,783	17,081,726
Annual average 1921-1930	62.5	24.4	3.9	6.0	14.0	4.5	4.3	5.4	146,278.3	1,708,172.6
1921	150	44	8	27	46	3	8	12	254,982	2,990,253
1922	93	41	1	9	14	1	14	13	198,702	1,803,760
1923	87	33	1	1	12	4	9	7	137,529	1,247,569
1924	55	22	10	1	8	10	2	2	90,881	925,502
1925	44	16	1	0	8	3	4	6	60,244	517,549
1926	47	34	3	3	1	7	2	6	150,670	822,255
1927	33	15	2	3	6	2		5	60,974	602,288
1928	58	19	5	8	12	12		2	123,275	3,010,057
1929	35	12	6		14		1	2	324,523	3,485,355
1930	33	8	2	4	13	1	3	2	61,198	571,057

3. **Duration of strikes and number of men involved.**—Statement No. VIII-b shows industrial disputes classified by their duration and the number of men involved. Disputes are most frequent in which 100-1,000 or 1,000-10,000 men are involved, and in which the duration of the dispute costs the labourers 100 to 1,000 or 1,000 to 10,000 days' pay.

STATEMENT No. VIII-b—Industrial disputes in Bengal during 1921-1930 classified by duration and number of men involved.

Year	Total number of strikes	Number of strikes in which the duration in man-days was					Number of strikes in which the number of men involved was				
		10-99	100-999	1,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	1,00,000 & upwards	10-99	100-999	1,000-9,999	10,000 & upwards	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Total 1921-1930	623	51	191	198	158	27	110	254	239	20	
Annual average 1921-1930	62.3	5.1	19.1	19.8	15.6	2.7	11.0	25.4	23.9	2.0	
1921	149*	0	31	65	45	8	18	50	75	3	
1922	93	6	20	32	29	4	14	36	38	5	
1923	87	5	20	20	13	3	10	25	25	1	
1924	55	8	24	19	8	1	6	30	17	2	
1925	44	6	15	13	9	1	12	17	15		
1926	47	0	15	16	19	1	7	10	31		
1927	33	1	13	7	8	1	11	12	9	1	
1928	58	7	22	9	15	5	16	24	15	3	
1929	35	1	13	12	7	2	8	16	10	1	
1930	33	2	12	15	3	1	8	19	4	2	

*The number does not include two disputes of 1921, the figures for which are not available.

4. **Causes of strikes and nature of settlement.**—Statement No. VIII-c showing the causes of strikes and the nature of the settlement reached illustrates clearly the evident frivolity of many disputes. The workers were content to return on their employers' terms in 60 per cent. of the cases and without any decision on their demands in a further 15 per cent. They secured their demands only in 12 and a part of their demands in 13 per cent.

STATEMENT No. VIII-c—Causes of strikes and nature of settlement.

Year	Number of strikes in which									
	the demands concerned					the result was				
	Pay.	Bonus.	Personnel.	Leave and hours	Other	Success	Partial success.	Failure.	Indefinite.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Total 1921-1930	300	12	128	35	150	77	82	375	91	
Annual average 1921-1930	30	1.2	12.8	3.5	15	7.7	8.2	37.5	9.1	
1921	74	3	32	1	40	11	37	70	23	
1922	43	1	15	2	22	14	14	33	12	
1923	22	1	7	9	19	8	8	10	6	
1924	27	1	10	5	12	8	8	30	9	
1925	20	3	9	3	10	6	3	17	7	
1926	26	8	7	11	10	6	1	89	11	
1927	18	..	5	8	7	4	1	23	5	
1928	56	..	12	1	9	6	9	38	10	
1929	19	..	2	1	7	9	8	14	4	
1930	16	..	13	2	2	6	..	28	4	

5. **Strikes in jute mills.**—Statement No. VIII-d shows the number of strikes and days lost by them in jute mills : these are a portion only of the mills and presses shown in statement No VIII-a. During 1929 the great jute mill strike accounted for 96 per cent. of the strikers in the whole province and for 96 per cent. of the wages lost to industry. During the whole period 1921-1930 strikes in jute mills accounted for 71 per cent. of the total strikers and for 54 per cent. of the wages lost to the workers.

STATEMENT No. VIII-d—Number of strikes in jute spinning and weaving mills, 1921-30, with men involved and loss of working days.

Year.	Number of strikes	Number of men involved	Number of man-days lost
Total 1921 to 1930	215	1,046,818	9,337,529
Average 1921-30	21.5	104,681.8	933,752.9
1921	39	193,779	708,226
1922	40	173,857	1,079,227
1923	29	90,964	614,804
1924	13	60,458	345,756
1925	14	41,849	345,909
1926	20	39,042	794,334
1927	21	31,960	828,000
1928	18	56,524	1,508,708
1929*	11	813,069	3,346,067
1930	5	35,755	451,048

*The figures include those of the strikes dealt with in the cuts. The strikes have been counted as one dispute.

conducted by Government at the instance of the Government of India in 1927, referred to in Volume V, Part I, of the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. Some information on the subject, however, is available from returns submitted by registered trade unions as a part of their statutory obligations. In these returns trade unions are required to specify, among other items of expenditure from the general funds, besides those relating to cost of management and normal trade union administration, the money spent on the payment of benefits to members under two broad heads, viz., (i) Funeral, Old Age, Sickness, Unemployment Benefits, etc., and (ii) Educational, Social and Religious Benefits. It is worthy of note that a promise for the provision of benefits of the kinds enumerated above is fairly general in the rules of trade unions registered up to date, but that nowhere is it accompanied by definite schemes. In a very few instances special authority has been given to the executives by rules to make grants at discretion. The result is that although small sums of money are spent by a union here or a union there as benefits to individual members, no serious attempt is made to secure collective welfare by any comprehensive social programme.

This is borne out by the figures in the statement VIII-e below. The statement refers to 21 trade unions which submitted returns for the year 1930-1931 and indicates some of their avowed objects which relate to welfare activities, and the amount spent on them during that year. Of these 21 trade unions only 8 with an aggregate of 27,071 members spent a total sum of about Rs. 1,475 under the heads indicated above. This sum includes about Rs. 733, stated to have been paid by one of the unions to its members as "Legal Benefits"—a vague item of expenditure, not included in the statutory heads of return.

STATEMENT No. VIII-e—Expenditure of trade unions on welfare work, 1930-1931.

Trade Union.	Objects relating to welfare work.	Amount spent in 1930-1931
1 A.	1. "to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in cases of unemployment, illness, accident or death"	Educational, social and religious benefit—Rs. 34-8-0.
	2. "to establish clubs, reading rooms, schools for the children or workers, co-operative stores and recreation grounds, etc."	
2 B.	1. "to adopt measures to provide allowances to members or their dependents on account of employment, sickness or accidents"	Unemployment benefit—Rs. 23-8-0.
	2. "to establish provident funds, co-operative stores and credit societies, mutual benefit funds, etc."	
3 C.	1. "to endeavour to provide against sickness, unemployment, infirmity, old age, and death of members."	Nil.
	2. "to provide schemes of benefits, insurance, provident fund, loan society co-operative stores, medical relief, etc"	
4 D.	1. "to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in case of sickness, accident, death, non-employment, old age, funeral and other purposes, etc"	Nil.
5 E.	1. "to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in cases of unemployment, illness, accident, etc."	(A scheme of Death Benefit is said to be under consideration.) (It is understood that a scheme of Death Benefit is carried out by a body of the workers independently of the trade union and its funds)
	2. "to establish clubs, reading rooms, co-operative stores, workshops or training schools, etc., for the benefit of members and their families"	
6 F.	1. "to provide funds for the relief of members when out of employment."	Nil.
	2. "to organise and establish separate funds for the relief of members or their dependents in cases of death, old age, sickness, accidents and other calamities of such members, and for the payment of expenses of funeral and other religious ceremonies of deceased members"	
7 G.	1. (Similar to item 3 above)	.. Educational, social and religious benefits—Rs 104.
8 H.	1. "to provide funds to help members or their dependents on account of death, old age, sickness, accidents or unemployment of such members"	
	2. "to introduce and spread general education, among members and to educate them in navigation and seamanship."	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc.—Rs. 54-8-0.
	3. "to make provision for educational, social, religious benefits of members, or their dependents, including funeral expenses and expenses arising from religious ceremonies for deceased members. (There are rules empowering the executive to grant allowances under certain conditions ; but no definite schemes are laid down.)"	
9 I.	1. "to endeavour to provide against sickness, unemployment, maternity, infirmity, old age and death of members. Also to open co-operative guilds, clubs, journals, reading rooms, libraries, and night classes, and to organise lectures and other demonstrations"	Nil.
10 J.	1. "to render assistance to members during their unemployment, disablement and distress."	Nil.
	2. "to establish provident funds, co-operative credit societies, mutual benefit funds, co-operative stores, and other organisations for the benefit of the members."	Cost of a social gathering—Rs. 16.

Trade Union.		Objects relating to welfare work.		Amount spent in 1930-1931.
11	K	1	"to endeavour to provide against unemployment, sickness, infirmity, superannuation and death of members "	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc.—Rs. 86-4-0
12	L	1	"to make provision for members during periods of unemployment, sickness and old age."	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc.—Rs. 122-8-0
		2	"to establish libraries, schools and such other institutions for the promotion of education among members and their children "	
13	M	1	Rule 4 that funds may be spent on objects as specified under section 15 of the Indian Trade Unions Act.	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc.—Rs. 11-8-0
14	N	1	"the job of members when in distressed circumstances, or when unemployed "	Unemployment benefit—annas 10
		2	"to turn to training in the art of motor driving "	
15	O	1	"to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in cases of sickness or death, accident, non-employment and old age of such members "	Nil.
		2	"to promote and foster fellow-feeling, provident habits and thrift among members by organising, establishing and managing co-operative stores, sanatorium, gymnasium, amusements and excursion parties "	
16	P	1	"to organise and establish separate funds for the benefit of members or their dependents in cases of sickness, accident or death, non-employment and old age, and for funeral and other purposes declared lawful under the A.C."	Nil (There appears to be a library with books and periodicals worth Rs. 467-4 as stated in the Return.)
		2	"to train or educate members by establishing and managing voluntary organisations for carrying on works of philanthropy or public utility, by organising lectures on sanitation, water-supply, milk and food supply, by establishing library or libraries and reading rooms, etc."	Spent on social gathering—Rs. 31-3-0
		3	"to promote and foster fellow-feeling, provident habits and thrift among members by organising, establishing and managing co-operative stores, gymnasium, dances, amusements, sports, gymnasium, amusements, excursion parties, theatre and social gatherings "	
17	Q	1	Nothing in particular	Nil
18	R	1.	Aims at generally improving the normal and physical condition of members and developing a spirit of mutual help by raising benefit funds	Nil
		2	Authorises the executive to formulate, whenever thought desirable, schemes of benefit on special lines	
19	S.	1	Nothing in particular	Nil
20	T	1	"to provide funds to help members in distress, disease and unemployment "	Funeral, old age, sickness, unemployment benefits, etc. (including legal benefits)—Rs. 732-15)—Rs. 1,005-9-9
		2	"to provide training in the art of seamanship and navigation "	
		3	"to start unemployment insurance."	
		4.	"to start a boarding house for the dwelling of members free of charge "	
21	U	1	"to render assistance during unemployment, disablement and distress "	Nil
		2	"to establish co-operative institutions and mutual benefit funds "	

APPENDIX III.

A note on the conditions of rural trade.

1. **Method of enquiry.**—In the report for 1921 a short account was given of the conditions of rural trade. On this occasion an effort was made to supplement the information there given. The enquiry was conducted through the district officers. Circle officers were asked to select a typical market in each rural police-station in their circles and to record particulars of its size, the area it served, the population of that area, the conditions of credit, and the main articles sold with an estimate of the average annual sale. Returns were received from every district except Noakhali and Bogra, and numbered 336 in all. Most came from East Bengal but 68 were received from Burdwan which contributed the smallest number and there are probably enough to justify conclusions of a very general character. The returns were distinguished according to the number of permanent shops in the market to which they referred. Those with less than 20 shops were treated as "small"; those with 21-50 as "medium" and those with 51 or more as "large". This distinction was maintained throughout subsequent operations when they were sorted by divisions.

2. **Size of rural markets.**—Almost exactly half the markets have no more than 20 shops and more than three quarters have 50 or less. In the different geographical divisions of the province the average numbers vary from 28 in West to 66 in East Bengal. The medium figures differ very much less. They represent the size of markets than which in each division there are an equal number with more and with less permanent shops. The variations are analogous to those of the averages but range only from 14 in West to 39 in East Bengal. There is practically no variation at all in the mode which represents the number of permanent shops in the largest number of markets and varies only between 7 and 9. The greatest part of the trade of rural Bengal is done in markets which are almost entirely deserted except on market days and in some parts of East Bengal where rivers are the natural roadways a considerable part of the goods for sale never leaves the boats which bring them to the market and serve as stalls for their sale.

STATEMENT No. VIII-f.

Average number of permanent shops with median and mode.

Division of Bengal	Average	Median	Mode
West	28	14	8
Central	41	23	8
North	34	17	7
East	66	39	9

parts of East Bengal where rivers are the natural roadways a considerable part of the goods for sale never leaves the boats which bring them to the market and serve as stalls for their sale

3. **Area served.**—In 1921 it was calculated that each market in the plains served an average area of 10.4 miles. The material obtained by this enquiry yields a rather different figure owing to the fact that the areas served by different markets overlap considerably and what has been estimated here is the total area from which each draws its custom irrespective of the existence of other markets within the same radius. The figures obtained from the returns are shown in statement VIII-g. The areas served by the smaller markets have a radius of between $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The larger markets attract purchasers from a radius of between $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to 6 miles. The figures are certainly not an exaggeration and the cultivator has generally no hesitation in starting off to walk quite as far as 6 miles for his weekly or bi-weekly visit to the *hat*.

STATEMENT No. VIII-g.

Average area served by markets (in square miles).

Division of Bengal	Average	Small markets	Medium markets	Large markets
West	31	30	17	7.2
Central	30	19	26	5.9
North	37	39	64	10.6
East	49	22	49	6.9

4. **Population reached by the typical rural market.**—Estimates of the population served by each type of market naturally lay claim to no great accuracy but there are sufficient returns to justify a hope that the grossest errors of estimation will have cancelled one another out. The figures are given in the marginal statement No. VIII-h and do not profess to represent the number likely to attend each market or even the families of those who attend them but the total population of the area from which any proportion of the population visits the market. If the same proportion amongst the population are males aged 15 and over as are found in the total population of Bengal, these figures would suggest as potential visitors males above 15 years

STATEMENT No. VIII-h.

Average population served by markets (in thousands).

Division of Bengal	Average	Small markets	Medium markets	Large markets
West	12.8	8.5	11.7	19.9
Central	16.0	8.5	18.8	27.8
North	20.8	13.6	17.9	32.7
East	24.7	14.8	13.9	38.3

old numbering on the average from about 4.8 to 9.2 thousands. These are not the only visitors to markets, nor can it be assumed that each visits the market once or twice a week since there will be other markets also handy for persons within the total area served by any one, but there is no doubt that many thousands of persons attend the average *hat* which is of any size whenever it is held and the population estimates here given are by no means wildly improbable.

5. **Glass of trader.**—As is to be expected when permanent shops are so rare trade is almost entirely concentrated in the hands of small shop-keepers. The returns contained an estimate for each market of the percentage of trade dealt with by small dealers, local branches of big firms and traders who were merely agents of big firms. The results are given in statement No VIII-1. Only in the Rajshahi Division was any considerable portion of the trade found to be handled by any but small dealers. Here conditions are somewhat different from those elsewhere and particularly in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts comparatively large shops are to be found which are branches of firms established in Bihar and Orissa or the United Provinces. Small dealers naturally handle most of the trade where the number of permanent shops is small.

STATEMENT No. VIII-1.

Estimated percentage of the trade dealt with by small shop-keepers.

Division of Bengal	Small markets.	Medium market.	Large markets.
West	88	99	87
Central	95	85	87
North	89	78	16
East	97	93	93

6. **Cash and credit : regulation of prices.**—Both the wholesaler from whom the shop-keeper buys and the shop-keeper himself allows their clients considerable credit. It is only in a minority of cases and principally in the smallest markets, that the retailer is expected to pay cash for his stock. Generally credit is allowed, sometimes with a provision that a part of the cost shall be paid for in cash. It is not unusual for no interest to be charged : in these cases the price of the goods is written up. In other cases a period of grace is allowed within which the payment may be made without charge of interest. The rates vary from about 6½ to as much as 25 per cent. per annum. The retailer passes on to the purchaser the advantages of credit which he receives. In a very few cases only is cash payment universally insisted upon. The purchasers are known and are sometimes allowed indefinite credit, which is generally limited however to about a month. The rates of interest for these concessions vary considerably from about 5 per cent. in some cases to as much as 37 or 38 per cent. per annum. Articles locally produced have sometimes a customary price unaffected by economic conditions like the cost of production or supply and demand : the price of such things as milk and vegetables, for instance, will often be regulated in this way. Dealers are said in some cases to combine in order to maintain prices at an "artificial" level but in general prices are regulated by competition and the operation of supply and demand.

7. **Some of the items principally sold.**—From the returns showing the articles mainly sold and the annual quantities put into circulation it has not been possible to compile any comprehensive particulars, but some points of interest emerge. Items like umbrellas, shoes, hurricane lamps, coats and shirts, looking glasses, scent, soaps and mosquito curtains are sold in sufficient quantities to have been noted as amongst the principal articles traded. The details given suggest that a new umbrella is sold yearly to anything from one in 5 to one in 80 of the population of the area dealt with by each market. Shoes seem to be even more popular, and apparently from one in 4 to one in 60 of the population buys a new pair annually. In some parts it is estimated that a hurricane lamp is sold each year to as many as one in 4 of the population and the smallest estimate of sales would give one to every 100. If we assume that roughly in the area dealt with by each market on the average there is also one other market, that the cultivator (who is the person principally concerned in this enquiry) makes his umbrellas and shoes last him two years and that the purchasers annually number on an average one in 20 of the total population it can be calculated that on an average something like one person in five in rural areas has an umbrella and a pair of shoes. The majority of the population is either women or small children who are generally not allowed either of these luxuries and amongst adult males their use is consequently even more general than is suggested by this figure. On a similar calculation and assuming an average family of no more than four, taking the lowest figure returned (one in 60) it is probably not an overestimate to deduce that on an average one family in fifteen buys a new hurricane lamp every year, and if they last five years there is one to every three families in rural Bengal. Even electric flash lights are sold in sufficient quantities to be mentioned as one of the principal articles of trade. It is safe to say that the sale of all these articles indicates a rise in the standard of living since thirty or even twenty years ago.

8. **Origin of principal articles mentioned.**—The small trader with whom the main part of the trade lies in general handles the majority of all the articles mentioned and none is apparently a monopoly of larger concerns. Pottery is almost always of local make and practically none but Indian scents, soaps and papers are to be found in the local markets. Indian goods are in fact in each case most popular except for hurricane lamps which come principally from Central Europe and Japan with some few from the United States of America. After India Japan supplies the majority of the umbrellas, shoes, looking glasses, etc., and many of the umbrellas described as of Indian make have frames and covers of Japanese or other origin which are merely assembled locally. For his food the cultivator relies almost entirely upon local production, but the remotest village contains articles in daily use in the cultivator's home which have come from Europe or Japan or even further afield.

CHAPTER IX

Literacy

319. The statistics presented.—The statistics of literacy are contained in imperial table XIII and for selected groups in imperial table XIV. Subsidiary tables printed after this chapter show—

- I—literacy ratios by religion, age and sex ;
- II—literacy ratios by locality, age and sex ;
- III—literacy ratios by locality, religion and sex ;
- IV—English literacy ratios by locality, age and sex, 1931, and by locality and sex, 1891 to 1921 ;
- V—ratios of literacy and English literacy by sexes in selected castes and other groups, 1921-1931 ;
- VI—literacy ratios by locality and sex at successive enumerations from 1881 to 1931 ;
- VII—numbers of each sex literate in any language and in English at age-groups to the nearest birthday adopting the groups 7 to 13, 14 to 16, 17 to 23 and 24 and over ;
- VIII—the number of educational institutions and pupils according to the returns of the Education Department ; and
- IX—literacy by the same age-groups as are given in subsidiary table VII of Indian and some other Asiatic Christians by race, tribe or province and sex.

320. Origin of the figures.—Returns were obtained from columns 16 and 17 of the general schedule. The instructions issued for filling in these columns were as follows :—

“ *Column 16 (Languages in which literate)* —Enter against all persons the name of all current languages which they can both read and write. In the case of persons who cannot read and write any language this column will be blank. Where Hindustani is the spoken language enter ‘Urdu’ or ‘Hindi’ according to the script in which the language is written.

Column 17 (Literacy in English) —Enter the word ‘literate’ against all persons shown as literate who can both read and write English. The column will be blank for those who cannot ”

It was laid down that persons should not be entered as literate unless they could write a letter to a friend and read the reply and it was directed that persons claiming literacy should be carefully questioned before the schedule was filled up. Where there was no entry in column 16 the person was assumed to be illiterate. It was originally intended to take advantage of the return of language of literacy for the compilation of additional statistics but the necessity for economy prevented such an elaboration. Statistics of literacy by languages, however, were prepared for each police-station and census town in Midnapore for the Orissa Boundary Commission.

321. Are the figures accurate ?—The significant feature of the literacy returns on the present occasion is that although the proportions literate have increased amongst females and in the total population of both sexes, they show a slight decline amongst males. The figures given in subsidiary table VIII show that there has been during the decade a considerable increase in the number both of educational institutions and of scholars attending them. It is true that there has been a falling off in the numbers undergoing university and collegiate education but the census standard of literacy is acquired long before this stage is reached and in every stage below it a very considerable increase in the number of scholars reading in schools is shown between 1921 and 1931. An increase in the literacy proportion in both sexes and in each sex was confidently anticipated and the fact that

expectations have been falsified will lead to some hesitation in accepting the figures for literacy. The possible causes which may have operated to result in a deficiency in the figures shown may be divided into two classes. It is necessary to consider first whether the returns actually made by the population are likely to be incorrect or rather to contain elements of inaccuracy not present in presumably the same degree in previous years and secondly whether the method of presenting the figures has introduced any variation likely to result in a reduction of the numbers included as literate.

322. Possible errors in the returns.—Amongst the total population there is a considerable number whose education extends only as far as ability to sign their name and since some degree of pride generally accompanies this accomplishment, there is also a danger that persons possessing it will return themselves as literate. During enumeration proceedings emphasis was laid upon this point and directions were circulated that such persons were not to be entered as literate. In any case, however, the tendency exists in equal strength at every enumeration and is not likely on the present occasion to have varied greatly in its intensity, though it is of course possible to hope that the elimination of such persons has been more successfully effected and the accuracy of the returns increased on the present occasion. It is not likely that persons actually illiterate will to any extent claim literacy out of a feeling of shame at their lack of education. There was no change in the standard of literacy. The prescription which will be noted later for a return of those who have reached the primary standard is not likely to have caused any enumerator to apply in general a more rigid test of literacy. The consideration which might have introduced errors into the returns is communal partisanship amongst the enumerators. Both Hindus and Muslims alleged that enumerators of the other community were concealing literates of a faith different from their own and fictitiously exaggerating the number of literates in their own community. Most of these allegations were vague and impossible of investigation, but such as were scrutinised proved generally to be unfounded and in any case if the allegations had been true and made with a sense of responsibility it may be taken that the instances of omission and fictitious entry in each religion would have balanced and left no appreciable effect on the figures. A reference has already been made to the fact that in one part of Mymensingh, the Iswarganj police-station, grounds were discovered for believing that during slip-copying a number of Muslim literates had been suppressed and a number of fictitious Hindu literates had been invented by the slip-copyists. The total change which would be necessitated as a result of this discovery is to reduce by 15 and 5, respectively, the number of Hindu males literate and literate in English and to increase by 10 and 3, respectively, the number of Muslim males literate and literate in English. This was the only instance in which any similar state of affairs was discovered and the numbers concerned were altogether too small to have any effect upon the total literacy ratios. Political considerations of a communal nature might indeed have prompted persons to return themselves as literate from an apprehension that the importance of their community in the reformed constitution would depend upon the numbers of literates. The same considerations, however, were operative at the census of 1921. On the present occasion one vernacular paper actually exhorted its readers to see that no literate person was omitted from enumeration and explained that all persons male or female of whatever age should be returned as literate if they were able to read the "Qur'an", that is, to say it by rote. This would certainly have inflated the number of literates by the inclusion of persons not actually literate in some cases, but there is no ground to believe that any such result has actually been effected and the increase in Muslim literacy is quite satisfactorily accounted for by the impetus given to Muslim education during the past decade, since there are for instance now well over four times as many Muslim boys as eight years ago who are reading in standards of the schools higher than those at which literacy in the census meaning is acquired. On the whole there do not appear to be sound grounds for any assumption that the returns of literacy actually made on the present occasion were to any marked degree

less accurate than those on previous occasions, and such differences as might conceivably have occurred would tend in the direction of a diminution in the total numbers literate.

323. Effect of the method of composing age-groups.—On the other hand, the method of obtaining statistics by age-groups was the same as that adopted for ascertaining the total numbers at age-groups in each sex. It has already been pointed out that the conversion of sorters' age-groups to the quinary age-groups shown results in the allocation to a lower age-group in each case of a certain number who upon the grouping adopted in 1921 and on the previous occasions would have been included in the next higher group. As far as the total population is concerned, this change results in increased accuracy in the figures in each age-group, but it has already been pointed out in chapter VI that, when other factors are concerned in addition to the variation to the population at any ageperiod caused by the mortality about

STATEMENT No. IX-1.

Numbers of each sex in each principal religion aged 4-6 and returned as literates but treated as illiterates for the purpose of imperial table XIII.

Division, district or state	All religions		Muslim		Hindu		Tribal		Buddhist		Christian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	23,199	10,977	9,074	4,633	13,488	5,813	32	7	71	52	468	420
Burdwan Division	5,504	1,894	573	181	4,841	1,445	1	1	1	1	75	64
Burdwan	577	181	106	28	432	181					18	12
Burduhm	118	35	42	12	80	20	1				1	1
Bankura	228	81	23	2	203	31					2	1
Midnapore	2,781	647	168	30	2,558	52	3				24	25
Hoochly	257	284	67	28	490	210						
Howrah	1,243	550	182	72	1,028	460			1		30	15
Presidency Division	5,364	2,860	1,129	512	3,909	2,018	1	4	7	281	284	
24 Parganas	1,133	423	386	77	890	352					37	25
Calcutta	5,115	1,610	231	144	1,905	1,175	1		4	7	236	248
Nadia	383	223	123	80	257	135					1	4
Murshidabad	271	160	100	61	169	95					2	2
Jessore	956	216	44	12	844	128					1	1
Khulna	807	108	200	64	534	130					4	4
Rajshahi Division	2,021	920	1,111	514	856	369	5	3	10	9	30	23
Rajshahi	540	170	429	115	117	64			1		1	2
Dinajpur	328	126	173	63	145	54	1	2			1	5
Talpadgur	140	47	30	79	44	3				1	2	3
Darjeeling	87	42	10	50	29	1			1	6	15	5
Rangpur	381	107	200	83	178	105					4	9
Bogra	226	197	158	170	40	10	1	1			2	1
Pabna	101	73	60	28	110	47						
Maldah	141	30	19	0	122	21						
Dacca Division	5,084	4,249	5,012	2,833	2,974	1,363	17	3	16	15	64	35
Dacca	2,447	1,034	1,080	1,182	847	447				1	20	24
Mymensingh	2,957	1,411	5,071	899	842	103	10	3			3	4
Pardupur	1,390	673	723	429	655	244	7		1	14	7	5
Bakarganj	1,290	509	635	253	691	267			17	14	7	13
Chittagong Division	2,119	1,222	1,220	578	840	607	3	1	40	21	15	13
Tippera	599	334	428	204	573	63			2		1	2
Chittagong	913	538	610	154	200	403					1	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	598	326	280	160	260	134	3	1	32	20	13	10
Bengal States	97	32	29	15	66	16						1
Cooch Behar	91	25	19	13	42	10						
Tripura	6	7	10		26	6						

that period such a distribution cannot be made with the same confidence. It may, for instance, be assumed with reasonable certainty that if a person has not acquired literacy by the age of 40 he will not acquire it during the rest of his life. By that age, therefore, all who are going to be literate have already become literate and unless an assumption is made that literacy conveys an enhanced survival value literates and illiterates alike will be subjected to the same decrement by mortality in successive ages. At the age-group 44-46, for instance, it will be expected that literates and illiterates would both show the same proportionate distribution amongst twelve-monthly or six-monthly age periods included in the group. At this age and generally at the older ages a distribution of sorters' groups according to the formula used for converting them in the case of the total population would probably introduce no errors but rather would result in increased accuracy in the group figures. At the earlier ages, however, such an assumption will not hold. Amongst those for instance returning themselves as literate and placed in the group 4-6 years it is a practical certainty that a very much larger proportion are actually aged 5 to 6 than $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$. By dividing the age-group 4-6 in such a way that one-half only are retained as being aged 5-10 and one-half are left out of

account altogether in estimating the total literates on the assumption that they are under 5 years old and that literacy claimed under 5 years of age is not genuine, the number of literates aged 5-10 is to some extent understated for a number of persons who ought to be included are amongst those erroneously presumed to be under 5 and consequently disregarded. At any age up to which the acquisition of literacy proceeds a similar result will be achieved for it will be a reasonable assumption that amongst literates in any sorters' group to be divided there is a larger number in the upper than in the lower half and that a division of the sorters' groups in equal parts between two adjacent quinary groups will lead to a reduction in the numbers which

STATEMENT No. IX-2(a).

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex aged 5 and over obtained by treating as aged 5 and over all persons shown in statement No. IX-1.

Division, district or state	All religions		Muslim		Hindu.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BENGAL	181	33	118	18	280	50
Burdwan Division	253	38	183	24	270	38
Burdwan	210	30	182	10	221	31
Birbhum	150	13	119	9	175	14
Bankura	185	12	172	16	194	12
Medinipur	314	35	224	23	330	38
Hoochly	259	47	243	36	284	49
Howrah	305	89	215	43	327	98
Presidency Division	286	52	119	14	277	80
24-Parganas	208	82	146	14	242	40
Calcutta	479	838	374	142	506	359
Nadia	108	27	63	6	197	67
Murshidabad	108	15	62	7	167	33
Jessore	124	21	75	8	215	41
Khulna	169	24	118	11	219	36
Rajshahi Division	125	16	113	12	148	23
Rajshahi	128	22	107	14	201	46
Duajpur	140	11	128	10	199	13
Jaipurpur	92	13	134	20	7	82
Darjeeling	212	28	261	49	306	18
Rangpur	189	12	167	22	227	11
Bogra	192	28	190	23	246	51
Fatma	117	21	72	13	266	18
Malda	69	7	58	4	90	12
Dacca Division	184	38	105	23	303	64
Dacca	170	47	110	31	288	76
Mymensingh	180	31	87	23	320	54
Faridpur	130	30	84	28	267	43
Bakarganj	245	38	148	17	484	85
Chittagong Division	183	24	124	15	378	51
Tippera	165	15	78	11	430	29
Noakhali	232	42	202	15	332	92
Chittagong	184	31	120	23	349	59
Chittagong Hill Tracts	86	6	104	57	175	10
Bengal States	104	11	74	8	119	13
Cooch Behar	132	14	100	8	148	18
Tripara	60	5	23	2	75	7

ought to be ascribed to the upper group. What has actually happened, therefore, in compiling the literacy figures on the present occasion is that a two-fold dislocation has taken place. In the first place the actual number of literates has been reduced by the exclusion of persons actually 5 years and older, who ought to have been included but were excluded because they have fallen in the sorters' group 4-6 in which one-half were presumed to be under the age at which returns of literacy were considered to be genuine. In the second place there must have been in all groups containing ages up to which literacy is progressively acquired a diminution of the actual numbers by the exclusion of a number who ought to have been included but have been allocated to a different group upon division of the sorters' group

in which the age falls. The net effect of these forces in each age-group is difficult to estimate because, for instance, in the age-group 10-15 although a number who should have been included have been lost by transfer to the age-group 5-10, the loss has been compensated by the inclusion of a number taken from the age-group 14-16 in which it is reasonable to assume that those aged 15-16 were more numerous than those aged 13½ to 14½. What can be taken as reasonably certain, however, is that the figures on the present occasion exclude a number who would have been included in previous years and therefore the ratios tend to be smaller than they would have been if the same method of grouping ages had been adopted in 1931 as in 1921. In statement No. IX-1 on prepage the numbers of those persons who fell into the sorters' group 4-6 but were excluded from the total literates on the ground that they were aged less than 5 are given by localities for each sex in each of the main religions. It would probably be a more accurate assumption that the numbers aged 4-5 amongst this group of literates are actually negligible and that all those returned as literate aged 4-6 may be safely taken as aged 5 and over. If the total figures of literates are increased to include all persons returned as aged 4-6 the literacy ratios will to some extent increase and an additional statement No. IX-2(a) is given above to show what the proportions would be in these circumstances.

324. Support for the conclusion that the statistics are under-estimates.—

Certain features of the returns suggest that the arguments deduced above are correct. For instance, it is significant that amongst the groups for which figures of literacy have been separately compiled it is in general the higher and admittedly more literate castes amongst whom there appears to have been a reduction of the proportions literate. General expectation would not suggest that during the past decade there has been any falling off in literacy amongst the middle and higher classes. It is true that economic distress has been prevalent to some extent and may have discouraged parents from sending their children to school. It is also true that education is looked upon in Bengal as being entirely or almost entirely a means to the acquirement of a position which will provide a living in later life, and that the increasing number of educated persons who find themselves unable on the strength of their education to obtain any employment may have accentuated the effect of economic distress and reduced the extent to which advantage is taken of educational facilities amongst the middle and upper classes. It is finally true that some of the higher castes have shown increases in numbers which suggest that persons of lower castes have contrived to get themselves included in them who should have been returned under a different name, and the presumption is that the persons thus added contain a larger proportion of illiterates than those who really belong to the caste. Instances of such unexpectedly large increases are given in Chapter XII. The effect however on the literacy figures can be exaggerated since it is generally the educated and progressive group of a lower caste which lay claim to superior status. Moreover, literacy is acquired at a comparatively early stage of education and the standard for census purposes is so low that amongst the upper classes nearly all the children would be expected to acquire it almost naturally from the members of their families without attending schools at all. On the other hand it is just amongst the middle and upper classes that literacy will naturally be acquired at an early age and one would expect to find amongst these classes a larger proportion literate of the ages 5-6 who have consequently in part been excluded from the return of literates when the quinary groups came to be composed from the sorters' groups on the ground of their being less than 5 years old. English literacy is acquired at a considerably later age and the total figures of English literacy are not likely to have suffered diminution, if at all, to anything like the same extent on this account.

325. Caution in using the figures.—The figures for distribution by quinquennial age-groups are therefore to be accepted with the reservations first that they probably do not cover the whole number of literates aged 5 and over and secondly that each group has suffered a modification to an extent to which it is difficult to gauge (*a*) by a transfer to the next lower

STATEMENT No. IX-2(b).

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex aged 5 and over obtained by treating as aged 5 and over all persons shown in statement No. IX-1.

Division and State.	Tribal		Buddhist.		Christian	
	Male	Female	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
	2	3	4	5	6	7
1						
BENGAL ..	14	4	155	26	489	390
Burdwan Division ..	11	1	642	120	708	578
Presidency Division ..	7	1	575	391	609	570
Rajshahi Division ..	10	1	134	17	257	152
Dacca Division ..	131	77	567	293	325	187
Chittagong Division ..	6	4	120	13	630	485
Bengal States ..	..	..	26	1	218	45

almost the age of 30, the age-group 20-40 also has probably suffered to some slight extent in this way. The age-groups given in subsidiary table IX according to sorters' groups are not liable to these considerations and may be taken as accurate. For comparison with the figures of previous years it will probably be safest, although this has not been done in the following paragraphs to adopt the figures given in statement No. IX-2(b) above. These figures indicate that the proportion of literacy has actually declined in no sex of any religion.

326. General literacy proportions compared with other provinces.—

In Bengal, including states, out of a total population of 51,087,338, literates aged 5 and over number 4,743,281. In computing the numbers literate, however, all persons taken to be aged less than 5 who returned themselves as literate have been disregarded and the literacy ratios are consequently calculated throughout this chapter upon the population aged 5 and over. The practice is the same as in 1921 and is consistent with that adopted in European countries. For the total population of both sexes, therefore, the numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over are 110. Amongst the provinces for which statistics were available at the time when the report was written the literacy ratio is higher in Bengal than in any other province with the exception of Burma where the proportion is 368 per mille. In Madras it is 108. Some of the states of India have a very much higher literacy ratio. For instance, it is 337 in Cochin, 288 in Travancore and 209 in Baroda. The great majority of those literate are males, the numbers being 4,078,774 males and 664,507 females, giving proportions for every 1,000 aged 5 and over of 180 and 32, respectively. Male literacy is higher in Bengal than in other major provinces except Burma and Madras. It is 180 per mille in Bengal, 560 per mille in Burma and 188 per mille in Madras. On the other hand, the figures of female literacy give a ratio of 32 per 1,000 which is equalled in Bombay but in no other major province with the exception of Burma where the ratio is 165 to every 1,000. The marginal statement No. IX-3 shows the literacy ratios at the present census in the principal divisions of India. In Bengal the numbers literate in English were 966,667 males and 99,140 females giving literacy ratios aged 5 and over of 43 males and 5 females per 1,000 of the same sex and an average for both sexes of 25.

STATEMENT No. IX-3.

Numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over in other provinces of India, 1931.

	Both sexes	Males	Females
Burma	368	560	165
Bengal	110	180	32
Madras	108	188	30
Assam	91	152	23
Central Provinces	60	110	11
Punjab	59	95	15
United Provinces	54	94	11
Bihar and Orissa	52	93	8
North-West Frontier Province	49	80	12

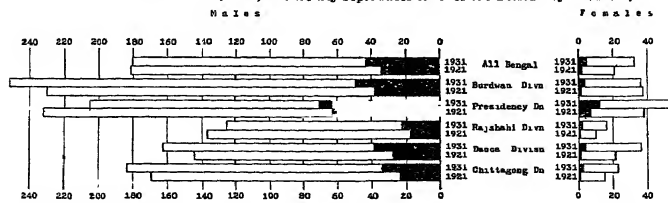
327. Literacy by divisions.—

Amongst males the literacy ratio is highest in the Burdwan Division where it is 252 per mille. It is next highest in the Presidency Division where the figure is only 205 in spite of the fact that in Calcutta nearly half the population are literate. Chittagong with a ratio of 183 and Dacca with a ratio of 162 follow and the ratio is lowest (125), in the Rajshahi Division which gives a figure smaller than that for the Cooch Behar

DIAGRAM No. IX-1.

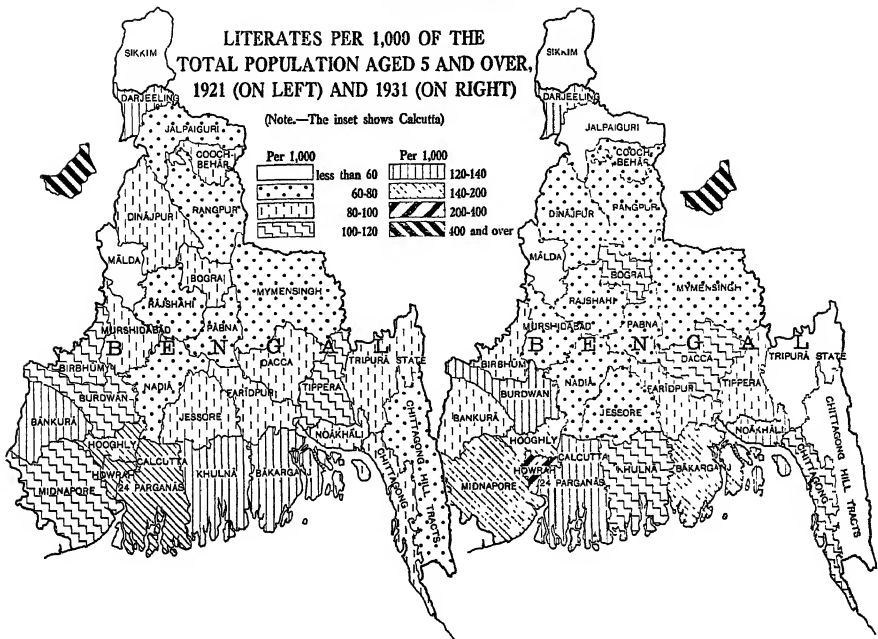
Numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over of the same sex in each administrative division, 1931 and 1921.

NOTE.—The deeply shaded portion shows those literate in English. (The column for female literacy in Burdwan Division, 1921, erroneously reproduces that for the Presidency Division.)



State (132), but considerably larger than that for Tripura State and Sikkim (59 and 66, respectively). The Presidency Division has the highest number of female literates, viz., 51 per mille, a figure to which Calcutta largely contributes where exactly one-third of the female population are literate. The ratio is 36 in the Burdwan and Dacca Divisions, 23 in the Chittagong Division and 16 in North Bengal. The literacy ratios for divisions are illustrated from subsidiary table II in diagram No. IX-1 which also illustrates for comparison the figures for 1921 taken from subsidiary table VI. The respective order of literacy amongst the divisions in 1931 and 1921 is the same for males except for Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and has changed for females only as regards the position of Burdwan and Dacca Divisions.

DIAGRAM No. IX-2.



328. **Literacy by districts.**—Literacy ratios for both sexes by districts are illustrated for the years 1921 and 1931 in diagram No. IX-2. The figures

STATEMENT No. IX-4.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex aged 5 and over, by districts and states, for 1921 and 1931.

Districts and States	1921			1931		
	Both sexes	Males	Fe- males.	Both sexes	Males	Fe- males.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bengal	110	180	32	104	181	21
Burdwan	123	209	30	113	203	20
Birbhum	81	130	12	114	216	12
Bankura	89	185	12	125	237	11
Midnapore	175	312	34	119	215	19
Hooghly	160	258	46	145	245	21
Howrah	207	303	88	168	281	25
24-Parganas	127	207	31	180	252	24
Calcutta	432	470	338	450	589	271
Nadia	69	108	26	73	120	25
Murshidabad	83	107	18	80	142	18
Jessore	76	127	39	86	151	16
Khulna	100	165	24	122	214	19
Rajshahi	77	127	33	82	109	11
Dinajpur	74	130	11	90	161	10
Jalpaiguri	86	102	18	65	113	8
Darjeeling	126	211	27	124	211	25
Rangpur	69	120	12	68	121	7
Bogra	113	191	27	99	170	13
Pabna	70	117	21	76	134	12
Malda	38	68	7	55	103	7
Dacca	109	168	46	99	167	29
Mymensingh	77	110	30	80	104	12
Faridpur	61	149	30	81	156	23
Bakarganj	144	244	37	134	234	26
Tippera	83	165	15	102	180	18
Noakhali	132	230	31	88	165	11
Chittagong	104	182	31	84	160	13
Chittagong Hill Tracts	30	80	6	64	113	5
Cooch Behar	77	129	14	81	150	11
Tripura State	34	59	5	82	143	11

In Faridpur and Tippera on the east and Birbhum and Bankura on the west it is between 8 and 10 per cent. In Jalpaiguri, Malda, Tripura and Chittagong

for 1931 are given in column 2 of subsidiary table II, those for 1921 are taken from the same table of 1921, and details for both years are included in statement No. IX-4 shown in the margin. The highest degree of literacy is in Calcutta and reference has already been made to it. The ratio is higher than 20 per cent. only in the district of Howrah and it is between 14 and 20 per cent. in Hooghly, Midnapore and Bakarganj. In Darjeeling, Burdwan, 24-Parganas and Noakhali the ratio is between 12 and 14 per cent., but except in the districts of Bogra, Dacca and Chittagong where it is between 10 and 12 per cent. it is not as high as 10 per cent. in any other part of the province.

Hill Tracts as well as in Sikkim it is less than 6 per cent. there are no more than 3·4 to 3·8 persons literate in every hundred in Malda, Tripura State and Sikkim; and elsewhere the proportion is between 6 and 8. The area north of the Padma, therefore, with the exception of Darjeeling and Bogra, together with the strip of land comprising Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore in continuation of it to the south and another strip including Mymensingh, Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts prolonging it to the east and south-east is the area in which illiteracy is most extensive. The distribution was rather more even in 1921. Then, as now, the areas of greatest literacy were in the west and southern fringe of the province and in the Darjeeling district in the north, whilst Malda had a literacy ratio of less than 6 per cent. Malda, however, and Sikkim were then the only areas with so small a literacy ratio and both have shown a decrease in the ratio during the decade. There has similarly been a decrease in all the districts of the Presidency Division and in some districts in every other division except Dacca, where the ratio is the same in Faridpur as in 1921 and has increased in Dacca, Mymensingh and Bakarganj. The only districts in which, outside of the Dacca Division, an increase in the incidence of literacy has been recorded are Burdwan (from 113 to 123), Midnapore (from 116 to 175), Hooghly (from 145 to 160), Howrah (from 168 to 207), Darjeeling (from 124 to 126), Rangpur (from 68 to 69), Bogra (from 99 to 113), Noakhali (from 89 to 132) and Chittagong (from 84 to 104). In every other district the literacy ratio shows a decrease on the figure for 1921.

329. Literacy ratios in cities.—Subsidiary table II contains figures also for cities. The average literacy ratio in cities is nearly 4 times as high as in the whole of Bengal. It is 414 in every 1,000 and closely approaches that for Calcutta which is 432. It is higher in Dacca (422) than in Howrah (356) and the male ratio in Dacca is actually higher than in Calcutta, being 502 compared with 476. Nearly one-third of the females in Dacca and more than one-fourth in Howrah are literate.

330. English literacy.—The corresponding ratios for males only literate in English are illustrated in diagram No. IX-3 from the figures given in subsidiary table IV and reproduced with those for 1921 in the marginal statement No. IX-5. More than 1 male in every 5 who are returned as literate is literate also in English. The highest percentage of English literacy occurs in Calcutta where it is over 25 per cent. and it is the industrial area of Howrah and Hooghly and the district of Burdwan which show the next highest incidence of English literacy. In these districts the percentage literate in English is between 5 and 10 of the total population. The proportions for 1921 and 1931 in the divisions are illustrated by diagram No. IX-1. The high percentage of English literacy in Calcutta throws up the percentage in the Presidency Division to as much as 7 per cent. of the total male population and English literacy is most widely extended after the Presidency Division in Burdwan, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions whilst even in Rajshahi rather more than 2½ per cent. of the total population is

STATEMENT No. IX-5.

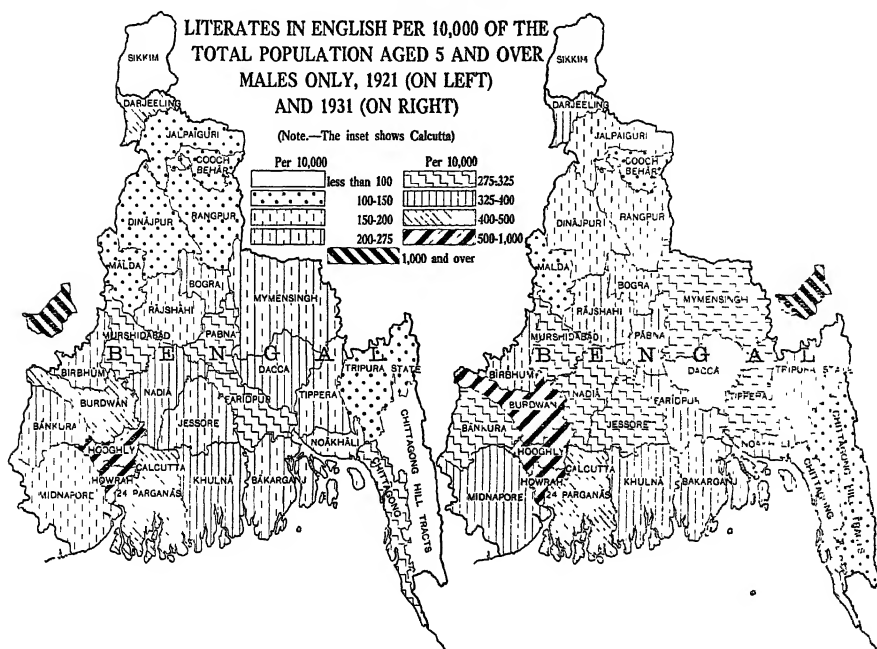
Numbers literate in English per 10,000 of the same
sex aged 5 and over, by districts and states,
for 1921 and 1931.

Districts and States.	1931		1921	
	Males	Fe- males	Males	Fe- males
1	2	3	4	5
Bengal ..	428	48	339	23
Burdwan ..	562	38	430	24
Birbhum ..	250	11	274	5
Bankura ..	275	7	205	2
Midnapore ..	339	18	164	10
Hooghly ..	767	37	605	16
Howrah ..	896	137	799	45
24 Parganas ..	458	38	481	23
Calcutta ..	2,562	1,117	2,619	708
Nadia ..	320	26	331	16
Murshidabad ..	240	25	284	10
Jessore ..	288	18	201	13
Khulna ..	394	22	341	7
Rajshahi ..	247	15	150	4
Luximpur ..	150	11	129	5
Jaipur ..	172	23	126	6
Darjeeling ..	371	94	417	143
Rangpur ..	109	14	132	6
Bogra ..	345	29	249	7
Pabna ..	316	27	303	9
Mirza ..	137	6	127	3
Dacca ..	492	60	386	19
Mymensingh ..	313	40	203	8
Faridpur ..	370	31	310	10
Bakarganj ..	390	34	280	11
Tippura ..	311	98	255	9
Noakhali ..	341	30	195	5
Chittagong ..	406	27	284	16
Chittagong Hill Tracts ..	102	6	84	3
Cooch Behar ..	125	16	153	10
Tripura State ..	172	12	115	7

literate in English. English literacy has increased during the decade in every division and the average figure for Bengal which was 339 per 10,000 in 1921

is now 428 per 10,000, the greatest proportionate increase being in the Dacca and Burdwan Divisions. After these districts the 24-Parganas and Dacca and Chittagong show the widest prevalence of English literacy. Speaking generally, English literacy is naturally found to be most frequent in the same

DIAGRAM No. IX-3.



areas as those which are most literate in the vernacular. Thus, Bengal north of the Padma with the exception of Darjeeling, Bogra and Pabna together with Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts are the areas in which the English literacy ratio is lowest. But Mymensingh with a comparatively low general literacy ratio has an English literacy ratio three-fourths that of the whole province and in the Tripura State a larger proportion than the average of all persons literate are literate in English. Similarly, in Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore, where the ratio of literacy in any vernacular is comparatively low, the ratio of English literacy is between $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Diagram No. IX-3 makes it possible to estimate the change in the English literacy ratios between the last two decades. There has been a decrease in the proportions in Darjeeling, Birbhum and Nadia. A decrease in Calcutta is outside the range of hatchings in this diagram and is entirely due to the inclusion in the figures for the present census of the inhabitants of areas added since 1921; and if the figures for the area now constituting Calcutta be taken, the proportions have increased. The fact that instruction for the matriculation examination hitherto has been conducted in English has undoubtedly contributed to the relatively high proportion of literacy in English and the decision recently made that instruction up to the matriculation standard shall be given in the vernacular may be expected to result in a diminution of the proportions of those literate in English probably not marked in 1941 but likely to be considerable in 1951.

331. Literacy by religion.—The numbers literate and literate in English in every 1,000 of the same sex and religion in successive census years from

1901 are given in statement No. IX-6 and are illustrated in diagram No. IX-4. In this diagram the religions are arranged in a descending order according to their literacy in 1931. Nearly 727 of every 1,000 male Jews aged 5 and over

STATEMENT No. IX-6.

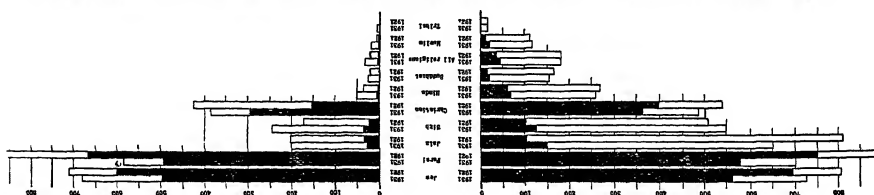
Numbers literate and literate in English per 1,000 of the same sex and religion aged 5 and over in successive census years.

Religion	Literate								Literate in English			
	Male				Female				Male		Female	
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1901	1911	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
All religions	147	161	181	180	9	13	21	32	34	43	2	5
Muslim	77	93	100	116	2	3	6	17	11	20	3	2
Hindu	217	238	268	359	11	23	36	40	59	68	2	6
Tribal	.	11	14	14	.	.	1	1	1	1	0.1	.
Buddhist	.	197	169	155	11	19	25	16	21	1	1	1
Christian	..	590	539	484	467	425	334	397	303	303	303	294
Jain	..	794	809	661	122	201	199	103	160	32	32	24
Sikh	..	354	505	545	85	172	244	102	124	23	35	35
Jew	..	833	805	727	712	709	680	694	580	600	495	495
Parsi	..	802	893	702	851	893	584	750	577	607	492	492

are literate and the proportion of female literacy in this religion (680 per 1,000) is also the highest. The Parsis follow with a male literacy of 702 and a female literacy of 584 per 1,000. In both these communities the proportion of literates in English is high amongst both males and females but amongst the Jains who follow next in the order of literacy there are proportionately fewer males literate in English than amongst the Christians (whose numbers of

DIAGRAM No. IX-4.

Numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over of the same sex in each religion, 1931 and 1921 (males on left—females on right).



course are swollen by persons to whom English is their mother tongue) and amongst the females not only the Christians but also the Sikhs have a higher English literacy ratio than the Jains. The Hindus of both sexes are well above the average of literacy both in the vernacular and in English; but Buddhists, Muslims and Tribals are below it and only 14 Tribal males in every 1,000 are literate in any language. With the exception of Sikhs and Muslims all the communities show a decrease in literacy amongst males between 1921 and 1931. On the other hand, with the exception of Jews, Parsis and Christians, the proportion literate in English has increased in each religion during the decade, save amongst those professing Tribal religions where the proportion is practically the same in both years. Amongst Jews, Parsis, Jains and Christians there has similarly been a decrease in the proportions of females literate in the vernacular and literate in English. Amongst women of other religions however there has in every case been an increase in the proportion literate both in the vernacular and in English save amongst Buddhist females with whom the proportions remain stationary. The figures of literacy amongst Indian Christians are given in subsidiary table IX by Tribal and similar groups.

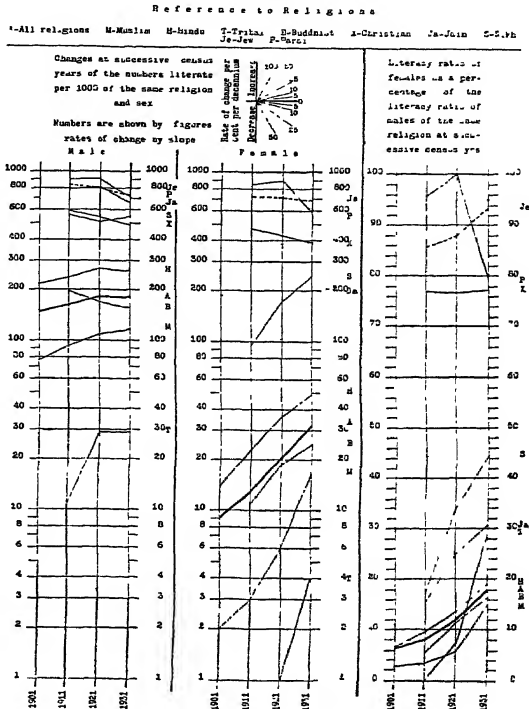
332. **Literacy by religion at each census, 1901-1931.**—The figures shown in statement No. IX-6 are also illustrated in diagram No. IX-5. On the left hand side of this diagram changes are shown in the percentages literate: from 1901 for the two principal religions, Muslim and Hindu, and from 1911 for the remaining religions shown. The relative positions of the religions have been generally maintained in every year with the exception that in both sexes the ratio has declined amongst the Jews less rapidly than amongst the

Parsis with the result that the Parsis for the first time are shown on the present occasion in the second place. Similarly Sikhs have now overtaken Christians and have a higher proportion of literates amongst males though they are still considerably behind them in their female literacy ratio.

Amongst males the most rapid rate of increase in the ratio has been between 1911 and 1921 amongst those professing Tribal religions. The figures for females on the whole show much steeper slopes particularly for the more numerous religions which have principally influenced the average (shown by a thicker line) and it is only amongst the Jews, Jains and Christians that the literacy ratio remains even approximately the same. The study of the proportionate literacy ratios is facilitated by the right hand portion of diagram No. IX-5 plotted from statement No. IX-7. In 1921 proportionately there were as many Parsis literate amongst females as amongst males; and amongst Jews in 1931 in an equal number of each sex more than 9 females are literate for every 10 males. Amongst the Parsis, in spite of a decrease in the relative proportions, amongst equal numbers of each sex there are still to be found more than 8 females for every 10 males literate. Similarly in equal numbers of each sex amongst the Christians almost the same proportions would be found literate between the sexes as amongst the Parsis, but scarcely more than 4 females would be literate for every 10 males amongst the Sikhs and the relative proportions are very much less in other religions. On the average in equal numbers of each sex scarcely 18 females would be found literate for every 100 males and amongst the Buddhists and Muslims the discrepancy is even greater. At the same time the steepness of the curve in this part of the diagram taken with the portion in which are plotted the female ratios by successive years illustrates both the eagerness with which since 1901 all those communities which had then a low literacy ratio amongst females have been seeking further education for their girls and also the fact that proportionately the increase in all religions in the proportions of females returned as literate at each successive census has been considerably in excess of the increase amongst males. In the right hand side of this diagram a level horizontal line would indicate corresponding changes of an

DIAGRAM No. IX-5.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex in each religion, 1901-1931.



STATEMENT No. IX-7.

Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio.

Religion.	1901.	1911	1921	1931.
All religions ..	6.12	8.07	11.60	17.77
Muslim ..	2.50	3.23	5.51	14.63
Hindu ..	6.46	9.06	13.44	18.92
Tribal ..	..	..	7.14	29.58
Buddhist ..	..	5.58	11.24	16.13
Christian ..	..	79.14	78.84	79.34
Jain ..	..	19.37	24.85	30.57
Sikh ..	..	17.15	34.06	44.62
Jew ..	..	85.40	88.06	93.34
Parsi ..	..	95.39	100.00	83.20

1901 all those communities which had then a low literacy ratio amongst females have been seeking further education for their girls and also the fact that proportionately the increase in all religions in the proportions of females returned as literate at each successive census has been considerably in excess of the increase amongst males. In the right hand side of this diagram a level horizontal line would indicate corresponding changes of an

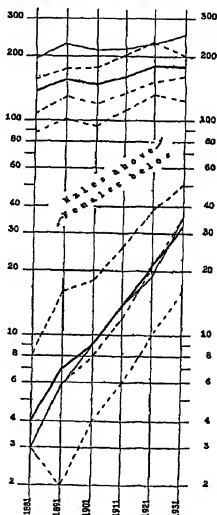
equal proportional magnitude in the literacy ratios for males and females, whilst an upward slope indicates that the ratio amongst females is a larger proportion of the ratio amongst males than at the preceding census. Amongst the Parsis, for instance, the ratio has decreased in both cases but it has decreased more rapidly amongst females than amongst males. Amongst the Jews, on the other hand, there has been a decrease in the ratio of both sexes which has been more pronounced amongst males than amongst females and the curve from 1921 to 1931 in the case of the Jews on the extreme right of the diagram is consequently upward. Similarly, amongst the Buddhists the ratio has increased at each of the last two decades amongst females and has decreased amongst males and the curves on the right hand side of the diagram are steep. Perhaps the steepest curve is amongst those of Tribal religions. The male ratio has remained practically stationary between 1921 and 1931 whereas the female ratio has increased and is now four times what it was in 1921.

333. Literacy by divisions, 1881-1931.—For divisions the literacy ratios at each census 1881-1931 are plotted in diagram No. IX-6 from the figures given in subsidiary table VI. In comparing the ratios for 1881 and 1891 with those for subsequent years it must be remembered that in 1881 and 1891 there were three categories, viz., illiterate, literate and learning, that in 1901 the category of those learning was abandoned but no criterion was prescribed by which to decide literacy and that it was not till 1911 that the definite standard was adopted by which on each occasion literacy has since been defined for census purposes. In compiling the figures under the classification now adopted those who were returned as learning in 1881 and 1891 have been shown as literate if above and illiterate if below the age of 15 years. The relative position of the divisions in the order of literacy in the case of males has been the same on each occasion with the exception of 1881 when Chittagong Division was in the second place and the Presidency Division third and of 1921 when the Presidency Division took the lead. The order amongst females has varied a good deal more and is not the same as amongst the males. The highest proportion of female literacy is found and has always been found in the Presidency Division and at every census since 1891 the Dacca Division has had a higher percentage of female literates than the Chittagong Division where the ratio of male literates is greater than in Dacca. From the year 1891 until 1921 the proportion of literacy increased continuously in all divisions amongst females and at a relatively high rate. Amongst males, on the other hand, between 1891 and 1901 there was a drop in the ratio in every division except the Presidency, and in no decade since 1891 has the increase in the ratio been so great amongst males as amongst females.

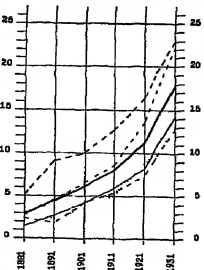
DIAGRAM No. IX-6.
Numbers literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over of the same sex in each administrative division, 1881-1931.

Reference to divisions
All Bengal ————— Rajshahi - - - - -
Burdwan ————— Dacca
Presidency ————— Chittagong

A - Numbers literate per 1000 of the same sex aged 5 and over, 1881-1931.
Numbers are shown by figures, rate of change by slope.
Rate of change per cent. decennial



B - Literacy ratio for females as a percentage of the literacy ratio for males, 1881-1931.



334. Relatively greater increase in literacy amongst females.—The extent to which the female literacy ratio has increased compared with the

male ratio is shown in statement No. IX-8 illustrated by the bottom part of diagram No. IX-6. Here, again, as in diagram No. IX-5 a horizontal line would represent a constant proportion between the literacy ratio of females

STATEMENT No. IX-8.

Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio, 1881-1931.

Natural division	1881.	1891	1901	1911.	1921	1931.
Bengal ..	2 92	4 49	6 12	8 07	11 60	17 77
Burdwan Division ..	1 52	2 63	4 20	6 02	8 26	14 28
Presidency Division ..	5 13	9 14	10 10	12 08	16 34	25 12
Rajshahi Division ..	3 41	1 06	4 25	5 41	7 41	12 80
Dacca Division ..	2 78	4 01	6 61	8 82	13 63	23 22
Chittagong Division ..	3 14	2 44	3 68	5 26	8 57	13 51

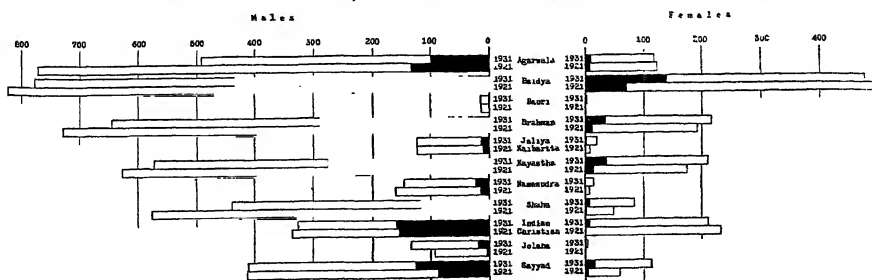
and males. Between 1881 and 1891 the female ratio in Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions declined and the male ratio increased. Consequently the slope in the lower part of diagram No. IX-6 is downward, but after this year the proportionate increase has been considerably more rapid amongst the females in every division than amongst males. In 1891 in an equal number of persons of both sexes in the whole of Bengal less than 5 women would have been found literate to every 100 men but in 1931 for every 100 men 18 women would be found literate. The difference is considerably greater in the Dacca Division where, in an equal number of both sexes, almost 5 times as many females would now be found literate per 100 literate males as in 1891 and 8 times as many as in 1881. Even in the Rajshahi Division where the female literacy ratio is lowest there are now in an equal number of both sexes for every 100 literate males 6 times as many literate females as there were in 1891.

335. **Literacy in selected castes.**—The figures for literacy in selected castes are given in imperial table XIV and the ratios calculated from them are shown in subsidiary table V. Comparisons with 1921 are affected by the fact that the figures on the present occasion for selected castes are shown for those aged 7 and over in some cases and those aged 4 and over in others instead of for those aged 5 and over as in 1921. Forty-one groups are shown in this table but it is only for the 21 referred to in paragraph 3 of the title page to the table that figures are on record of all persons aged 7 and over for calculation of the proportion as literate aged 7 and over in the total population of the same age. These proportions are worked out and shown in subsidiary table V in part A. For the remaining groups shown in part B of the subsidiary table, the proportions are worked out in the total population.

DIAGRAM No. IX-7.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex and age in selected castes, 1931 and 1921.

NOTE.—Figures are for 1931 of those aged 7 and over and for 1921 of those aged 5 and over. The deeply shaded portion shows those literate in English. The figures for English literacy of Baidya males and Indian Christian females are incorrectly represented and should be 529 and 94, in 1931 and 513 and 85 in 1921, respectively.



The figures given in subsidiary table V for literates, aged 7 and over per 1,000 of the same sex and age in selected castes in 1931 compared with the figures for literates aged 5 and over per 1,000 of the same sex and age in 1921 are illustrated in diagram No. IX-7. Amongst the groups shown, excluding Anglo-Indians, the highest proportions of literacy in both sexes is in the Baidya caste of whom more than three-quarters of the males and almost one-half of the females are literate. The Brahmans, Kayasthas, Agarwalas and Shudras follow. The number of literates per 1,000 males are amongst

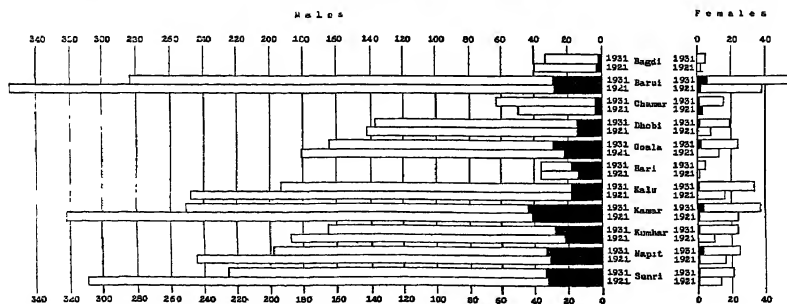
the Brahmans, 645, amongst the Kayasthas, 571, amongst the Agarwalas, 491, and amongst the Shahas, 438. After the Baidyas for females the ratios are highest amongst the Brahmans (216), Indian Christians (212) and Kayasthas (209). The Shahas show a literacy ratio amongst their females of only 85 in every 1,000 whilst the Indian Christian males are less literate than the Shahas, though their females are more literate even than the Kayasthas. The order of literacy in English is approximately the same. The *Baidyas lead with 529 per 1,000 or more than half and are followed at some distance by Brahmans with 289 and Kayasthas with 274 literates per 1,000. The extent of English literacy amongst females is naturally considerably less. Here also of the groups shown in the diagram the highest percentage is amongst the Baidyas where 140 in every 1,000 are literate in English. *Indian Christians with 94 and Kayasthas with 35 are next both having a higher number per 1,000 literate in English than the Brahmans with only 33. The comparative figures for 1921 and 1931 show, speaking generally, amongst the higher and more literate classes a decrease in the literacy recorded in 1931 compared with 1921. Amongst the Jaliya Kaibarttas the decrease is comparatively small amongst males. This is also the case with the Sayyads. The "Mumin" (Jolahas) amongst those shown in this diagram have actually increased their proportion of literates. But in every other case there has been a decrease in the proportion least marked amongst such castes as the Namasudras and Indian Christians. Amongst females, on the other hand, there is, in general, an increase recorded excepting for Indian Christians, Baidyas and Agarwalas, who indeed would seem to have lost ground, but in every other caste shown in this table the ratio of female literacy is higher than it was in 1921. On the other hand the general tendency in all cases has been to take advantage of the facilities of education in English and the English literacy ratios show a decrease only in the case of Agarwala males.

Figures similar to the above but calculated on the total population and including in 1931 those literate aged 4 and over are shown for certain other groups for which in 1931 the total numbers of the same age are not on record.

DIAGRAM No. IX-8.

Number literate per 1,000 of the same sex, all ages, in selected castes, 1931 and 1921.

NOTE.—Figures are for 1931 of literates aged 4 and over, and for 1921 of literates aged 5 and over. The deeply shaded portion shows those literate in English.



Some of these groups are illustrated in †diagram No. IX-8. Similar tendencies are revealed by these figures. Thus there has been in general amongst males of all groups a decrease in the proportions returned as literate in any language except amongst the Chamars where the literacy ratio has increased from 50 to 63 per 1,000 at all ages and amongst the Haris where it has remained

*The figures for English literacy of Baidya males and Indian Christian females are incorrectly represented in the diagram and should be 529 and 94 in 1931 and 513 and 85 in 1921, respectively.

†The English literacy ratio shown in the diagram for Chamar females in 1921 should represent total literacy.

exactly the same (36 per 1,000) as in 1921. The decrease is most notable amongst the Baruis, Kamars and Sunris where the proportions were highest in 1921. On the other hand, decrease in the proportions returned as literate in English appear only amongst the Bagdis and to a very small extent amongst the Chamars and Kalus whilst amongst females no group shows a decrease either in general literacy or in literacy in English. There are now between 12 and 18 more females literate in every 1,000 than in 1921 amongst the Baruis, Kalus, Kamars and Kumhars and in every 10,000 there are 10 and upwards more literate in English amongst the *Chamars, Kumhars, Goalas, Napits, Kamars and Baruis.

336. **Progressive acquisition of literacy.**—For each sex a distribution by age-groups is shown for literacy by religion in subsidiary table I and by locality in subsidiary table II and for English literacy by locality in subsidiary table IV. For the whole of Bengal statement No. IX-9 shows the total numbers together with those literate and literate in English in every 10,000 of each sex aged at and over 0, 5, 10, 15, and 20 and this statement is illustrated in diagram No. IX-9.

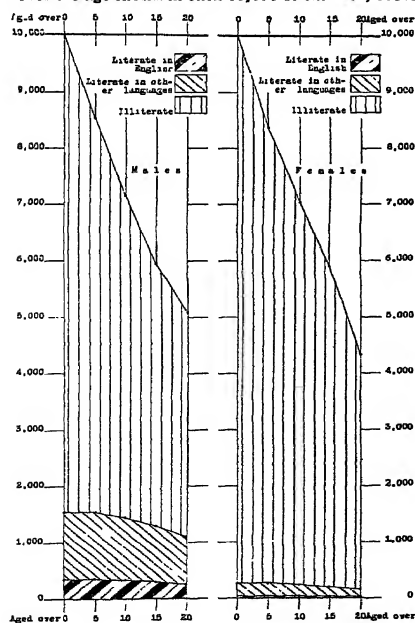
STATEMENT No. IX-9.

Numbers of and over the age shown, total, literate and literate in English, in each 10,000 of the same sex, 1931.

Aged and over.	Males			Females		
	Total	Literate	Literate in English.	Total	Literate	Literate in English
0 ..	10,000	1,536	361	10,000	272	40
5 ..	8,823	1,549	304	8,384	272	40
10 ..	7,185	1,366	314	7,049	240	36
15 ..	5,359	1,285	308	5,892	198	29
20 ..	5,335	1,093	252	4,858	155	22

DIAGRAM No. IX-9.

Numbers literate, literate in English and illiterate of and over the age shown in each 10,000 of each sex, 1931.



which literacy is acquired at all ages beyond 20 is not sufficient to counterbalance the effect of the illiterates of advancing years who now form an increasing proportion of the total left for consideration at and over this age.

*The English literacy ratio shown in the diagram for Chamar females in 1921 should represent total literacy.

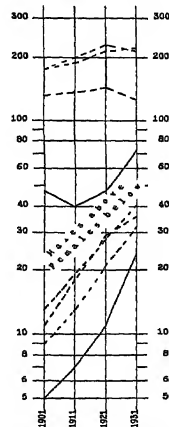
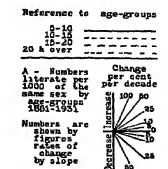
In 1921 an examination of very much more detailed figures than are now available, led to the conclusion that literacy continued to be acquired right up to the age of 27. Up to the age of 20, in the case of males, these conclusions are supported by the figures here discussed, and the age-groups are not compiled at a later date than 20 in sufficient detail to justify any assertion at variance with that made in 1921. Amongst females the figures are similar, but the check comes earlier. The numbers literate at the age of 10 and over are 88·3 per cent. of those literate at ages 5 and over, but the total female population at and over 10 years of age is only 84·3 per cent. of those at age 5 and over. The total number who acquire literacy after 15 years of age does not prevent a decline in the percentage of literate and literate in English which is more rapid than in the total population and at 15 and over the total numbers are 83·5 per cent. of those aged 10 and over, but those who are literates and literates in English form only 78·3 and 75·8 per cent. of the corresponding group including the previous five years.

337. Literacy at age-groups in 1911, 1921 and 1931.

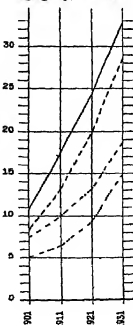
A similar comparison can be made by an examination of the figures representing at each census the survivors of those on the average aged 10 years younger at the previous census with the numbers in these respective age-groups literate in both years. For a satisfactory examination along these lines also it would be necessary to have literacy figures worked out in very considerably greater extension than on the present occasion, and the number of groups to which examination must be confined is comparatively small. Statement No. IX-10 illustrated by diagram No. IX-10 shows the literacy ratios by sexes at the age-groups given in imperial table XIII for the years 1901 to 1931. Those in the age-group 15-20 of 1931 represents the survivors of those in the age-group 5 to 10 of 1921. If two not unreasonable assumptions are made, first that the rates of mortality are approximately the same amongst the literate and illiterate at any age-group and secondly that the extent of lapse from literacy is negligible at these ages the difference in the proportions of those literate in age-group 5 to 10 in any census year and similar proportions for the age-group 15-20 in the succeeding census provide a measure of the extent to which persons in the younger age-group at the beginning of the decade have acquired literacy by its end. By 1911 for every 5 literate in age-group 5-10 in 1901, 7 were literate amongst their survivors and for every 4 who were literate amongst those aged 5-10 in 1911 and 1921, respectively, 7 were literate amongst their survivors after the expiry of ten years. These are the figures for males and the corresponding figures for females are higher. For every 4 females who were literate in the age-group 5 to 10 in the years 1901, 1911 and 1921, respectively, there were amongst their survivors ten years later more than 4 literate in 1911, more than 7 literate in 1921 and almost 12 literate in 1931. With the exception of a decline in the literacy ratio of males of those aged 5-10 between the years 1901 and 1911 there was at every census in both sexes an increase in the proportion literate at each age-group until the year 1931 when males aged 10-15 and 20 and over had a lower literacy ratio than at the previous census. The result is unexpected. There has been during the past decade some falling off in the numbers attending for instruction in the universities, but the degree of education entitling a person to be returned as literate for census purposes is acquired fairly early in the primary school

DIAGRAM No. IX-10.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same age in each sex, 1901-1931.



B. - Literacy ratio for females as a percentage of the literacy ratio for males of the same age-group, 1901-1931



and in the primary schools there has been a considerable increase in the number of scholars, though principally in the classes below those in which it can be assumed that literacy is acquired. The explanation of the unexpected result has already been suggested in an earlier paragraph. The figures for females do not show any decline in the proportion in any age-group and in every one the increase in the literacy ratio has been both continuous and rapid since 1901, the highest rate of increase being in the age-group 5-10 years old between the years 1921 and 1931.

STATEMENT No. IX-10.

Numbers literate per mille of the same sex and age-group, 1901-1931.

Age group	Males				Females			
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1901	1911	1921	1931
5-10	47	40	45	74	5	7	11	24
10-15	131	136	144	126	11	15	20	36
15-20	176	189	214	219	13	19	25	41
20 and over	176	199	215	215	9	13	21	32

338. Comparative increase at age-groups between females and males, 1911-1931.—In part B of diagram No. IX-10 points are plotted from the figures in statement No. IX-11 which illustrate the comparative increase in literacy at each age-group between males and females during the same years.

STATEMENT No. IX-11.

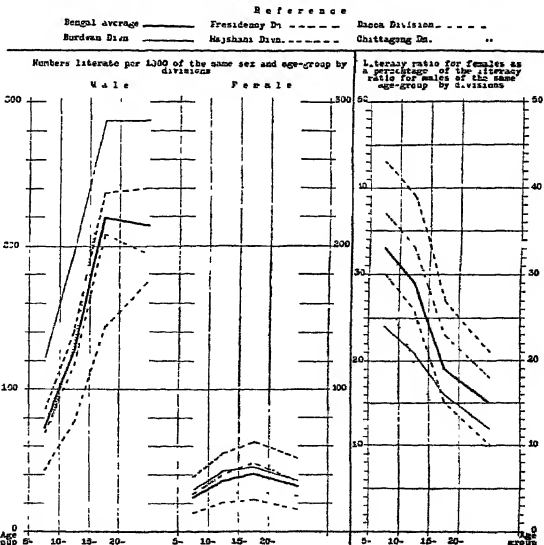
Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio in the same age-group, 1901-1931.

Age group	1901	1911	1921	1931
5-10	10	63	17	50
10-15	8	33	13	23
15-20	7	39	10	33
20 and over	5	11	6	58

As in diagrams No. IX-5 and No. IX-6 the slope of each line gives an indication of the extent to which progress in literacy at each age-group has been more rapid amongst females than amongst males. Of each sex there are more than three times as many males literate as females at the age-group 5-10 and more than six times as many at the age-group 20 and over. But in 1901 in equal numbers of each sex scarcely one female would have been found literate in the ages 5-10 for every 10 males and little more than one in 20 at the age 20 and over. Female literacy at all age-groups has increased at a very much more rapid rate from census to census than male literacy.

DIAGRAM No. IX-11.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same age in each sex by administrative divisions, 1931.



339. Literacy at age-groups by divisions.

Literacy ratios by age-groups are shown for each sex in each of the divisions in diagram No. IX-11 based upon subsidiary table II. Amongst males the variations in each division follow very closely those in the whole of Bengal up to the age-group 15 to 20, but whereas in general there is a smaller proportion of literates at the ages 20 and over there is actually a larger proportion in the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions and an equal proportion in the Burdwan Division. Burdwan Division is shown to owe its first place in literacy to the fact that it has the highest literacy ratio at all age-groups and the only variations in order occur in the position of the Chittagong Division. Amongst males in the Chittagong Division the literacy ratio is lower in the age-group 5-10 than in

Dacca and in the age-group 15-20 it is higher than in the Presidency Division. The fact that education amongst females was taken up with greater enthusiasm at a later date than amongst males is reflected in the curve for females given in this diagram. In each division between the age-groups 15 to 20 and 20 and over there is a decrease in the literacy proportion caused as amongst men by the survival of those who were not given the opportunity of education in youth but much more pronounced amongst females, whilst the very steep increase in the proportions between the ages of 10 to 15 and 15 to 20 in the case of males is very considerably flattened out in the case of females owing to the fact that those who have not acquired literacy at the age of 15 acquire it later in life in a very much smaller proportion of cases amongst women than amongst men. Interest in female education appears to have been aroused earlier in the Dacca than in the Burdwan Division, although the literacy ratio for the whole female population is somewhat less. Between the ages of 5 and 15 also there is a smaller proportion of literates amongst females in Dacca than in Burdwan due presumably either to diminution of effort in Dacca or to increase of effort in the Burdwan Division.

340. Comparison of ratios amongst males and females in divisions.—The right hand section of the diagram illustrates the figures given in statement No. IX-12 showing the literacy ratio for females as a percentage of the literacy ratio for males in the same age-group. This illustrates even more strikingly in every division the remarks at the conclusion of the last paragraph. In every division the ratio for females approaches more closely to that for males at the earlier ages than in any subsequent age-group. In the age-group 5 to 10 amongst an equal number of each sex there will be found in the Presidency Division 43 females literate for every 100 literate males, and even in the Burdwan Division, where the discrepancy is the greatest, there will be found 24 literate females for every 100 literate males. But by the time the age-group 15 to 20 is reached in the Presidency Division, where the discrepancy is the least, it is greater than in any division except in Burdwan at the age of 5 to 10. The age-group 20 and over continues to include a large number of both sexes who were born before the beginning of the increase in literacy, but even were those now aged between 5 and 10 merely to maintain their present rate of education in the Presidency Division, or to increase it in each sex at a regular rate, by the time of the next census in the age-group 15 to 20 there should be, on an average, nearly twice as many literate females as are now found in that group for every literate male in an equal number of each sex.

STATEMENT No. IX-12.

Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio in the same age-group, by divisions, 1931.

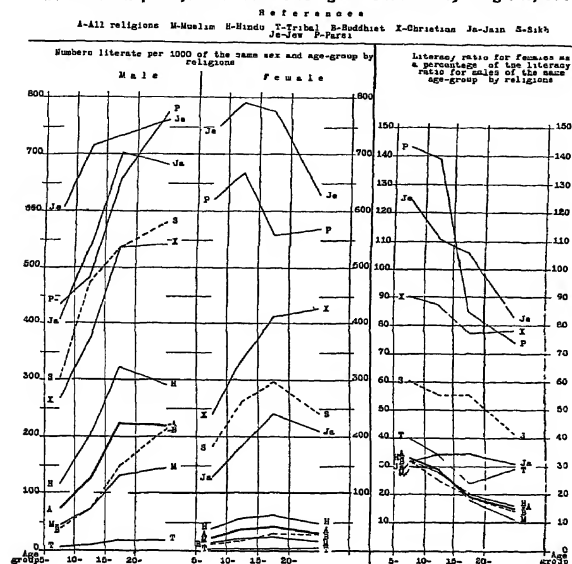
Division	Age group				
	5 and over	5-10	10-15	15-20.	20 and over.
All Bengal	18	33	29	19	15
Burdwan Division	14	24	21	16	12
Presidency Division	25	43	39	27	21
Rajshahi Division	13	30	26	15	10
Dacca Division	22	37	34	23	18
Chittagong Division	13	28	20	11	10

341. Literacy at age-groups by religions.—The literacy ratios by religions in each age-group are shown in subsidiary table I and illustrated in diagram No. IX-12. At the age of 20 and over the highest proportion of literacy in males is found amongst the Parsis, but at the earlier ages their proportion of literacy is lower than that of the Jews and between the ages of 10 and 20 also than that of the Jains. Christians are at all age-groups returned as more literate than any religion whose numbers are greater. Literacy is in every age-group least amongst those professing Tribal religions, but whereas amongst the Muslims the ratio is lower at the age-groups 15 to 20 and 20 and over than amongst Buddhists the last ten to fifteen years have shown a greater expansion of literacy amongst the Muslims than amongst the Buddhists and in the two earlier age-groups 5 to 10 and 10 to 15, their proportion is higher. The comparative figures for females show few variations in the order of literacy in each age-group from those for males, but both amongst Sikhs and Jains the discrepancy between literacy amongst males and females is

pronounced. Amongst the major religions the same flattening down of the curve is observable at the later age-groups in every religion as has been commented upon in the previous paragraphs when dealing with divisions. As amongst males the impetus to Muslim education has resulted in a greater increase in female literacy at ages 5 to 10 and 10 to 15 than amongst Buddhists whom the Muslims have at these ages now surpassed.

DIAGRAM No. IX-12.

Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same age in each sex by religions, 1931.



either less strong at the earlier ages compared with later years, or during the past 10 years there has been a slackening off of the relative enthusiasm with which the education of girls has been pursued compared with that of boys. But in every other religion shown, in an equal number of both sexes of the same age, for every literate male there are more literate females in the age-group 5 to 10 than in any other age-group. The literacy ratio for females is actually higher than for males up to the age of 15 amongst the Parsis and the Jews and even to the age of 20 amongst the Sikhs. Amongst both these groups, however, and also amongst the Christians, in an equal number of each sex there will be found successively in each advancing age-group a smaller number of literate females for every literate male, and this is a feature of all the religious returns except between the ages 10 to 20 in the case of Sikhs and Jains.

STATEMENT No. IX-13.

Female literacy ratio as a percentage of male literacy ratio at the same age-group by religions, 1931.

Religion	Age group				
	5 and over.	5-10.	10-15.	15-20.	20 and over.
All religions	18	33	29	19	15
Muslim	13	30	29	18	11
Hindu	19	32	28	20	16
Buddhist	16	32	25	19	14
Tribal	29	40	33	24	29
Christian	79	80	87	78	74
Jain	31	32	34	34	31
Sikh	43	60	55	56	41
Jew	94	125	111	108	83
Parsi	83	143	139	85	74

343. Literates who have reached at least the primary standard.—The Indian Statutory Commission suggested that the possession of a primary school certificate might be considered as a qualification for the franchise. The examination is actually held at the conclusion of the primary course in schools in Bengal and a certificate is awarded on the results of this examination; but it would not be possible to take the possession of this certificate as a test for franchise qualifications for several reasons. At the time when the census was taken this certificate had not been awarded for more than the last three years and there are consequently many who have passed the standard but received no certificate. Moreover, although scholars in primary and middle

vernacular schools may sit for the examination those at the equivalent standard in middle English and high schools do not sit. The prescription of an entrance fee also possibly prevents some scholars from sitting for the examination who would have been entitled to sit and would have passed had they taken it. Although it was not possible, therefore, to obtain any significant figures of persons holding a primary school certificate, it was considered advisable to attempt to obtain such statistics as were possible of persons whose educational qualifications could be compared with those suggested by the Indian Statutory Commission.

344. Method of obtaining the returns.—The primary course ends in all schools at a definite standard and it would have been possible to direct the enumerators to record separately persons who had read in any standard higher than the top class of a primary school or its equivalent class in some other school. Such a consideration, however, would have omitted from the statistics all those persons who had successfully completed a primary education without proceeding to the secondary grade. It was finally decided in accordance with the views of the Local Government to prescribe that all persons should be specially returned who had read in the top class of a primary school or its equivalent in other schools. Persons whose education had reached a similar or higher standard under private tuition or otherwise were also to be returned. The instruction is admittedly liable to criticism. There are no doubt a number of scholars who reach what is now universally known throughout Bengal as class IV without completing the course in that class, and even if they completed it some proportion would presumably fail at the primary school certificate examination held on its conclusion. The inclusion of persons who have reached at least an equivalent standard evidently gives room for a considerable amount of omissions and wrongful inclusions and all that can be said of the statistics presented are that they are the best available in the circumstances. The actual instructions issued to the enumerators were as follows :—

“When any person is recorded in column 16 as literate in any language you must enquire whether he has read or is reading in the top class of a primary school or its equivalent class in other schools or elsewhere

The quivalent classes were up to December 31st, 1930—

In East Bengal class V of primary schools ;
class V of middle vernacular schools ;
class IV of middle English schools , and
class IV of high schools :

In West Bengal class V of primary schools ;
class IV of middle vernacular schools ;
class IV of middle English schools ; and
class VIIA of high schools.

From January 1st, 1931 these classes are both in East and West Bengal denominated class IV.

If the person enumerated has read or is reading in one of these classes or in any class higher than these the entry ‘class V’ should be made in his case in column 16.”

The instructions were issued before the renumbering of classes uniformly throughout all types of school in all parts of the province and it is not likely that any confusion resulted from the fact that this redistribution of class-numbers took place as from the 1st January 1931. In compiling the actual figures shown as a supplement to imperial table XIII, persons beyond the age of seven who were returned as literate in English were taken as having achieved at least the primary standard of education and all those specifically returned as having read in class V or its equivalent in any school were added to this number. The figures presented give age-groups to the nearest birthday and no correction has been applied to the figures such as was adopted in order to bring figures in table XIII into quinquennial age-groups for age on last birthday. During the course of compilation the Local Government were not able to express any opinion as to the age-groups which would be most useful for the purposes for which this information would be used ; and it is possible that a more satisfactory grouping would have introduced a division at the age of 21 and shown those aged 21 and over separately. Any such

adjustment would, however, have involved the inaccuracies inevitable in converting age-groups in which the numbers are not determined solely by operation of the forces of mortality, and a separate sort for special age-groups would have resulted in delay and increased expense.

345. The statistics of literates who have reached the primary standard.

The figures obtained by this enquiry are shown in the supplement to imperial table XIII. Ratios have been worked out in detail for all religions, Hindus and Muslims, and these are shown in statements No. IX-14 and No. IX-15 illustrated by diagram No. IX-13. The proportions illustrated are those of and over the age shown in each thousand of each sex. In the whole province amongst those aged 7 and over no more than 1,908,828 males and 223,783 females in British districts are shown as

STATEMENT No. IX-14.

Number per mille of each sex who have received at least a primary education or its equivalent; All religions, Muslims and Hindus.

Age group.	All religions.		Muslims.		Hindus.	
	Male.	Fe- male.	Male.	Fe- male.	Male.	Fe- male.
7-13	43	11			28	5
14-16	114	19	67	11	170	26
17-23	118	14	72	8	160	19
24 and over	100	10	69	6	131	14

STATEMENT No. IX-15.

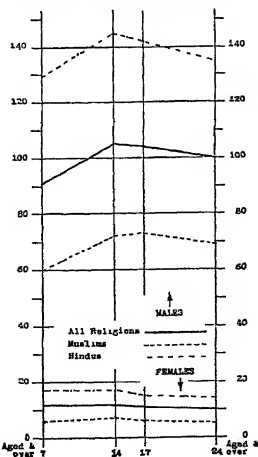
Literates (All religions, Muslims and Hindus) of and over the age shown in each sex who have reached at least the primary standard or its equivalent, with proportionate figures, 1931.

Aged and over	Total population			Actual figures			Proportion per 1,000.			
	Both sexes.	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes.	Male	Female	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bengal British Territory. All religions.	7	39,981,772	21,002,782	18,978,990	2,132,611	1,908,828	224,783	53	01	12
	14	31,221,254	16,269,549	14,951,705	1,884,303	1,700,640	183,663	60	10.5	12
	17	28,775,494	14,768,234	14,007,260	1,685,161	1,534,474	151,627	60	10.4	11
	24	21,571,122	11,866,047	9,705,075	1,274,880	1,172,407	102,443	59	10.0	10
	7	21,501,319	11,229,841	10,272,478	721,289	660,013	61,276	35	30	6
	14	16,372,234	8,457,427	7,920,787	584,282	487,550	96,732	39	1.4	0
	17	14,853,245	7,639,164	7,017,081	570,788	532,239	38,549	39	7.0	3
	24	11,050,449	6,017,078	5,033,371	458,668	415,413	23,255	40	08	3
	7	17,559,738	9,344,913	8,215,125	1,346,165	1,207,723	138,437	76	120	17
	14	14,197,039	7,467,714	6,729,325	1,191,243	1,070,745	111,498	84	145	17
Hindus.	7	12,940,630	6,829,189	6,111,431	1,062,754	965,093	99,661	82	142	15
	14	10,044,629	5,433,984	4,610,665	786,114	730,967	63,147	78	135	14

DIAGRAM No. IX-13.

Numbers who have reached the primary standard of education or its equivalent per 1,000 of and over the age shown in each sex, All religions, Muslims and Hindus, 1931.

(Ages are to the nearest birthday)



having pursued their education up to the primary standard or beyond. In a great many instances this standard of education is reached, in all religions, between the ages of 14 and 17. The average age at which the primary stage is passed in schools is about 11 years of age both for boys and girls. But if the figures are correct in the absence of any ground for believing that mortality affects those who have passed this standard appreciably more favourably than others it is clear that a considerable number reach the standard at a later age. The figures in statement No. IX-14 show by age-groups the proportion of each sex who have reached this standard. It is reached at an earlier age by Hindu than by Muslim boys. In the age-group 14 to 16 for every thousand Hindu boys there are 170 who have reached the equivalent of the primary standard in their education, and this proportion is greater than at the subsequent age-groups 17 to 23 or 24 and over. Amongst the Muslims, on the other hand, in the age-group 14 to 16 only 67 per mille have reached this standard compared with 72 per mille in the next age-group 17 to 23 and 69 per mille in the age-group 24 and over. A similar difference does not appear in the returns of females. The maximum proportion is reached amongst females of both religions in the age-group 14 to 16. After marriage girls no longer take advantage of the opportunities of education.

346. Correlation of census figures with returns of the Education Department.—Throughout this chapter no reference has been made to the returns of the Education Department and it is a matter of considerable difficulty to correlate them with the statistics of census literacy. The increase in the number of scholars receiving education of different classes of educational establishment is of course composed of the increase in each stage of education but principally of the increase in those undergoing education at stages lower than that at which literacy may be taken to be permanently acquired. It is very doubtful whether literacy is permanently acquired before the end of the primary school course is reached, but if it be assumed that it has already been acquired by all scholars who have reached the upper class in the primary school at the average age of about 10 years the proportion of scholars who would be counted literate for census purposes is a very small proportion of the total. Some estimate of the proportion can be obtained from the published figures of the Education Department. In and after the annual report for the year 1922-23 figures have been published showing the numbers undergoing education of all kinds at each standard or class in the schools. By adding the numbers recorded in each year in each class a proportion can be calculated showing the distribution of pupils between the different classes. For males only receiving ordinary school education at the primary stage such figures have been obtained and the result of the calculation is shown in statement No. IX-16. Amongst the total scholars undergoing school education as many as 85 per cent. never enter the upper class of the primary school and therefore may be held in general not to have reached the stage of literacy. The figure is considerably higher amongst Muslims where it amounts to 93 per cent. but it is only 77 per cent. amongst Hindus. Even if it be assumed that literacy is acquired at an earlier age, say at the average age of 9 upon entering the next class below the upper standard in the primary school, there would still be on the average 79 per cent. of the students passing through educational institutions who do not proceed far enough to acquire permanent literacy and amongst the Muslims and Hindus the figures would be respectively 89 and 70 per cent. Of those scholars who are enrolled in the first year no more than 29 per cent. amongst Muslims and 40 per cent. amongst Hindus survive to the second class and the average for the whole province is no more than 34. A larger proportion having got into class 2 pursue their studies to the end of the lower primary course but scarcely one-half of those who bring the lower primary course to an end proceed to the next higher standard and considerably less than one-half in the case of the Muslims. On the other hand, the returns do show a considerable increase in the numbers of those reading in classes beyond the stage in which literacy must have been acquired. Amongst males in the upper class of the primary stage in the year 1931 there were 24 scholars for every 10 eight years previously. The increase was greater still amongst the Muslims where there were four times as many scholars in that year as eight years previously and even amongst the Hindus with whom the spread of education begun earlier there were 19 scholars for every 10 at this stage eight years before. A Primary Education Act has now been placed on the statute book but its effectiveness will depend upon the enthusiasm for education of the union boards and their willingness to provide a proportion of the cost of increased education by taxing themselves.

STATEMENT No. IX-16.

Males undergoing primary education—average, April
1922 to March 1931.

Standard	Percentage in each standard					
	On the total undergoing school education.			On the numbers in the next standard lower.		
	All religions	Hindus	Muslims	All religions	Hindus	Muslims
I	50	41	60			
II	17	17	18	34	40	29
III	12	12	11	68	74	61
IV	6	7	7	49	66	41
V	4	5	2	68	79	49

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Literacy ratios by religion, age and sex.

Religion.	Number literate per mille of the same age and sex												Number illiterate per mille aged 5 and over			Number literate in English per mille aged 5 and over		
	5 and over.			5-10		10-15		15-20		20 and over			Both sexes.	Male	Female	Both sexes.	Male	Female
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Male.	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male							Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
All religions	110	180	32	73	24	126	36	219	41	216	32	890	820	968	25	43	5	
Muslims	68	116	17	43	13	73	21	133	24	146	16	832	884	983	11	20	2	
Hindus	180	269	46	118	38	203	37	322	63	262	47	840	741	951	38	68	6	
Tribals	9	14	4	5	2	9	3	17	4	17	5	991	986	996	1	1	1	
Buddhists	92	165	25	38	12	73	18	155	30	200	30	908	845	975	11	21	1	
Christians	438	494	384	268	240	351	333	535	411	544	426	562	518	616	331	393	294	
Jains	537	651	199	40	128	556	185	701	240	682	211	463	349	601	118	150	21	
Sikhs	474	548	244	304	184	472	201	584	208	681	240	528	492	706	192	124	35	
Jews	704	727	680	595	743	714	702	733	776	760	620	298	273	320	528	560	495	
Zoroastrians	684	702	684	434	621	481	667	639	558	774	370	348	298	416	543	377	442	
Confucians	395	369	520	707	600	746	552	477	625	312	480	805	611	490	198	228	41	
Religion not returned	333	475	35	143	200	333	638	490	28			667	525	963	28	42		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Literacy ratios by locality, age and sex.

Natural and administrative division, district and state	Number literate per mille of the same sex and age.											
	5 and over			5-10		10-15		15-20		20 and over.		
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Male	Female.	Male	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
BENGAL	..	110	180	32	73	24	126	36	219	41	215	32
West Bengal	..	148	252	36	122	29	196	42	287	45	287	35
BURDWAN DIVISION	..	148	252	36	122	29	196	42	287	45	287	35
Burdwan	..	123	209	30	95	23	163	35	250	39	226	28
Birbhum	..	81	150	12	43	8	87	14	152	18	164	12
Bankura	..	89	185	12	70	8	123	13	224	16	231	15
Midnapore	..	175	312	34	159	29	244	40	348	52	353	32
Hoochly	..	169	258	46	139	41	222	57	232	35	253	40
Howrah	..	207	303	68	170	66	248	93	353	97	357	60
Central Bengal	..	136	205	51	87	37	140	55	237	63	240	51
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	..	136	205	51	87	37	140	55	237	63	240	51
24-Parganas	..	127	207	31	87	23	143	35	224	38	243	31
Calcutta	..	432	476	333	348	238	402	333	520	398	453	319
Nadia	..	86	108	26	47	20	78	30	121	25	124	15
Murshudabad	..	63	107	18	34	13	62	20	127	25	136	18
Jessore	..	78	127	20	54	14	83	21	151	29	151	20
Khulna	..	100	168	24	81	17	129	25	199	25	197	24
North Bengal	..	73	125	16	43	12	77	20	143	22	156	15
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	..	73	125	16	43	12	77	20	143	22	156	15
Rajshahi	..	77	127	22	54	16	85	26	150	30	154	20
Dinajpur	..	74	130	11	42	8	78	13	130	13	168	11
Jalpaiguri	..	66	92	13	33	11	68	17	107	15	111	12
Darjeeling	..	126	211	27	64	23	115	33	221	36	230	26
Rangpur	..	69	120	12	36	10	66	13	131	8	156	13
Bogra	..	113	191	27	78	24	144	38	223	38	230	33
Palna	..	70	117	12	53	15	75	27	139	31	146	19
Malda	..	38	68	7	19	5	35	9	78	10	91	7
COOCH BEHAR STATE	..	77	132	14	46	10	73	17	152	19	166	14
East Bengal	..	101	167	31	67	23	121	35	217	41	200	30
DACCA DIVISION	..	101	162	36	70	26	118	40	206	48	194	35
Dacca	..	109	168	46	76	30	122	53	211	61	201	43
Mymensingh	..	77	119	30	55	21	83	23	134	40	145	30
Fardpur	..	91	149	30	69	26	119	30	207	46	170	27
Bakarganj	..	144	244	37	93	24	80	37	220	47	239	39
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	..	104	183	23	64	16	132	27	252	28	224	23
Tippera	..	93	165	15	61	12	127	18	237	19	181	14
Noakhali	..	132	230	31	74	26	136	42	262	35	207	31
Chittagong	..	104	182	21	65	22	115	25	202	41	238	31
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	104	86	6	8	2	20	4	76	6	128	7
TRIPURA STATE	..	34	59	5	15	2	37	8	115	20	67	5
SIKKIM	..	35	66	3	5	1	16	2	59	3	96	4
ALL CITIES	..	414	464	308	335	265	444	366	506	372	474	294
Howrah	..	356	411	259	340	279	426	285	426	280	414	243
Suburban in 24-Parganas	..	249	341	119	204	102	283	141	350	132	371	112
Dacca	..	422	508	310	393	262	418	393	571	429	541	277

Natural and administrative divisions, districts and taluqs		Number of literates per mille of the same sex aged 5 and over.																				
		Mohams		Hindus		Tribal religious		Buddhists		Christians		Jains		Sikhs		Jews		Zoroastrians		Others		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Both sexes	Both sexes	Both sexes	Both sexes	Both sexes	Both sexes	Both sexes	Both sexes	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
BENGAL	..	116	17	259	49	14	4	155	25	484	384	537	474	704	954	395	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Bengal	..	192	24	268	38	11	1	639	123	697	589	403	451	750	787	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EASTERN DIVISION	..	192	24	268	38	11	1	639	123	697	589	403	451	750	787	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Burdwan	..	181	10	220	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bardhaman	..	119	9	173	14	5	2	750	600	608	490	437	200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura	..	221	21	320	42	3	1	750	..	405	261	182	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medinipur	..	223	21	320	42	3	1	750	..	405	261	182	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hooghly	..	242	36	365	48	6	1	878	148	679	490	426	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	..	214	42	325	97	107	30	758	192	831	805	381	432	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Central Bengal	..	118	14	276	78	7	1	574	350	603	563	521	483	697	962	368	..	..	..	..	..	..
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	..	118	14	276	78	7	1	574	350	603	563	521	483	697	962	368	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Paraganas	..	118	14	276	78	7	1	574	350	603	563	521	483	697	962	368	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calcutta	..	378	140	608	354	148	22	821	428	780	779	582	483	808	718	268	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nadia	..	38	3	198	58	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shiv-sahab	..	62	8	106	32	2	29	1,000	200	600	511	463	571	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medinipur	..	73	7	218	41	..	..	..	..	200	139	330	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khulna	..	117	10	218	56	20	..	201	381	445	391	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Bengal	..	112	12	148	22	10	1	184	17	256	152	586	326	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi DIVISION	..	112	12	148	22	10	1															

Natural and Administrative Division, District and State	Literature in English per 10,000 of the same age and sex.																				
	1981										1921					1911		1901		1891	
	5 and over		6—10		10—15		15—20		20 and over		5 and over		5 and over		5 and over		5 and over		5 and over		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
BENGAL	..	428	48	145	32	306	58	642	68	495	46	339	23	228	15	157	7	76	6	3	
West Bengal	..	493	36	179	24	381	42	721	49	550	35	380	16	275	13	199	7	90	3	1	
BIRPADA DIVISION	..	483	36	179	24	381	42	721	49	550	35	380	16	275	13	199	7	90	3	1	
Burrow	..	562	38	188	28	423	47	843	51	693	36	428	24	325	15	234	12	96	6	3	
Burima	..	350	1	108	1	115	1	16	1	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Banika	..	275	7	32	3	183	7	481	13	312	7	288	5	149	2	126	1	37	1	1	
Bhakra	..	399	18	73	14	208	22	511	28	504	17	164	10	105	5	85	3	33	1	1	
Ho-shly	..	767	7	723	14	808	45	1,053	42	835	39	599	21	483	13	393	7	121	3	1	
Buwani	..	896	137	402	12	734	145	1,119	184	987	130	799	40	754	82	440	23	177	10	3	
Central Bengal	..	707	120	292	79	482	134	995	157	812	118	626	68	454	49	335	39	197	24	3	
PRADYOTA DIVISION	..	707	120	292	79	482	134	995	157	812	118	626	68	454	49	335	39	197	24	3	
Pa-Pagan	..	456	30	130	27	337	43	606	58	535	38	388	22	384	15	257	10	107	6	3	
Cleuta	..	2,602	1,177	1,739	885	2,374	1,389	2,968	1,429	2,812	1,663	2,191	798	331	684	1,016	686	885	338	1	
S. Sida	..	320	58	90	17	211	32	470	45	378	23	331	10	217	5	194	4	69	1	1	
Mut-Mahab	..	189	7	177	1	177	1	177	1	177	1	177	1	177	1	177	1	177	1	1	
Jessore	..	228	18	95	10	207	10	444	32	332	18	201	13	210	3	104	1	41	1	1	
Rhine	..	104	22	355	15	325	30	606	20	435	23	341	9	160	3	125	3	22	7	1	
North Bengal	..	222	19	63	14	148	26	346	28	265	17	173	9	97	5	56	3	22	7	1	
RAJSHAH DIVISION	..	222	19	63	14	148	26	346	28	265	17	173	9	97	5	56	3	22	7	1	
Rajshahi	..	237	16	68	9																

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Ratios of literacy and English literacy by sexes in selected castes and other groups, 1921 and 1931.

A: Calculated on the population of the same age and sex.

Caste or other group and religion	Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same age and sex						Numbers literate in English per 10,000 of the same age and sex						
	1931 Aged 7 and over			1921 Aged 5 and over			1931 Aged 7 and over			1921 Aged 5 and over			
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
AGARWALA—Hindu	..	344	401	117	542	771	123	645	697	98	893	1,478	79
ANGLO-INDIAN—Christian	..	895	893	897				8,630	8,618	8,018			
BAIDYA—Hindu	..	635	777	176	662	829	497	3,454	5,294	1,001	2,958	5,130	706
BAISHNAB—Hindu	..	155	281	37	142	289	20	217	417	35	118	247	5
BAURI—Hindu	..	9	14	5	7	12	1	5	9		4		4
BRAHMAN—Hindu	..	452	645	216	488	729	192	1,736	2,445	311	1,581	2,792	117
CHAKMA—All religions	..	45	64	21				77	109	29			
Buddhist	..	44	64	21	58	103	4	77	108	29	15	27	2
Hindu	..	328	310	273				676	800				
DOM—Hindu	..	24	39	8				18	33	3			
INDIAN CHRISTIAN—Christian	..	271	326	212	288	310	231	1,875	1,592	977	1,215	1,515	854
JAINA KARBARTTA—Hindu	..	74	122	22	68	123	7	79	171	22	61	114	4
JOGI OR JUGI—Hindu	..	140	24	33	176	329	10	221	496	32	170	226	5
KAYASTHA—Hindu	..	401	571	209	413	620	173	1,621	2,710	371	1,417	2,500	141
KHAMBU—All religions	..	204	294	107				88	143	28			
Buddhist	..	214	302	162				222	377				
Hindu	..	204	294	107	101	200	3	88	143	29	54	117	
LEPCHA—All religions	..	193	211	170				120	150	00			
Buddhist	..	163	165	161	50	93	7	143	175	111	51	82	10
Christian	..	374	304	280									
Hindu	..	335	345					206	303				
MAHISHYA—Hindu	..	186	324	39				232	473	19			
"MUMIK" (TOLAHIA)—Muslim	..	89	113	40	52	93	4	141	209	65	25	44	3
NAMASUDRA—Hindu	..	82	145	15	85	150	7	120	224	9	78	150	2
SANTAL—All religions	..	9	11	4				3	7				
Christian	..	138	187	126									
Hindu	..	8	12	3				1	7				
Tribal	..	6	10	2	3	9	3	3	6		1	2	
SAYYAD—Muslim	..	273	410	115	235	412	59	754	1,263	193	613	921	61
SHARA—Hindu	..	268	438	85	321	576	40	682	1,219	64	573	1,092	19
TIPARA—All religions	..	49	80	10				92	153	10			
Hindu	..	51	82	16	91	173	8	96	165	20	36	71	2
Tribal	..	6	6	7									

B: Calculated on the total population of the same sex.

Caste or other group and religion	Numbers literate						Numbers literate in English						
	1931 Aged 4 and over.			1921 Aged 5 and over			1931 Aged 4 and over			1921 Aged 5 and over.			
	Per 1,000 of the same sex, all ages						Per 10,000 of the same sex, all ages.						
	Both sexes	Male	Female.	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BAGYI—Hindu	..	19	34	5	21	40	2	12	20	3	15	30	
BARUI—Hindu	..	174	284	56	203	356	38	401	721	53	378	716	13
CHAMAR—Hindu	..	45	63	15	31	50	3	29	38	12	28	42	1
DHOBI—Hindu	..	81	137	19	78	142	8	83	150	12	79	148	3
GARO—All religions	..	11	15	5	..	..	..	9	15	2	..	..	..
Hindu	..	10	14	6	13	22	3	9	15	2	..	..	..
Tribal	..	60	112	16	16	29	4	..	..	..	16	22	9
GOALA—Hindu	..	102	165	24	108	181	12	160	298	10	122	227	5
HARI—Hindu	..	21	36	5	19	36	1	11	18	4	7	11	..
KALU—Hindu	..	109	193	17	124	218	8	97	177	10	98	183	4
KAMAR—Hindu	..	149	250	37	179	322	24	257	450	42	219	413	9
KUMHAR—Hindu	..	97	165	24	102	188	10	150	277	15	116	222	3
KRU—Hindu	..	8	14	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
MUNDA—All religions	..	21	38	7	..	..	..	14	24	4	..	..	..
Christian	..	185	240	119	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hindu	..	21	36	6	13	26	..	24	40	7	19	30	..
Tribal	..	7	11	2	6	12	..	1	2	..	3	5	..
NAPIT—Hindu	..	116	198	25	135	245	16	187	333	28	163	308	7
ORAO—All religions	..	16	27	3	..	..	..	6	10	..	..	..	..
Christian	..	84	132	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hindu	..	13	26	2	14	26	1	8	14	..	4	7	..
Tribal	..	11	19	2	8	16	..	3	5	1	5	10	..
SUNRI—Hindu	..	127	225	21	108	300	13	180	359	9	178	351	8

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Progress of Education—Literacy ratios by locality and sex, 1881-1931.

Natural and administrative division, district and state	Number literate per mille of the same age and sex												
	5 and over												
	Male.						Female						
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
BENGAL	180	181	161	147	156	137	32	21	13	9	7	4	
West Bengal	252	230	216	214	228	197	36	19	13	9	6	3	
BURDWAN DIVISION	252	230	216	214	228	197	36	19	13	9	6	3	
Burdwan	209	203	200	183	197	161	30	20	15	10	6	2	
Birbhum	150	216	103	176	205	161	12	7	5	3	2	2	
Bankura	185	237	209	212	214	195	12	11	8	6	4	2	
Midnapore	312	218	205	232	221	202	34	18	8	5	2	2	
Hoochly	258	248	225	221	277	234	46	32	23	16	10	6	
Howrah	303	281	281	240	287	251	88	35	27	14	10	6	
Central Bengal	205	232	205	178	175	156	51	38	26	18	16	8	
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	205	232	205	178	175	156	51	38	26	18	16	8	
24 Parganas	207	252	214	230	245	224	31	21	20	15	22	9	
Calcutta	470	530	413	335	345	377	333	271	181	128	100	101	
Nadia	108	120	114	120	111	96	26	23	16	10	7	3	
Murshidabad	107	142	126	124	122	97	18	18	10	7	4	2	
Jessore	127	151	144	126	124	125	20	16	11	6	9	2	
Khulna	168	214	176	143	133	118	24	10	13	10	5	3	
North Bengal	125	135	114	97	103	89	16	10	6	4	2	3	
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	125	134	111	95	102	88	16	10	6	4	2	3	
Rajshahi	127	109	100	93	93	78	22	11	6	4	4	4	
Dinajpur	130	161	125	114	117	94	11	10	4	3	1	1	
Jalpaiguri	92	118	103	80	103	66	13	8	5	4	3	1	
Darjeeling	211	211	193	197	151	92	27	25	22	17	8	8	
Rangpur	120	121	89	73	70	70	12	7	4	3	2	3	
Bogra	191	179	131	112	119	129	27	19	6	5	3	10	
Pabna	117	134	113	106	111	99	21	15	9	5	2	2	
Malda	68	108	106	86	94	80	7	7	4	2	2	1	
COOCH BEHAR STATE	132	159	153	122	122	93	14	11	7	5	3	2	
East Bengal	167	159	140	124	140	122	31	19	11	7	5	3	
DACCA DIVISION	162	154	138	121	130	108	36	21	12	8	6	3	
Dacca	168	167	153	113	145	122	46	20	20	12	9	5	
Mymensingh	119	103	100	81	91	79	30	12	7	4	3	1	
Faridpur	149	156	131	113	130	112	30	22	12	7	6	2	
Bakarganj	241	234	180	171	178	138	37	26	13	10	6	4	
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	183	169	152	136	164	159	23	15	8	5	4	5	
Tippura	165	180	154	142	160	150	15	18	9	6	4	8	
Noakhali	230	167	142	126	166	163	31	11	7	4	3	1	
Chittagong	182	160	159	140	170	167	31	13	9	5	4	3	
Chittagong Hill Tracts	86	113	133	92	.	.	6	5	5	3	.	.	
TRIPURA STATE	59	143	81	48	.	.	5	11	0	2	.	.	
SIKKIM	66	86	90	108	.	.	3	3	3	2	.	.	

Natural and administrative division, district and state	Number literate per mille of the same age and sex																	
	15—20								20 and over								15 and over	
	Male				Female				Male				Female				Male	Female
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1891
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
BENGAL	219	214	189	175	41	28	19	13	215	225	199	175	32	21	13	9	167	6
West Bengal	287	257	256	249	45	29	19	13	287	273	254	241	35	18	12	9	228	5
BURDWAN DIVISION	287	257	256	249	45	26	19	13	287	273	254	241	35	18	12	9	228	5
Burdwan	250	232	252	228	89	28	21	10	236	231	231	197	28	19	14	9	190	5
Birbhum	182	258	230	210	18	20	10	7	184	218	225	198	12	10	7	5	208	3
Bankura	224	265	256	243	10	15	13	10	221	201	251	241	13	11	8	8	223	3
Midnapore	349	237	213	258	12	17	12	10	358	274	260	273	32	13	8	8	226	4
Hoochly	242	251	266	257	55	13	32	22	283	286	243	240	43	32	23	15	260	9
Howrah	323	315	312	284	97	10	30	10	337	317	312	205	89	35	23	14	287	3
Central Bengal	237	273	226	209	63	49	35	27	240	275	241	201	51	38	26	17	182	14
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	237	273	226	209	63	49	35	27	240	275	241	201	51	38	26	17	182	14
24 Parganas	224	256	272	209	38	33	27	21	243	303	287	258	31	25	20	14	244	19
Calcutta	520	550	470	425	398	355	260	204	443	540	419	528	319	261	166	108	292	90
Nadia	131	120	125	140	33	37	23	17	127	149	139	138	25	22	16	10	127	6
Murshidabad	127	158	147	152	23	25	14	10	130	177	157	152	18	18	10	7	137	4
Jessore	151	250	156	127	29	25	17	9	151	164	174	155	20	15	11	5	143	9
Khulna	199	273	208	195	28	27	19	13	197	260	209	170	24	19	12	10	142	4
North Bengal	143	158	127	110	22	15	8	5	156	173	146	122	15	10	6	4	116	2
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	143	154	125	109	22	15	8	5	156	171	143	120	15	10	6	4	115	2
Rajshahi	150	128	110	107	30	11	9	5	154	142	138	118	20	11	6	4	110	3
Dinajpur	150	186	140	125	15	13	6	4	163	201	160	146	11	9	4	3	123	1
Jalpaiguri	107	123	118	86	15	12	7	6	111	143	141	99	12	8	5	4	114	3
Darjeeling	221	190	191	184	36	32	21	21	263	271	245	165	26	23	19	17	175	8
Rangpur	131	141	100	78	8	10	5	3	156	158	115	94	18	7	4	3	89	1
Bogra	223	217	146	128	38	19	5	4	230	231	170	141	23	10	5	4	186	2
Pabna	139	168	142	127	31	23	14	7	146	170	147	134	19	15	9	5	125	8
Malda	78	110	119	104	10	10	5	4	91	135	137	107	7	6	4	3	106	1
COOCH BEHAR STATE	152	174	164	134	19	18	9	7	166	201	189	152	14	10	7	5	138	3
East Bengal	217	195	169	152	41	26	16	10	200	204	178	156	30	19	11	7	158	5
DACCA DIVISION	206	191	166	148	48	30	18	12	194	164	169	147	35	21	13	8	147	5
Dacca	211	223	205	184	63	41	29	20	201	205	192	171	43	29	20	18	163	9
Mymensingh	134	124	113	94	40	16	9	6	146	124	126	104	30	12	7	5	107	3
Faridpur	207	202	169	137	46	34	19	12	170	187	156	136	27	22	12	7	143	6
Bakarganj	329	268	215	210	47	37	21	14	289	295	281	200	39	27	14	10	197	6
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	282	290	178	164	28	21	11	6	224	228	205	182	23	14	8	6	188	3
Tippura	237	211	188	179	19	26	13	8	181	232	198	178	14	17	9	6	179	4
Noakhali	262	195	172	149	35	15	9	5	307	241	201	178	31	11	7	4	183	2
Chittagong	202	188	175	162	41	18	11	6	238	219	222	201	31	12	9	6	199	3
Chittagong Hill Tracts	76	163	112	80	6	5	7	3	128	145	194	180	7	7	6	4	..	..
TRIPURA STATE	113	274	..	53	20	9	11	3	67	182	161	62	5	12	10	2	..	..
SIKKIM	59	70	73	85	3	5	3	3	96	127	132	155	4	4	4	3	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Part A: Numbers of each sex literate in any language and in English at age-groups.

(NOTE—Ages are to the nearest birthday Literates of all ages include those aged 4-6 in addition to the figures shown for other age-groups.)

Religion	Age-group	Both sexes.			Males			Females		
		Total.	Literate.	Literate in English.	Total	Literate	Literate in English	Total	Literate.	Literate in English
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.—BENGAL (British Territory and States).										
All religions.	All ages	51,087,338	4,777,447	1,068,440	26,557,860	4,101,963	988,505	24,259,478	675,424	99,935
	7—13	8,931,491	618,194	120,145	4,835,299	486,603	100,904	4,096,192	131,501	19,151
	14—16	3,103,939	896,832	106,884	1,519,779	821,374	83,144	1,584,160	75,453	13,740
	17—23	6,731,617	833,801	221,796	3,130,983	695,513	204,188	3,600,634	138,268	17,608
	24 & over	21,983,009	2,860,339	614,317	11,831,843	2,552,088	508,122	10,051,166	308,251	47,895
Muslim.	All ages	27,810,100	1,597,417	265,661	14,366,757	1,403,305	246,881	13,443,343	194,112	18,780
	7—13	5,174,037	204,325	31,559	2,802,537	163,169	27,974	2,371,500	41,156	3,585
	14—16	1,744,821	127,253	28,986	830,561	101,315	25,343	914,260	25,938	3,643
	17—23	3,645,077	269,566	56,499	1,636,329	294,561	51,771	2,006,748	42,025	4,729
	24 & over	11,182,123	966,026	147,366	6,090,413	824,129	140,723	5,091,710	72,797	6,033
Hindu.	All ages	22,212,069	3,070,697	743,463	11,639,285	2,623,781	684,879	10,572,784	446,916	58,524
	7—13	3,573,531	400,688	81,384	1,935,925	315,420	69,203	1,637,606	85,265	12,351
	14—16	1,293,605	255,437	73,313	657,071	210,267	61,829	636,434	45,170	8,464
	17—23	2,956,725	551,575	158,280	1,431,721	461,559	145,042	1,625,004	90,016	12,638
	24 & over	10,344,883	1,845,244	418,052	5,594,231	1,630,706	393,732	4,750,682	214,538	24,320
Tribal.	All ages	529,419	3,913	208	269,510	3,101	196	259,909	812	12
	7—13	93,452	441	21	46,531	342	21	44,921	99	..
	14—16	30,206	270	20	14,599	207	19	15,607	63	1
	17—23	61,300	635	51	26,776	479	47	34,625	156	4
	24 & over	225,858	2,467	115	122,559	2,005	108	103,299	432	7
Buddhist.	All ages	330,563	25,468	3,092	169,402	22,005	2,923	161,161	3,463	169
	7—13	50,694	2,121	262	31,141	1,602	235	27,553	429	27
	14—16	21,220	1,610	325	10,447	1,305	311	10,773	251	17
	17—23	41,068	3,941	641	19,721	3,304	600	21,347	677	35
	24 & over	136,244	17,481	1,847	72,106	15,007	1,763	66,133	1,074	34
Christian.	All ages	183,148	69,475	52,535	87,333	41,159	30,891	85,815	28,316	21,644
	7—13	29,587	9,345	6,424	15,753	5,335	3,449	13,844	4,010	2,975
	14—16	12,571	5,460	3,558	6,067	2,908	2,142	6,504	2,401	1,716
	17—23	23,865	11,710	8,760	11,779	6,587	5,023	12,086	5,123	3,737
	24 & over	83,258	10,958	32,322	46,728	25,358	19,708	36,530	15,598	12,614
2.—British Territory.										
All religions.	All ages	50,114,002	4,727,750	1,061,601	26,041,698	4,056,354	962,227	24,072,304	671,396	99,374
	7—13	8,760,518	613,335	119,358	4,743,233	482,558	100,337	4,017,285	130,777	19,021
	14—16	3,045,760	893,138	106,127	1,491,315	318,251	92,490	1,554,445	74,887	13,037
	17—23	6,604,372	824,920	220,176	3,072,187	680,608	202,741	3,532,185	137,326	17,446
	24 & over	21,571,122	2,820,318	610,657	11,696,047	2,522,747	562,922	9,875,075	300,571	47,735
Muslim.	All ages	27,497,624	1,586,270	264,629	14,200,142	1,392,659	245,892	13,297,462	193,411	18,737
	7—13	5,123,985	203,317	31,482	2,771,394	162,203	27,907	2,351,691	41,024	3,575
	14—16	1,724,989	126,361	26,866	821,283	100,729	25,250	903,706	25,832	3,086
	17—23	3,602,796	266,737	56,258	1,619,086	224,856	51,542	1,933,710	41,851	4,710
	24 & over	11,050,449	939,114	146,746	6,017,078	886,907	110,125	5,033,371	72,507	6,621
Hindu.	All ages	21,570,407	3,032,909	737,883	11,299,914	2,589,317	679,841	10,270,493	443,592	58,042
	7—13	3,482,699	396,891	80,890	1,876,899	312,299	63,628	1,585,800	84,592	12,292
	14—16	1,250,406	252,479	72,671	638,515	207,772	64,283	617,894	41,707	8,388
	17—23	2,896,001	514,725	156,979	1,395,235	454,498	144,472	1,500,766	89,227	12,507
	24 & over	10,044,629	1,822,226	415,179	5,433,884	1,609,052	390,903	4,610,665	213,174	24,160
Tribal.	All ages	528,037	3,913	208	268,757	3,101	196	259,280	812	12
	7—13	93,156	441	21	46,385	342	21	44,771	99	..
	14—16	30,129	270	20	14,553	207	19	15,676	63	1
	17—23	61,180	635	51	26,713	479	47	34,467	156	4
	24 & over	199,733	2,187	115	109,618	2,005	108	90,115	432	7
Buddhist.	All ages	316,031	25,302	3,085	161,796	21,843	2,917	154,235	3,459	168
	7—13	55,939	2,114	260	29,706	1,685	238	26,233	420	27
	14—16	20,316	1,637	327	9,982	1,356	310	10,334	251	17
	17—23	39,349	3,966	640	18,944	3,290	605	20,405	676	35
	24 & over	132,530	17,346	1,844	68,928	15,375	1,761	63,602	1,971	83
Christian.	All ages	180,380	69,179	52,277	95,920	40,914	30,668	84,460	28,265	21,609
	7—13	29,068	9,320	6,410	15,484	5,315	3,436	13,602	4,005	2,974
	14—16	12,380	5,447	3,847	5,987	2,955	2,131	6,403	2,492	1,716
	17—23	23,528	11,684	8,690	11,635	6,585	4,973	11,691	5,099	3,717
	24 & over	82,198	40,775	32,180	46,189	25,198	19,579	35,997	15,577	12,601
3.—Bengal States.										
All religions.	All ages	973,336	49,697	6,839	516,162	45,609	6,278	457,174	4,088	561
	7—13	170,973	4,659	787	92,066	4,045	637	78,907	814	130
	14—16	55,179	3,694	737	28,464	3,123	654	29,715	571	103
	17—23	127,245	9,874	1,620	58,796	8,910	1,457	68,449	964	163
	24 & over	411,837	31,021	3,660	235,796	29,341	3,500	176,091	1,650	160
Muslim.	All ages	312,476	11,147	1,032	166,615	10,446	989	145,861	701	43
	7—13	50,952	1,008	77	31,143	876	67	19,809	132	10
	14—16	18,832	692	100	9,278	686	93	10,554	106	7
	17—23	42,281	1,849	241	19,243	1,705	229	23,038	144	12
	24 & over	131,674	7,512	610	73,335	7,222	508	58,339	200	12
Hindu.	All ages	641,662	37,788	5,520	339,371	34,464	5,038	302,291	3,324	482
	7—13	110,832	3,797	694	59,026	3,121	375	51,806	676	119
	14—16	37,096	2,958	642	16,556	2,495	518	18,540	463	96
	17—23	60,724	7,850	1,801	36,485	7,061	1,170	24,238	769	181
	24 & over	300,254	23,018	2,878	160,267	21,654	2,739	139,987	1,364	154
Buddhist.	All ages	14,532	166	7	7,606	162	6	6,826	4	1
	7—13	2,755	7	2	1,435	7	2	1,320	..	..
	14—16	904	9	1	465	9	1	439	..	..
	17—23	1,719	15	1	777	14	1	842	1	..
	24 & over	5,714	185	8	3,778	132	2	2,536	8	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Part A: Numbers of each sex literate in any language and in English at age-groups.

Religion	Age-group	Both sexes.			Males			Females.		
		Total	Literate	Literate in English	Total	Literate	Literate in English	Total	Literate	Literate in English
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
4.—SIKKIM.										
All religions.	All ages	108,808	3,279	279	58,825	3,129	267	53,983	150	12
	7-13	13,018	112	8	9,018	85	6	9,340	17	1
	14-16	7,594	121	21	4,020	125	20	3,414	6	1
	17-23	16,920	346	61	9,908	515	150	7,114	31	2
	24 & over	47,161	2,488	189	24,125	2,302	180	23,036	96	9
	All ages	47,074	1,658	137	24,256	1,480	134	22,518	78	3
Hindu.	7-13	8,500	62	5	4,386	50	5	4,184	3	..
	14-16	13,660	171	11	1,869	72	11	1,628	1	..
	17-23	6,536	302	34	3,422	251	33	3,114	21	1
	24 & over	16,264	1,111	87	9,413	1,067	55	8,531	44	2
	All ages	26,940	616	11	13,357	614	11	13,593	2	..
Tibet.	7-13	4,942	13	1	2,454	12	..	2,386	..	..
	14-16	1,714	1	..	522	1	..	722	..	..
	17-23	5,392	83	1	1,310	83	1	1,592	..	..
	24 & over	11,477	509	10	5,631	504	10	5,646	2	..
	All ages	35,412	922	80	17,978	887	78	17,434	35	2
Buddhist.	7-13	5,888	25	1	2,940	22	1	2,748	3	..
	14-16	2,102	9	..	1,100	3	..	1,002	1	..
	17-23	4,158	116	11	2,130	112	14	2,028	1	..
	24 & over	17,437	748	50	8,741	721	55	8,696	27	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Part B: Numbers literate in any language and in English per 1,000 of each sex at age-groups.

(NOTE.—Ages are to the nearest birthday.)

Religion	Age-group	Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex and age.						Religion	Age-group	Numbers literate per 1,000 of the same sex and age.					
		Both sexes		Males		Females				Both sexes		Males		Females	
		In any language	In English	In any language	In English	In any language	In English			In any language	In English	In any language	In English		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL.															
All religions.	All ages	94	21	155	36	28	4	Buddhist.	All ages	80	10	135	16	22	1
	7-13	69	13	101	21	32	5		7-13	38	5	57	8	17	1
	14-16	129	34	211	61	48	16		14-16	80	16	146	31	27	80
	17-23	124	32	222	85	38	19		17-23	101	19	171	32	28	19
	24 & over	130	28	214	47	31	8		24 & over	131	14	223	26	41	1
All ages	57	9	98	17	14	1	Christian.	All ages	384	290	427	320	335	256	
	7-13	30	6	68	10	17		1	7-13	321	221	844	232	295	219
	14-16	124	16	147	30	25		4	14-16	430	310	404	337	389	265
	17-23	124	19	162	42	14		1	17-23	501	374	968	429	499	318
	24 & over	80	13	147	24	14	1		24 & over	496	392	545	424	433	350
All ages	138	33	226	60	42	6	All religions.	All ages	51	7	88	12	9	1	
	7-13	112	23	162	36	32		7	7-13	28	5	46	7	10	1
	14-16	140	57	220	69	71		16	14-16	63	13	119	27	18	2
	17-23	124	32	222	85	38		19	17-23	76	13	182	23	14	2
	24 & over	175	49	292	70	45	10		24 & over	75	9	125	15	10	1
All ages	7	..	12	1	3	..	Muslim.	All ages	38	3	63	6	5	..	
	7-13	5	..	7	..	2		..	7-13	20	2	28	2	7	..
	14-16	9	1	14	..	4		..	14-16	35	5	63	10	10	1
	17-23	10	..	10	..	1		..	17-23	44	6	89	13	6	..
	24 & over	11	1	10	1	5	..		24 & over	57	5	98	8	5	..
All ages	77	9	130	17	21	1	Hindu.	All ages	59	9	102	15	11	2	
	7-13	30	4	54	8	10		1	7-13	34	8	53	10	13	0
	14-16	77	10	131	40	27		2	14-16	60	18	134	29	19	0
	17-23	97	10	168	30	31		2	17-23	120	21	194	32	32	0
	24 & over	130	14	215	24	30	1		24 & over	77	9	141	17	10	1
All ages	380	287	423	317	430	252	Buddhist.	All ages	11	..	21	1	1	..	
	7-13	310	317	440	219	290		215	7-13	8	..	10	..	..	..
	14-16	444	407	480	364	464		360	14-16	10	1	19	2	..	..
	17-23	492	672	561	427	424		309	17-23	1	1	19	2	..	..
	24 & over	492	558	514	422	128	340		24 & over	2	1	18	1	1	..
												41	1	1	..
British Territory.															
All religions.	All ages	94	21	155	37	28	4	All religions.	All ages	30	3	56	5	3	..
	7-13	70	14	102	21	33	..		7-13	8	..	10	1	2	..
	14-16	129	34	211	62	38	..		14-16	19	4	31	8	4	..
	17-23	124	32	222	86	39	..		17-23	39	4	78	9	4	..
	24 & over	131	28	218	48	31	..		24 & over	63	4	99	7	4	..
All ages	58	10	98	17	15	1	Hindu.	All ages	33	3	62	6	3	..	
	7-13	10	6	88	10	17		1	7-13	7	1	13	1	1	..
	14-16	129	34	211	62	38		..	14-16	20	3	38	6	7	..
	17-23	124	19	162	42	14		1	17-23	44	5	82	9	7	..
	24 & over	80	13	147	24	14	1		24 & over	61	6	142	9	5	..
All ages	140	34	231	60	43	6	Tibet.	All ages	23	..	46	1	..	..
	7-13	114	23	166	37	33		8	7-13	2	..	6	..	..	..
	14-16	140	57	220	69	71		16	14-16	9	..	16	..	..	..
	17-23	124	32	222	86	39		..	17-23	29	..	63	..	..	..
	24 & over	182	41	297	72	46	..		24 & over	42	1	86	2	..	..
All ages	7	..	12	1	3	..	Buddhist.	All ages	27	2	50	4	2	..	
	7-13	5	..	7	..	2		..	7-13	4	..	9	..	7	..
	14-16	10	1	14	..	4		..	14-16	16	4	29	7	1	..
	17-23	10	..	10	..	1		..	17-23	29	..	53	7	1	..
	24 & over	11	1	10	1	5	..		24 & over	47	..	82	8	5	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—Number of Institutions and pupils according to the returns of the Education Department.

Class of Institution	1921		1921		1911		1901.	
	Number of		Number of		Number of		Number of	
	Institutions	Scholars	Institutions	Scholars	Institutions	Scholars	Institutions	Scholars
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
GRAND TOTAL	67,039	2,712,553	53,968	1,946,252	41,448	1,561,932	37,733	1,133,896
Public Institutions	66,066	2,650,457	51,994	1,889,617	38,972	1,510,024	32,885	1,063,992
UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.	67	25,187	51	25,471	59	11,969	54	8,844
Universities	2	1,835	1	1,231	1	115	1	.
Arts colleges—								
For boys	44	17,847	33	19,576	36	9,244	35	7,389
For girls	4	349	3	515	3	60	2	43
Law colleges	3	9,556	8	2,602	11	1,221	13	760
Medical colleges	3	1,902	2	1,480	1	1,029	1	369
Engineering colleges	1	208	1	388	1	325	1	271
Training colleges	6	184	3	129	4	72	1	10
Commercial colleges	1	658	..	..	..	..	..	..
Veterinary colleges	1	141	..	..	..	..	..	..
SCHOOL EDUCATION—GENERAL	62,774	2,487,358	50,513	1,816,925	36,163	1,419,823	32,404	1,044,401
High English schools—								
For boys	1,076	237,312	883	299,732	487	125,772	405	111,115
For girls	59	14,815	23	4,809	13	1,405	3	523
Middle English schools—								
For boys	1,815	160,498	1,321	124,176	1,122	107,457	775	56,949
For girls	52	6,658	41	6,049	11	1,039	..	..
Middle Vernacular schools—								
For boys	54	8,310	240	12,130	543	34,355	654	46,451
For girls	12	1,270	31	2,148	21	2,303	13	1,017
Primary schools—								
For boys	42,716	1,626,469	35,702	1,181,531	27,872	1,043,142	28,259	803,324
For girls	10,661	416,528	12,069	275,334	5,096	139,180	2,091	44,941
SCHOOL EDUCATION—SPECIAL	3,185	127,942	1,430	47,221	2,750	78,432	427	10,557
Training school—								
Teachers	62	2,672	112	2,589	127	2,227	10	373
Mistresses	10	210	13	209	8	128	5	445
Medical schools	9	2,214	3	1,062	10	2,093	7	868
Engineering or Survey schools	2	548	1	302	1	311	1	160
Technical and Industrial schools	142	5,711	4	37	43	1,652	11	749
Commercial schools	28	1,801	15	319	13	270	..	2,693
Madrasahs	715	69,824	342	27,331	393	18,270	23	5,236
Miscellaneous schools	2,190	45,502	940	13,278	2,155	56,105	367	..
Private and unrecognised Institutions	1,633	62,098	*1,974	*56,635	*2,476	*51,908	*4,848	*69,904
For boys	1,278	51,426	1,459	43,046	1,933	41,663	3,802	58,716
For girls	65	10,670	415	8,744	249	4,304	234	1,188

*Includes 92 institutions and 4,802 scholars in 1921, 147 institutions and 4,769 scholars in 1911 and 192 institutions and 6,830 scholars in 1901 for advanced teaching of Arabic and Persian, and 11 institutions and 53 scholars in 1921, 147 institutions and 915 scholars in 1911 and 540 institutions and 4,038 scholars in 1901 for advanced teaching of Sanskrit.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—Literacy by age-groups of Indian (and some other Asiatic) Christians by race, tribe or province and sex.

(NOTE.—Ages are to the nearest birthday.)

Age.	Total			Literate			Illiterate			Total			Literate			Illiterate.		
	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.	Both sexes.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAMESE.																		
7 & over	25	12	13	4	3	1	21	9	12	1,739	1,273	466	752	538	114	987	835	352
7-13	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	275	184	92	139	125	10	136	106	76
14-16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	171	126	45	34	16	18	106	76	10
17-23	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	370	280	90	89	11	28	221	225	56
24 & over	20	10	10	1	1	1	19	6	10	923	678	245	486	468	52	433	240	192
BENGALI.																		
7 & over	62,462	31,294	31,168	20,426	11,997	8,429	42,038	19,297	22,739	827	468	359	51	51	2	774	417	357
7-13	12,226	6,418	5,808	4,761	2,647	1,814	7,475	3,471	4,004	147	109	38	4	2	2	143	107	36
14-16	8,873	4,901	3,972	2,911	1,510	1,401	2,862	1,391	1,471	81	51	30	5	5	8	59	26	30
17-23	10,187	5,023	5,164	3,542	1,707	1,173	6,645	2,914	3,731	148	68	80	13	13	13	138	45	90
24 & over	34,166	17,284	16,872	9,212	5,773	3,140	24,954	11,521	14,433	471	270	201	31	31	1	440	259	201
BIHARI.																		
7 & over	565	346	219	172	109	63	393	237	156	4	3	1	4	3	1			
7-13	66	54	12	12	9	3	54	44	10									
14-16	36	13	23	10	8	2	26	12	10	2	2	2	2	2	2			
17-23	110	61	49	51	38	13	69	28	40									
24 & over	359	218	141	89	59	30	270	139	131									
BHUMI.																		
7 & over	21	10	11	4	3	1	17	7	10	358	198	160	16	14	2	342	184	158
7-13	8	4	4	3	3	1	5	3	4	37	20	17	5	2	1	32	18	14
14-16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	36	20	16	1	1	1	38	20	18
17-23	12	6	6	1	1	1	11	6	5	67	31	24	13	13	1	57	23	34
24 & over	12	6	6	1	1	1	11	6	5	178	105	73	13	13	1	165	93	72
BHUTIA.																		
7 & over	37	18	19	10	10	1	27	8	19	5	3	2	4	2	2	1	1	1
7-13	9	4	5	2	2	1	7	2	5									
14-16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1									
17-23	4	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	2									
24 & over	22	11	11	6	6	1	16	5	11									
BURMESE.																		
7 & over	8	7	2	7	8	1	2	1	1	1,929	1,031	898	63	62	1	1,896	969	897
7-13	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	443	231	212	7	7	1	436	224	213
14-16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	185	81	104	4	4	1	181	77	84
17-23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	312	159	154	18	18	1	293	121	174
24 & over	6	4	2	5	4	1	1	1	1	1,008	580	428	34	34	1	974	477	427
GOANESE.																		
7 & over	407	375	32	132	128	7	275	250	25	2,571	1,481	1,090	803	428	175	1,968	1,053	915
7-13	17	17	4	10	10	1	7	11	7	594	272	322	78	54	39	488	233	225
14-16	13	12	1	12	11	1	1	1	1	172	84	88	48	31	13	126	53	79
17-23	117	111	6	52	56	4	65	4	65	466	250	216	138	87	61	328	163	165
24 & over	256	227	29	58	56	2	198	179	19	1,408	870	538	345	238	67	1,063	614	452
GUJARATI.																		
7 & over	16	9	7	12	8	4	4	1	3	125	67	58	23	21	2	102	46	56
7-13	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	33	15	18	4	4	2	29	14	15
14-16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	4	6	1	1	1	9	4	6
17-23	4	2	2	4	2	2	1	1	1	24	9	15	5	3	2	19	6	13
24 & over	9	5	4	8	8	3	3	1	3	58	30	22	13	13	2	45	23	22
HINDUSTANI.																		
7 & over	793	478	290	229	172	87	539	306	233	34	19	15	32	19	13	2	2	2
7-13	129	71	58	18	15	4	111	56	55	21	11	10	2	1	1	1	1	1
14-16	89	41	48	21	19	3	68	33	35	10	1	9	4	4	1	1	1	1
17-23	161	101	60	52	45	14	109	63	46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24 & over	419	275	144	138	107	51	281	168	113	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
JEW.																		
7 & over	67	44	23	34	25	9	33	19	14	1,814	926	888	823	549	274	991	377	614
7-13	6	3	3	3	3	1	3	1	1	421	219	202	170	101	69	251	118	133
14-16	6	3	3	3	3	1	3	1	1	149	87	62	77	41	34	72	44	28
17-23	44	21	23	20	16	4	24	15	9	387	250	177	236	168	68	161	62	109
24 & over	44	31	13	20	16	4	24	15	9	847	400	447	340	237	108	807	163	344
KAMI.																		
7 & over	6	3	3	4	3	1	2	2	2	7	3	4	3	1	2	4	2	2
7-13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14-16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17-23	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24 & over	4	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	5	2	3	2	1	2	3	2	1
KHARWAR.																		
7 & over	537	309	228	35	35	502	274	228	50	6,388	3,415	2,970	580	543	117	5,728	2,868	2,868
7-13	62	21	41	2	2	62	21	41	2	1,779	960	819	80	82	28	1,119	528	591
14-16	43	15	28	2	2	41	16	25	1	821	420	381	61	30	22	860	201	359
17-23	119	64	60	1	1	118	63	55	1	1,770	944	725	164	164	16	1,435	560	109
24 & over	316	210	106	32	32	284	184	100	1	3,009	1,978	1,031	398	374	21	2,514	1,604	1,210
KRASIA.																		
7 & over	193	114	79	19	11	8	174	103	71	515	311	204	281	198	113	234	143	91
7-13	46	21	25	2	1	1	45	20	24	421	219	202	170	101	69	251	118	133
14-16	25	15	10	9	7	2	25	15	10	29	35	20	30	18	11	35	21	14
17-23	27	8	19	8	7	1	27	13	14	88	38	50	11	9	8	58	26	32
24 & over	95	70	25	8	7	1	87	67	20	335	219	116	140	87	63	159	108	51
KUKI.																		
7 & over	453	237	216	28	28	1	427	212	215	162	108	54	114	78	36	48	30	18
7-13	112	38	30	3	3	1	109	36	38	26	14	12	10	8	5	5	5	5
14-16	29	13	10	3	3	1	28	13	16									
17-23	81	38	39	2	2	1	78	30	30									
24 & over	261	147	111	21	20	1	240	127	113									
LEPCHA.																		
7 & over	1,531	718	812	573	362	211	858	357	601	5,867	4,484	4,227	1,366	832	534	7,071	3,698	3,993
7-13	174	106	138	73	43	23	231	83	137	2,304	1,124	1,120	204	143	61	2,000	941	1,059
14-16	107	50	70	29	29	61	141	54	59	738	350	363	181	101	70	578	272	305
17-23	171	109	119	54	54	34	173	79	94	1,297	564	511	274	150	128	983	400	587
24 & over	782	394	411	228	247	91	464	144	229	4,458	2,444	2,014	718	465	278	3,730	1,969	1,741
LIMBU.																		
7 & over	26	9	17	5	3	2	21	8	15	17	13	4	11	2	2	6	4	9
7-13	5	1	4	2	2	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
14-16	5	3	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	6	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
17-23	3	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	3	6	4	1	4	8	1	1	1	1
24 & over	13	6	7	3	3	2	10	2	8	7	6	1	8	6	1	1	1	1
LUGHAJ.																		
7 & over	1,719	868	851	585	335	153	1,361	573	788	11,646	5,871	5,471	1,815	1,054	481	9,837	4,547	4,985
7-13	423	222	195	9	9	1	417	229	188	2,463	1,124	1,118	593	328	58	2,091	1,040	1,050
14-16	271	78	88	30	30	47	144	64	82	808	450	590	266	261	99	639	169	161
17-23	324	183	149	88	71	47	244	108	136	1,898	920	868	361	361	152	1,068	501	567
24 & over	814	540	482	368	244	96	672	190	876	4,883	2,177	2,076	698	896	227	4,888	1,764	1,6

CHAPTER X

Language

347. The statistics shown.—The statistics of language are those presented in imperial table XV. Subsidiary tables compiled from it or similar returns of previous years are printed at the end of this chapter and show—

- I—for each language classified according to groups the total number of persons speaking it as mother tongue and the proportions per 1,000 of the total population in 1931 and 1921 ;
- II—part *a* : the number speaking each principal language group together with the number speaking as a subsidiary language any other language in the groups shown ; and part *b* : the proportion to the total population borne by each of the figures in part *a* ;
- III—a comparison of the tribal and language tables showing for selected tribes with a characteristic language the strength of the tribe and the numbers returned as speaking it both as mother tongue and as subsidiary language.

348. Source of the figures.—The statistics were collected from the entries made in the general schedule in column 14 for mother tongue and 15 for subsidiary language. The instructions for filling in these columns were as follows :—

Column 14 (Mother tongue)—Enter the language which each person ordinarily uses from childhood in his own home. In the case of infants and deaf-mutes the language of the mother should be entered.

Column 15 (Other languages in common or domestic use).—Enter here any other language or languages habitually spoken by each person in daily or domestic life in addition to his mother tongue shown in column 14.

These instructions were further supplemented by the following additional directions to supervisors :—

The entry in column 14 will be that of a man's genuine mother tongue as first spoken from the cradle. In column 15 may be entered any other language or languages which are commonly used by the speaker. In the case of both Hindi and Urdu speakers " Hindustani " is the proper entry for column 14, but if literate this should be followed in column 15 by the entry " Hindi " or " Urdu " according as the person enumerated writes in a script derived from Sanskrit or Persian.

As a measure of economy the analysis of Hindustani entries between Hindi and Urdu has not been carried out. During compilation blank entries in the schedule in column 14 were filled in with the language of the district unless a clue to the mother tongue used was furnished by the birth place and caste columns. The provision for a return of subsidiary language was an innovation and its results are embodied in part II of imperial table XV.

349. Limitations of the statistics.—In all districts a list of the languages found and classified on previous occasions in Bengal was circulated with the instruction that names not appearing in the list should not be recorded in the schedules until they had been checked and verified on a reference to the Census Superintendent. This provision, however, did not prevent the return of a number of puzzling entries of which a note is given below. The actual scope of the operations does not provide for a scientific presentation of figures for different dialects. Such figures as are given for dialects of Bengali and Hindustani do not profess to be either exhaustive or even scientific but merely represent the returns actually received on the schedules. As regards the distinction between Bengali and her sister languages Bihari and Oriya, it is significant that not a single return of Bihari was actually received. It is, however, certain that some part of the returns given as Hindi are really Bihari and they have been treated as such in the classified distribution shown

in subsidiary table I. It is also possible that some part of the returns for Bengali, particularly in the north-west of the province, might have been given with equal accuracy as Bihari in most places where Bengali shades off into Bihari with no very clear boundary lines. The words Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu are used in a sense different from that adopted by Sir George Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India. Sir George Grierson defines Hindustani as—

“ the dialect of western Hindi which exhibits the language in the act of shading off into Panjabi. ‘ * * It is primarily the language of the Northern Doab and is also the *lingua franca* of India capable of being written both in the Persian and in the Nagari character.”

Similarly he confines Hindi to—

“ the form of Hindustani in which Sanskrit words are found and which, therefore, is legible only when written in the Nagari character ”

and describes Urdu as—

“ that sub-variety of Hindustani in which Persian words are of frequent occurrence and which therefore can only be written with ease in the Persian character ”

In table XV Hindustani includes not only the whole of the Hindustani or western Hindi included in Sir George Grierson's central group in the inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Aryan sub-family of languages, but also eastern Hindi falling within the mediate sub-branch of the same sub-family as well as some part of the Bihari language classified by him in the eastern group of the outer branch of the same sub-family. No greater scientific accuracy is claimed for the distinction between Hindi and Urdu than that they represent numbers of persons whose speech would probably be most easily written in a script derived respectively from Sanskrit and Persian.

350. Puzzles of classification—European languages.—Reference has been made to the puzzles of classification raised by the entry in the schedules of returns which were not the name of any known language hitherto recorded. In the case of European languages Belgian, Scotch and Swiss were returned. These have been classified respectively as Flemish, English and French. The classification might almost as well have been French, Gaelic and German. But in the first two cases it would be expected that the correct name would have been entered and in all three it looks very much as if the racial entry had been repeated in the column for language by an enumerator who did not realise that these were not the names of recognised languages and were ambiguous.

351. Indian dialects.—In dealing with the returns for what were evidently Indian languages use was made of Sir George Grierson's index of language names forming appendix three to volume I, part I, of the Linguistic Survey of India. This in many cases suggested a classification which could be confidently adopted. Some of the names not shown separately in the table but included in the language to which they apparently belong are clearly alternative or dialect names such as Bodo, Kachari and Mech, all of which appear under Bodo, or Barai which is a dialect of Koch. Rai and Jimdar similarly are included together on the strength of Grierson's classification.

352. Place names.—There were a number of returns, however, which could not be thus classified with any degree of confidence. These are all faithfully given in the index of language names shown in paragraph four of the title page to imperial table XV and in the statements to which reference is there made. Such returns may be conveniently divided into several groups. In the first place names were given which were evidently place names and not language or even racial names at all. Almora and Yolmo are instances in this class. A reference to the Census Superintendent of the United Provinces elicited the reply that there are no grounds for thinking that a tribe emanating from Almora would speak any particular characteristic dialect and returns under this head have accordingly been shown as Hindi. In the case of Yolmo the language is fairly certainly some form of Bhotia.

Yolmo is the name of a place in Nepal near the Tibetan border and its inhabitants are called Yolmo-ma or Yolmo-wa. They are of Tibetan origin but Nepalese subjects and their religion is said to combine elements of the Pon religion with Buddhism and the observation of Gorkha customs. They are said to have a dialect of their own but their written language is Tibetan and some of them are said to be known in Nepal as Kagate. Kagate is classified by Grierson as Bhotia of Nepal and Yolmo would presumably be classified in the same way as Kagate regarding which there is a note below.

353. Script for language name.—The return of Gurumukhi is clearly a return of the script for the language written in that script and can therefore be confidently ascribed to Panjabi.

354. Caste or tribal names.—A third class of cases comprises the entries which are obviously caste or tribal names from which it is possible to form a reasonably confident assumption as to the language which ought to have been returned. Ghasi, for instance, is the name of a tribe of Chota Nagpur and this return has been included in Hindi. Ghatwali is the title in Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur of the holders of service tenures who act as rural police and mostly belong to aboriginal tribes. It has been assumed that Kherwari is the language which those returning this name are most likely to speak. Lama is given by Grierson as another name for Bhotia of Tibet, but as well as being a generic name for a priest it is also like Tamang the name of a section of Murmis and both Lama and Tamang have been classified as Murmi consistently with Grierson's classification of Tamang Bhotia. Nagesia or Nagasia is a name used in Chota Nagpur as a synonym for Kisan, a small aboriginal tribe allied to the Oraons, and the Census Superintendent of Bihar and Orissa reported that Kisan is used in certain localities as a language name equivalent to Kurukh with which on his information returns of Nagesia have been included. Chik has been included in Hindi since it is the name of a section of Pans who apparently have no dialect of their own and speak the language of the area in which they live. Thus in Bihar they mainly speak Hindi and as the returns of this name were for Darjeeling and those speaking the language thus returned almost certainly came from Bihar and not from Orissa the classification as Hindi appears to be the most likely. Khandait is the name of an Oriya caste and on that account the returns have been included amongst Oriya. Kaur, also given as a caste name, has been taken as a variant of Kauri a synonym for Kora or Koda and included with that dialect. Tharu is given as the name of wild tribe of the Nepal Terai usually speaking a broken form of the speech of its Aryan neighbours and this return has consequently been included in Hindustani. Similarly Pasi though given by Grierson as another name for Parsi and also an unidentified dialect reported to be spoken in the United Provinces is more likely the name of a caste of Bihar and the return has consequently been shown in Hindustani in the absence of anything suggesting that they speak a language or dialect of their own.

355. Apparent mistakes in the returns.—Yet another type of cases is that appearing in the index of language names as Kagti, Gurung (II) and Rongtu. Kagate is given by Grierson as the name of the Bhotia spoken in Eastern Nepal and Darjeeling, but before the language returns were considered returns of Kagate had been found in Darjeeling as a caste name and on enquiry had been classified as Bhotia of Sikkim. A similar classification has accordingly been adopted for the language return in the same region and is most probably proper in the case of Yolmo to which a reference has already been made. The returns shown in the index as Gurung (II) were received in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the whole of which area the only persons of the Gurung caste returned amounted to no more than three and on an enquiry it was found that except possibly for the three males returned speaking this language it must elsewhere have been an error. It has been assumed without great confidence that the return was wrongly made for Murung or

Mrung and the figures have been included amongst Tipara. A similar difficulty arose from the occurrence in Noakhali, Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts and in Tripura State of Rong as a language name although not a single Lepcha was returned in these areas and it was consequently assumed that Rong was probably a mistake for Rongtu and it was classified accordingly.

356. Other puzzles.—Finally there was a class of entries even more doubtful than those already dealt with. In Dacca town a number of persons were returned as speaking Bari and it might have been expected that this was the caste name of the group originating in Bihar who make leaf plates and torches and sometimes sell betel leaves. Upon enquiry, however, the local officers reported that there was no such caste in Dacca and that the word was probably a caste name either of the Barui (betel growers) or Barhi (carpenters) whose language is Bengali and it has been accordingly included as such. An alternative would have been to treat it as a mis-spelling of Bara and include it under that term, but it would be expected that the local officers would have detected this had it been the correct explanation of the word. The entry of Murudi from the Chittagong Hill Tracts proved on enquiry to be probably a mistake for Mru and has been classified accordingly. Hirung at first sight would appear to be intended for Hrangkhoh, Rangkhoh or Rangchal, and a consideration of the language returns discussed below makes it possible that this would have been a more accurate classification than that adopted. Local enquiry in the police-station from which these returns were received however elicited the fact that there were no persons speaking this language there and that the return should have been Khyang. The entry Shyam has been classified as Siamese entirely on assumed probability and might just as reasonably have been given as Shan, another language in the same group. Sikk and Ganjum look very much like mis-spellings of Sikh and Ganjam; but in the area from which Sikk was returned the name Sikh had been correctly spelt and on local enquiry the district officer could not find any clue to the correct ascription of either term. It was assumed that Sikk was an erroneous transcription of Chik, a caste name to which reference has already been made and it was treated accordingly. It was similarly assumed that Ganjum was entered in error for Ganjam, a district of Madras, and that the persons returning it probably spoke Telegu. No better justification for the inclusion of Gajali in Urdu can be offered than the fact that it appears to be intended to describe the language in which *ghazels* are written. Finally fourteen persons who spoke what was described as Madrassi may actually use any one of the Dravidian or Andhra languages and have been left unclassified. These fourteen persons together with 44 returned as speaking Fagle and 41 returned as speaking Yolmo are the only ones for whom no attempt has been made to classify their languages under an accepted term. It has already been stated that since the table was so compiled it appears that Yolmo can be confidently classified as Bhotia either of Nepal or Sikkim. A similar classification would probably be correct for Fagle. The word is a clearly erroneous return and no clue to its correct ascription has been received. Speculations as to what it denotes include suggestions that it is for Pagh (a madwoman) and that it stands for Tag-li or Tag-le which is the name of a section of Gurungs. Neither of these is entirely improbable as a mis-spelling. It is not at all improbable, however, that both Yolmo and Fagle actually refer to the same language since there are no females returned as speaking Yolmo and no males speaking Fagle and the numbers speaking each are roughly the same.

357. Effect of classification on the accuracy of the returns.—Some considerable space has been occupied in describing the classification made for doubtful entries but the effect of these classifications is comparatively small. Some of them, such as the names of real dialects or scripts, are certainly correct. Some of the names which are clearly caste names erroneously entered can also be taken with some confidence to have been accurately ascribed and the number of cases in which classification is open to serious

doubt does not involve very many persons or extend to any considerable area. The fact that in the Chittagong Hill Tracts Murung is locally used in some parts correctly for a section of Tiparas and in some others incorrectly as a synonym for Mru has undoubtedly led to some confusion in the returns of these two languages. But in other cases the effect of classification is negligible. It is very much less in any case than the scientific inaccuracies introduced by the impossibility of distinguishing Bihari either from Bengali on the one hand or from Hindustani on the other, from the omission of figures for dialects of languages particularly Bengali and Hindustani and from the inclusion in Hindustani of different dialects or even different languages belonging to all three of the main sub-branches of the Indo-Aryan branch of languages. If it be recognised in what sense Bengali and Hindustani are used throughout the tables, it does not seem necessary to assume that the figures actually given are inaccurate to more than a very slight extent.

358. The arrangement in table XV.—The arrangement adopted in table XV is indicated in a summary form in the title page of the table. It does not profess to follow any scientific classification and the Census Commissioner's sanction to depart from the general principle adopted on previous occasions was received when the greater part of the compilation of the table was completed and when a change would have involved delay and inconvenience. The table shows, first the languages of Bengal and Sikkim and following in succession the languages of neighbouring provinces, of other parts of India, of other Asiatic countries outside India and of Europe. Amongst the languages of Bengal and Sikkim there are somewhat illogically included Hindustani and the languages of Nepal, partly in order to facilitate comparisons with the totals struck at previous enumerations and partly also because Hindustani is to many Bengalis almost a second language whilst the Nepali languages form in Sikkim more than one-half of the total for the state. A scientific classification of the returns is attempted in subsidiary table I and commented on in a later paragraph. The arrangement in part II of table XV is the same as in part I. The awkwardness of the arrangement is offset by the index of names by use of which it is possible to turn at once to any language in either part of the table or any of the supplements.

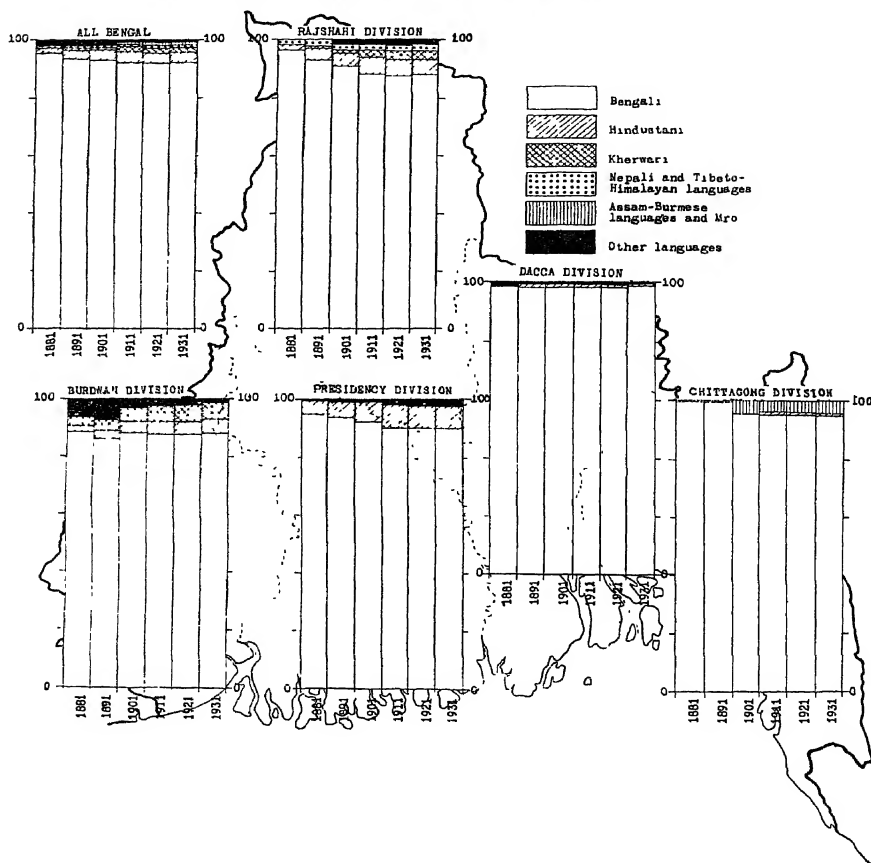
359. Summary figures from census to census : Bengali.—Bengali is the mother tongue of 923 in every 1,000 inhabitants of Bengal and if it be assumed that persons born elsewhere than in Bengal speak other languages than Bengali 955 in every 1,000 of the native born population use Bengali as their mother tongue. At the census of 1881 those speaking Bengali were 954 in every 1,000 of the population and the proportion declined at each successive census until in 1911 it stood at only 919. During the last two decades Bengali has been shown as the mother tongue of an increasing proportion of the population. In the Dacca Division less than 15 persons in every 1,000 speak any other mother tongue than Bengali. In the Rajshahi and Burdwan Divisions where other languages than Bengali have the greatest prevalence, no fewer than 879 and 877 in every 1,000 of the population actually speak Bengali.

360. Hindustani.—Hindustani is the next most prevalent language but less than 4 per cent. speak it in the whole of Bengal and its greatest prevalence in any division is in the Presidency Division, where no more than 77 in every 1,000 use it. Between 1881 and 1911 the number of persons speaking Hindustani in the whole of Bengal was on the increase, the figures being in every 10,000 of the population 204 in 1881, 295 in 1891, 347 in 1901 and 414 in 1911. During the last two decades however the proportions have fallen even more considerably than those for Bengali have risen, so that the falling off in the proportions speaking Hindustani has contributed to an increase not only in those speaking Bengali but also in those speaking other languages.

361. **Kherwari.**—Diagram No. X-1 showing these proportions and illustrating statement No. X-1 permits also comparison of the relative growth of three other groups of languages. Kherwari including the dialects spoken by the

DIAGRAM No. X-1.

Distribution by mother tongue of the population in each division, 1881-1931.



Mundas, Santals and allied tribes, is spoken by 172 in every 10,000 of the population and is most prevalent in the Burdwan Division where 58 persons in every 1,000 speak it. It is comparatively important only in one other Division, Rajshahi, where 29 persons in every 1,000 speak it. Its incidence is of course determined by the extent to which the population contains Munda, Santal and cognate elements and these are greatest in the districts of Burdwan Division adjacent to Bihar and in the Jalpaiguri and to a lesser extent the Darjeeling districts where they contribute to the labour force on the tea plantations. Kherwari has shown a proportionate increase as mother tongue since the census of 1881 when those speaking it numbered only 67 in every 10,000 of the population and when the largest proportion of the population using this language (in Burdwan Division) amounted to only 312 in every

10,000. For all Bengal in each 10,000 there were speaking it 100 in 1891, 123 in 1901, 165 in 1911 and 172 in 1921 a figure practically the same as on the present occasion. During the last decade the proportion speaking

STATEMENT No. X-1.

		Number per 10,000 speaking as mother tongue				
Year and division		Bengali	Hindustani	Kherwari	Nepali and Tibeto-Himalayan languages	Assam-Burmese languages and Mro
1881	All Bengal	9,536	204	67	26	16
	Burdwan Division	8,854	211	312	..	..
	Presidency Division	9,452	447	5	..	..
	Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	9,654	198	12	107	12
	Dacca Division	9,909	51	..	..	31
1901	Chittagong Division	9,948	12	..	..	39
	All Bengal	9,363	295	100	50	13
	Burdwan Division	8,370	267	378	..	..
	Presidency Division	9,320	642	22	..	1
	Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	9,244	496	84	204	6
1901	Dacca Division	9,862	102	..	..	27
	Chittagong Division	9,928	22	..	..	17
	All Bengal	9,298	347	123	45	64
	Burdwan Division	8,778	394	463	..	..
	Presidency Division	9,197	664	27	..	..
1901	Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	9,100	434	119	192	25
	Dacca Division	9,849	100	..	..	49
	Chittagong Division with Tripura	9,566	31	2	..	397
	All Bengal	9,192	414	165	49	67
	Burdwan Division	8,750	353	519	..	..
1911	Presidency Division	9,013	782	25	..	..
	Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,811	722	270	204	34
	Dacca Division	9,826	128	..	..	42
	Chittagong Division with Tripura	9,530	41	3	1	417
	All Bengal	9,197	380	172	50	72
1921	Burdwan Division	8,720	430	557	1	..
	Presidency Division	9,045	737	31	1	..
	Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,747	339	300	216	15
	Dacca Division	9,843	107	..	..	47
	Chittagong Division with Tripura	9,523	39	5	2	417
1921	All Bengal	9,226	370	172	54	76
	Burdwan Division	8,772	306	577	4	..
	Presidency Division	9,010	766	48	5	..
	Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar	8,788	494	292	215	11
	Dacca Division	9,833	71	1	..	45
1921	Chittagong Division with Tripura	9,491	38	4	6	449

*Excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts

Kherwari in the Burdwan Division and the Presidency Division has increased from 557 to 577 and from 31 to 48 in every 10,000 of the population respectively : in the Rajshahi Division it has decreased from 306 to 292 in every 10,000, but is still larger than the figure (270) recorded in 1911.

362. **Nepali and Tibeto-Himalayan languages.**—The Nepali and Tibeto-Himalayan languages representing the tongues spoken by Nepalese, Sikkimese, Bhotia and Tibetan immigrants are naturally represented most strongly in the Rajshahi Division, where those speaking them are almost exclusively confined to the Darjeeling district and to a very much smaller extent to Jalpaiguri. In every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal 54 persons speak Nepali or the Tibeto-Himalayan languages and the numbers speaking them are negligible except in the Rajshahi Division where they amount to nearly 24 in every 1,000. Except for the year 1891 which showed a figure of 50 in every 10,000 speaking these languages, their prevalence has increased at the expense, first, of Bengali and later on of Hindustani. In every 10,000, 26 spoke them in 1881, 45 in 1901, 49 in 1911 and 50 in 1921. In Darjeeling the proportion similarly rose per 10,000 from 107 in 1881 to 192 in 1901, to 208 in 1911 and to 216 in 1921.

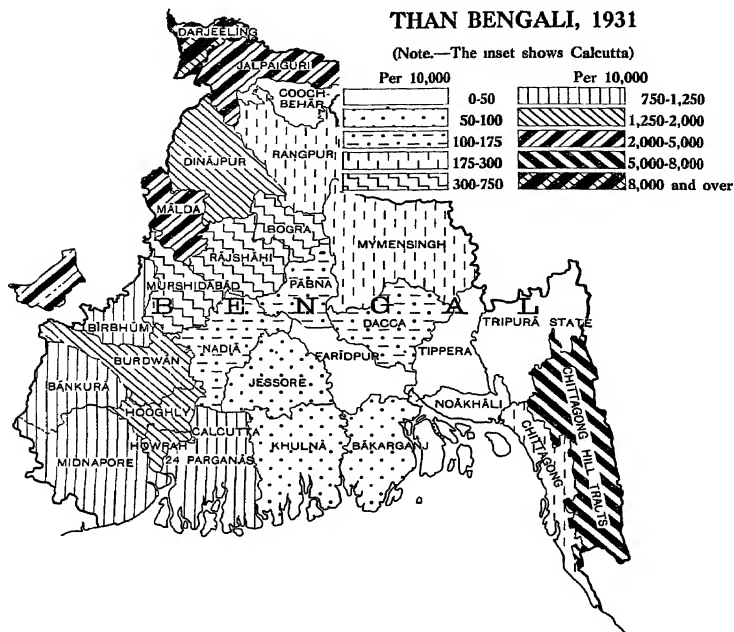
363. **Assam Burmese languages.**—The Assam Burmese languages are practically confined to the Chittagong Division. Here in every 10,000 of the population 449 speak one of them and their prevalence has increased from 397 in 1901 (the first year for which figures are available of the Chittagong Hill Tracts where those speaking them are principally found) to 417 in 1911 and 1921 and to the figure already quoted (449 per 10,000) on the present occasion. Other languages indicated on diagram No. X-1 but not shown in statement No. X-1 are principally Dravidian languages (including the languages of Madras and also of the Oraons) and Oriya. They are principally found in the Presidency, Burdwan and Rajshahi Divisions.

DIAGRAM No. X-2.

NOTE.—Hatchings are not shown in this map for Cooch Behar and Tripura States

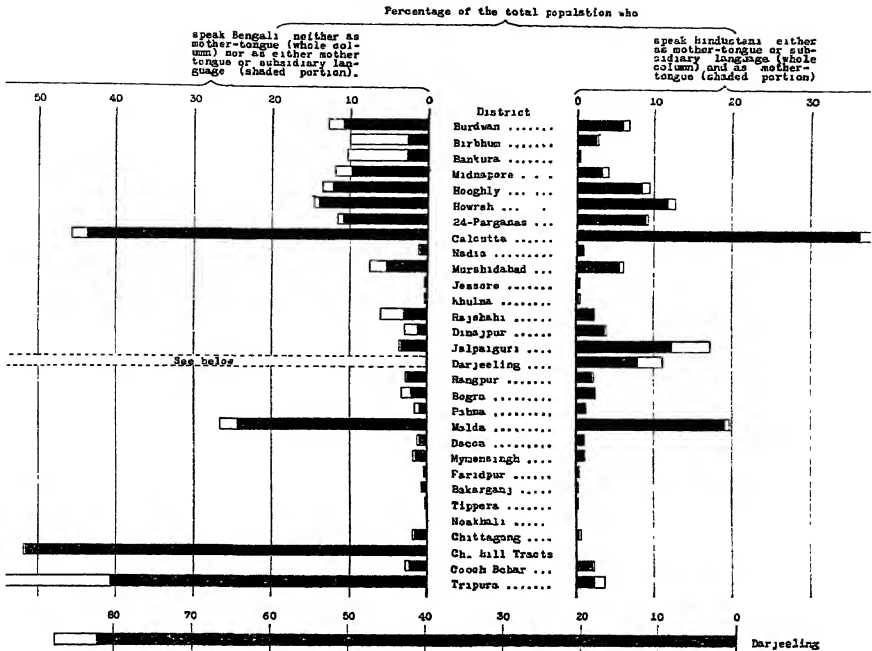
**NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE
TOTAL POPULATION BY DISTRICTS
SPEAKING AS MOTHER TONGUE
OTHER LANGUAGES
THAN BENGALI, 1931**

(Note.—The inset shows Calcutta)



364. **Prevalence of Bengali by districts.**—In 1921 less than 85 per cent. of the population spoke Bengali only in the districts of Midnapore, Calcutta, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Malda and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the Tripura State. With the exception of Midnapore where the percentage has now risen to 88, these are still the only areas in which the proportion falls below 85. It is more than 99 per cent. in Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Tippera and Noakhali and more than 98 per cent. in Nadia, Pabna, Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong. In diagram No. X-2 illustrating column 2 of subsidiary table II-B it has been considered more convenient to show the proportions of those in each district speaking any other language than Bengali as mother tongue. By an oversight the hatching for Tripura State has been omitted; it should be the same as that for Chittagong Hill Tracts. Similarly the hatching for Cooch Behar should be the same as that for the neighbouring district of Rangpur. Tippera, Noakhali, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Khulna and Jessore form a core in which nowhere do more than 63 persons in every 10,000 speak any other language as their mother tongue except Bengali. Speaking generally, the extent to which other languages are prevalent increases according to the distance from this central area, though Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah with Calcutta constitute an area where the prevalence of other languages is rather higher than in Bankura, Midnapore and Birbhum further afield. Darjeeling, where less than 12 per cent. of the population speak Bengali as mother tongue, the Tripura State where the proportions are rather more than 43 in 100 and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where only 48 per cent. use it as mother tongue, are the areas in which Bengali is least prevalent followed by Calcutta where just over 54 people in every 100 speak it.

DIAGRAM No. X-3.



365. **Comparison of language and birth place figures.**—If a comparison be made for those districts in which other languages than Bengali are most prevalent between the figures illustrated in diagram No. X-2 and those given in subsidiary table IV of chapter III and illustrated in diagram No. III-2 a rough estimate can be formed of the extent to which the native-born population of Bengal in each district speak other languages than Bengali. Making the assumption already suggested above, namely that those persons born outside Bengal and speaking Bengali as mother tongue are negligible in proportion to the total population, a comparison of the figures for persons born in Bengal with those speaking Bengali as mother tongue shows that 51 per cent. of the population in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are native-born but speak some other language than Bengali. Similar figures are 47 per cent. for Darjeeling, 46 per cent. for Tripura State, 22 per cent. for Malda, 14 per cent. for Jalpaiguri, 13 per cent. for Calcutta, 8 per cent. for Dinajpur, 5 per cent. for Burdwan, 4 per cent. for Hooghly and 2 per cent. for Howrah.

366. **Bengali as a subsidiary language.**—The extent, however, to which Bengali is used by the people of the province is better gauged by taking into consideration also figures given in column 3 of subsidiary table II-B. This shows the extent to which Bengali is used as a subsidiary language in ordinary daily life by those persons not speaking Bengali as a mother tongue. The figures there shown are illustrated in the left hand side of *diagram No. X-3. The shaded portion of the column in this diagram shows in each case the number not able to speak Bengali either as mother tongue or as subsidiary language and the unshaded portion corresponds to the proportion of the population which, though not speaking Bengali as a mother tongue, speaks

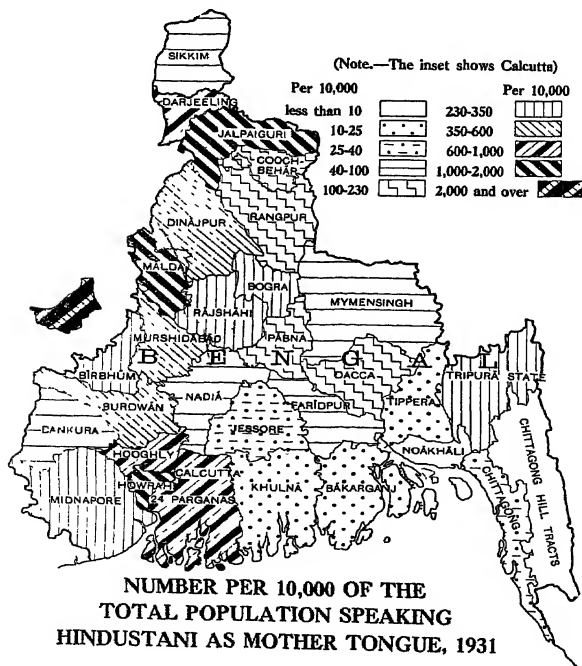
* The reader is warned that the shaded portion of the columns for Tripura State and Darjeeling is incorrectly shown and should represent 51 and 88 per cent. respectively.

it as a subsidiary language. The proportions are highest in the Bankura and Birbhum districts, where almost 8 per cent. of the population ordinarily use Bengali though they do not speak it as mother tongue and in Tripura State where more than 6 per cent. of the total population are similarly placed. In the districts of Dacca and Chittagong Divisions the proportions not speaking Bengali as mother tongue are very small and accordingly those using Bengali as a subsidiary language to some other mother tongue are also correspondingly small; but in the Burdwan Division more than 3 per cent., in the Rajshahi Division more than 1 per cent., and in the Presidency Division almost 1 per cent. of the population, though not speaking Bengali as mother tongue, use it as a subsidiary language. It can, therefore, be said that Bengali is used as the ordinary medium of conversation by over 93 per cent. of the total population of the province.

367. Hindustani by districts.—Hindustani is spoken as mother tongue by 1,891,337 persons in Bengal who form 370 in every 10,000 of the population. It is spoken by a greater proportion of the population in Calcutta, Malda, Jalpaiguri and Howrah than elsewhere, and in no other district do as many as one person in ten speak Hindustani as mother tongue. In Noakhali and

the Chittagong Hill Tracts there are in every 10,000 of the population only 1 and 2 respectively, who speak Hindustani as mother tongue and in Calcutta, where its use is most prevalent, only 36 persons in every 100 speak it compared with 54 who speak Bengali. The percentage is shown in column 4 of subsidiary table II-B and illustrated in diagram No. X-4. After the four districts mentioned, the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Darjeeling contain the largest proportion of Hindustani speakers; but in no other districts are there as many as 6 per cent. speaking it as mother tongue. Almost all educated Bengalis may be said in a manner to be bilingual in Hindustani, but the

DIAGRAM No. X-4.



total extent to which its use in ordinary daily intercourse can best be gauged, as in the case of Bengali, is by adding to the numbers using it as mother tongue the numbers using it as subsidiary language shown in column 5 to subsidiary table II-B. These figures are illustrated in the right hand portion of diagram No. X-3 which thus presents a ready means of comparing the extent to which Hindustani is the language of those not speaking Bengali. As a subsidiary language it is most prevalent in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling where in every 10,000 of the population 498 and 331 respectively use it in this way. But it is

extensively used elsewhere as a subsidiary language only in Calcutta where 34 persons in every 1,000 thus use it. It was pointed out in 1921 that as a mother tongue it is principally the language of immigrants, for there is less than 1 female speaking it as mother tongue to every 2 males. Its prevalence in Hooghly, Howrah, Calcutta and the 24-Parganas is due to the industrial areas on both sides of the Hooghly where it is in many cases probably the language of the greatest proportion of the population. The sex proportions amongst those speaking Hindustani are most even in the districts of Malda (108 males to 94 females) and Murshidabad (39 males to 37 females) but in Howrah and Calcutta there are more and in Hooghly and the 24-Parganas there are rather less than 3 males speaking Hindustani as mother tongue for every female. In Jalpaiguri where the proportions are 69 males to 52 females, almost exactly the same as in Malda, the comparatively large proportion of females is primarily due to the encouragement to permanent immigration offered by the tea plantations where labour conditions differ from those in the industrial areas about Hooghly. In Burdwan the proportions are roughly 2 males to every female and almost the same proportion is shown in Dinajpur and Darjeeling. It is, therefore, practically only in Murshidabad and Malda that the language can be described as indigenous to a permanently settled portion of the population.

368. Kherwari, Tipara, Kurukh, Oriya, Naipali and Arakanese.—Six other languages are spoken by as many as one per mille of the total population. Kherwari with its eleven dialects—Agaria, Asuri, Bhumij, Birhar, Brijia, Ho, Koda, Korwa, Mundari, Santali and Turi—is the mother tongue of 879,829 persons amongst whom the sexes are fairly evenly distributed. Tipara, the tribal language of the indigenous inhabitants of the Tripura State, is spoken by 191,725 persons of whom 148,298 are found in the Tripura State itself. Kurukh or Oraon is spoken by 185,797 or 3·64 per mille of the total population of whom 105,668 or nearly 57 per cent. are found in the Jalpaiguri district, more than 10,000 being found also only in 24-Parganas, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Darjeeling districts. Oriya spoken by 159,854 is the mother tongue of 3·13 per mille of the total population and is spoken by the largest number of persons in the Midnapore district (45,101) where it is indigenous and the sex proportions of those speaking it are fairly even; in Calcutta, where out of a total of 38,135 speaking this language, 35,400 are males; in the 24-Parganas, where a similar proportion holds and out of the total 27,833 speaking the language, 24,922 are males; and in the Howrah district, where again out of 18,358 persons speaking it the males number 17,080. In Bankura, the only other district in which it might be expected to be at all numerous, those speaking it were returned only as 170. Naipali, spoken by 134,147 persons, is the mother tongue of 2·62 per mille of the total population amongst whom the sex proportions are fairly evenly distributed. It is most prevalent in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri where 92,970 and 28,878 persons respectively speak it. Elsewhere those speaking it number as many as 1,000 only in Calcutta (3,693 of whom nearly three quaters are males) and in Howrah district (1,904 of whom a similar proportion are males). Arakanese is the mother tongue of 86,554 or 1·69 per mille of the total population of whom 56,180 are found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, 13,485 in Chittagong, 11,975 in Bakarganj and 4,863 in the Tripura State. There are more females than males speaking this language.

369. Oriya in Midnapore.—The decline in the numbers speaking Oriya in Midnapore district has been well marked since 1901 and is even more pronounced on the present occasion. The figures for each successive census are given in the marginal statement No. X-2. Several causes have probably contributed to this result. What passes for Oriya in the district is a rather indeterminate speech. It is described in the district gazetteer as Oriya infected by the Bengali spoken across the river Haldi. Grierson, in the *Addenda Minora* to Volume I of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, endorses the statement that in

STATEMENT No. X-2.
Numbers speaking Oriya in Midnapore, 1901-1931.

		Both sexes.	Males.	F. males.
1901	..	270,495	143,329	127,269
1911	..	181,801	93,966	87,835
1921	..	142,107	74,197	67,928
1931	..	45,101	23,654	21,447

Contai it is in its skeleton Oriya so modified by the adjoining Bengali as to be called a bengalised dialect of Oriya, and that even in Dantan and Narayangarh where the speech approaches more closely to the dialect of Balasore and is not so much bengalised it is unintelligible to the speaker of true Oriya. It is described both as being—

“ a curious mixture of fairly pure Bengali and fairly pure Oriya ”

and as—

“ not a dialect so much as a mechanical mixture of corrupt Bengali and corrupt Oriya ”.

It is very probable therefore that the language returned as Oriya would often be unintelligible to speakers of Oriya hailing from Cuttack and that it has been indifferently returned at different census enumerations either as Oriya or as Bengali. The fact that instruction in the schools is given in Bengali and that Bengali is the language of the courts tends to extend the range of Bengali and in any case to make it more fashionable to describe the language actually spoken by this name. When the census was being taken a Commission was known to be under contemplation to advise upon the boundaries of a province containing the Oriya people and throughout Midnapore there was a general fear, that if it transpired that a considerable proportion of the inhabitants spoke Oriya, the district might be allotted to the new province when or if it was formed. This fear quite possibly led some persons to describe as Bengali a speech which they would otherwise have returned as Oriya but is most probable that in general there is a genuine assimilation of the mixed Oriya-Bengali of this district to Bengali and that the returns

STATEMENT No. X-3.

Numbers per 100 speaking Oriya in selected police-stations of Midnapore, 1911-1931, compared with the percentage of the population which is Oriya by race, 1931.

Police-station	Oriya by race.	Speaking Oriya			
		in 1931		in 1921 in 1911	
		as mother-tongue.	as subsidiary language.		
Narayanganrh	11 0	1 6	0	*	*
Keshbani	12 6	1 0	2 9	*	*
Dantan	28 2	27 0	0	34	30
Mohanpur	44 1	3 1	73 8	91	93
Gopiballavpur	12 5	1 3	0 2	55	38
Nayagram	9 5	9 3	0 2	33	35
Contai	17 5	0 6	1 6	*	*
Ramnagar	35 0	1 9	0 6	0	67
Dara	22 4	0 3	2 7	*	0
Pateshpur	11 4	0 8	0 2	*	*

*Not on record

their allocation by race was difficult. The figures are given in statement No. X-3 for those police-stations in which Oriyas are most numerous and probably overestimate the proportions of Oriyas. Even this overstatement however cannot account for the discrepancy in the proportions of those who are Oriya by race and who returned Oriya as their mother tongue or subsidiary language. The figures are comparable only in Dantan and Nayagram police-stations. In Mohanpur, where even in 1921, 91 per cent. of the population returned Oriya and the largest proportion of Oriyas by race is found, the proportion speaking the language as mother tongue now amounts to only 3·1 but an additional 75·8 per cent. use it as a subsidiary language. The proportions have similarly declined from 55 to 1·3 per cent. in Gopiballavpur and from 33 to 9·3 per cent. in Nayagram. In Ramnagar the percentage has increased from nil to nearly 2 per cent. but is still far short of the estimate of those who are Oriya by birth which is 35 per cent.

370. Philological classification.—In subsidiary table I the languages returned have been classified according to a philological scheme. The scheme is the same as Sir George Grierson's, adopted at the census of 1921, with minor modifications or alterations suggested or approved by Sir George Grierson himself. So far as the languages of this province are concerned

merely exaggerate what is a real change in the speech of the people. Figures have been compiled estimating the number of persons who are Oriya by race in each police-station of the district. The estimate was made, in the absence of any return of race, upon a classification of all caste returns made after reference to the district officer and local investigation. Many castes (like the Karans and the functional castes Dhopa, Goala, etc.) are neither entirely Bengali nor entirely Oriya and

the modifications in the classification scheme are of relatively no importance and affect only languages which are not spoken by any considerable proportion

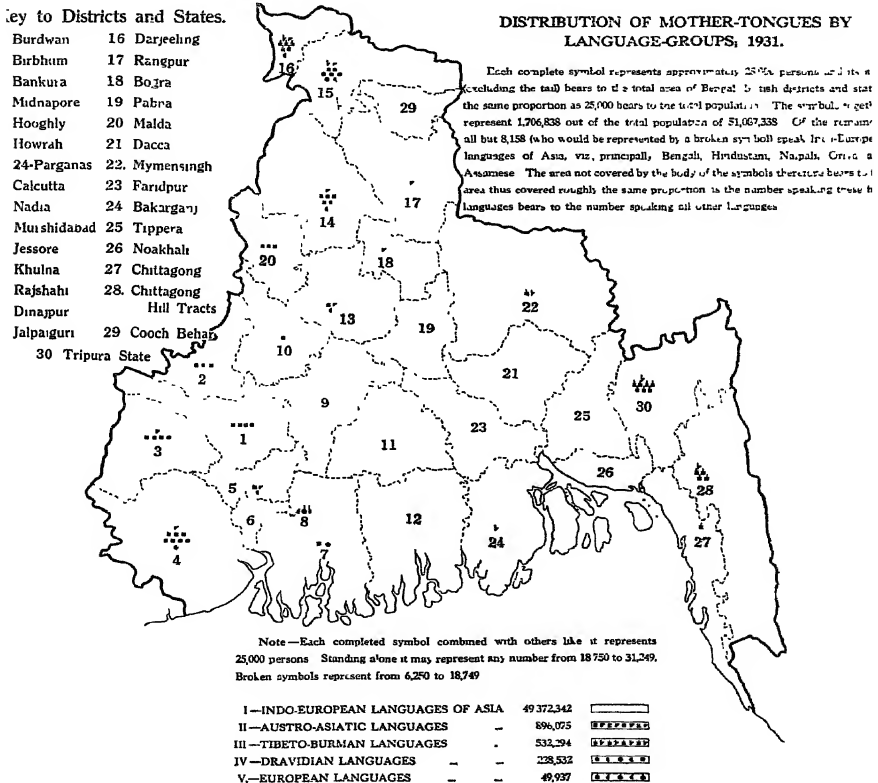
STATEMENT No. X-4.

Families of Indian languages spoken in Bengal.

	Both SEXES	Males	Females
AUSTRIAC FAMILY	896,189	453,834	442,355
Tibeto-Chinese Family	532,296	272,253	260,043
Dravidian Family	228,532	123,281	105,251
Indo-European Family	49,371,617	25,673,767	23,697,820

families, the total numbers speaking which are shown in the marginal statement No. X-4.

DIAGRAM No. X-5.



371. **District distribution by language families.**—In diagram No. X-5 overleaf illustrating statement X-5 an attempt has been made to show graphically the relative strength of the principal families of languages found in the province. Five groups have been represented showing No. I* the Indo-European languages of Asia in full, No. II† the Austro-Asiatic languages which

*The figures include 700 persons speaking Armenian and 25 speaking Sinhalese in addition to those speaking Indo-European languages of India shown in statement No. X-4.

†Pale spoken by 114 persons has been omitted but the numbers are so small as to have no effect on the graphic representation.

are the only sub-family of the Austric languages found in Bengal, No. III the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages which includes all those speaking a Tibeto-Chinese language with the exception of 2 persons in Chittagong speaking Siamese, No. IV the Dravidian languages and No. V European languages.

STATEMENT No. X-5.
District distribution by language families.

Natural and administrative division, district and -state		Number of persons speaking languages of 'group				
		I	II	III	IV	V
1		2	3	4	5	6
BENGAL	..	49,372,342	896,075	532,294	228,532	49,937
West Bengal	..	8,111,743	498,998	109	27,202	8,430
BURDWAN DIVISION		8,111,743	498,998	109	27,202	8,430
Burdwan		1,471,716	100,020	36	873	2,861
Birbhum		875,792	71,474	11	110	110
Bankura	..	1,000,162	111,457		42	40
Midnapore	..	2,605,726	178,810	9	12,984	1,992
Hooghly	..	1,069,575	30,547	51	7,228	508
Howrah	..	1,088,769	1,190	2	5,905	2,822
Central Bengal	..	9,983,959	48,680	476	33,252	35,844
PRESIDENCY DIVISION		9,983,959	48,680	476	33,252	35,844
24 Parganas	..	2,670,116	20,805	149	20,236	2,601
Calcutta	..	1,150,055	1,272	227	6,024	38,034
Nadia		1,528,607	1,078	92	2,795	113
Murshidabad		1,845,913	22,090	4	2,622	48
Jessore		1,069,540	849	3	758	10
Khulna		1,622,028	3,086	1	377	38
North Bengal	..	10,591,632	343,813	153,270	165,656	3,544
RAJSHAHI DIVISION		10,003,053	343,276	152,092	165,085	3,529
Rajshahi	..	1,376,820	36,441	1	15,708	46
Dinajpur	..	1,399,613	138,890		16,738	170
Jaipurguri	..	768,939	64,483	17,497	100,511	469
Darjeeling	..	137,588	12,052	134,581	11,947	2,174
Rangpur	..	3,680,313	8,494	60	5,371	502
Bogra	..	1,077,789	6,818		1,811	50
Palna	..	1,441,305	1,202	2	2,077	108
Malda	..	975,726	74,016		4,022	1
COOCH BEHAR STATE		588,579	537	1,178	571	15
East Bengal	..	20,685,008	4,584	378,439	2,422	2,119
DACCA DIVISION		15,969,609	753	52,586	121	861
Dacca	..	3,431,100	82	710	81	556
Mymensingh	..	5,990,364		30,671	91	143
Faridpur	..	2,861,390	070	67	4	40
Bakerganj	..	2,920,749	1	12,159	6	113
CHITTAGONG DIVISION		6,690,098	1,634	132,921	383	1,257
Tippoca	..	3,108,050		585	13	102
Naokhal	..	1,700,647		18		66
Chittagong	..	1,771,423	493	23,619	370	1,033
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	104,070	1,142	108,704		6
TRIPURA STATE		185,303	2,197	192,932	1,918	1

* The actual language returns included in each group are as follows.—

Group	Actual language returns included.
I.—INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES OF ASIA AND AFRICA	(1) Pashto (2) Persian; (3) Kashmiri (4) Sindhi (5) Maathi (Konkan) (6) Oriya (7) Bengali (8) Assamese (9) Hindustani (10) Rajsthani (11) Gujarati (12) Panjabi (13) Naipali (Khaskura) (14) Singhalese (15) Armenian.
II.—AUSTRAL-ASIATIC LANGUAGES	(1) Palaung (2) Khasi (3) Kherwari (4) Kham.
III.—TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES	(1) Bhotia (2) Dhimel (3) Thami (4) Limbu (5) Yakha (6) Khambu (7) Rai or Jundar (8) Hayu (9) Gurung (10) Mumi (11) Sunwar (12) Magai (13) Newari (14) Rong or Lepcha (15) Kami (16) Manjhi (17) Gato (18) Koch (19) Bara (Bodo) (20) Tipura (21) Maithi (Maupuri) (22) Halam (23) Kuki (24) Banjori (25) Lushai (26) Pankhu (27) Khyang (Sho) (28) Khami (29) Rongtu (30) Kachin (31) Burmese (32) Assamese (33) Mro (Mru) (34) Mro (Mru).
IV.—DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES	(1) Tamil (2) Malayalam (3) Kannarese (4) Kota (5) Kurukh (Oran); (6) Maito (7) Gondi (8) Telugu.
V.—EUROPEAN LANGUAGES	(1) Greek (2) Italian (3) French (4) Spanish (5) Portuguese (6) Welsh (7) Gaelic (8) Irish (9) Russian (10) English (11) Dutch (12) Flemish (Belgian) (13) Norwegian (14) Swedish (15) Danish (16) German (17) Estonian (18) Finnish (19) Hungarian.

In the diagram are represented all but 8,158 persons speaking other languages than the European family which are foreign to India, namely, the vernaculars of other Asiatic countries and Africa. A full explanation is given with the diagram itself but the reader is warned that, although the surface covered by the symbols is intended to bear the same proportion to the total surface representing the area of the province as is borne by the number speaking each family of languages to the total population, the preponderance of the Indo-European languages principally of the Indo-Aryan branch (mainly composed of those speaking Bengali, Hindustani, Nepali, Oriya and Assamese) is to some extent concealed by the area occupied by district boundaries and the figures indicating district names.

372. **The Austric family of languages.**—The Austric family of languages is classified into two sub-families—the Austronesian and the Austro-Asiatic. Of these only the second is represented in Bengal. Its distribution by groups

STATEMENT No. X-6.

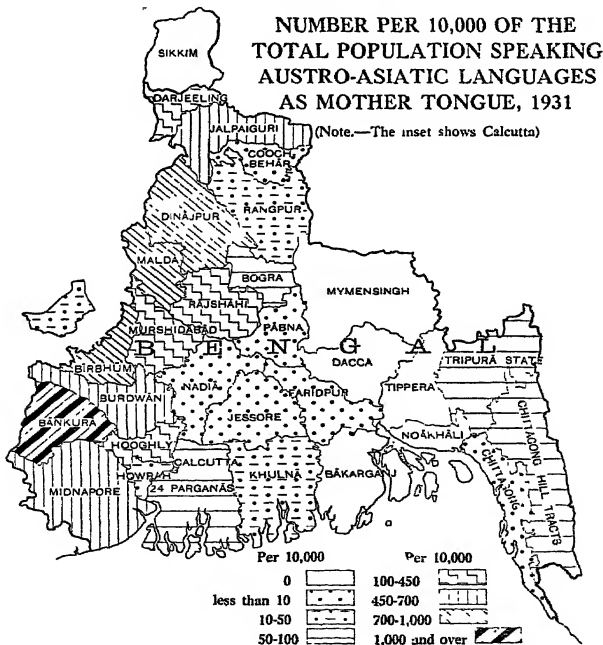
Groups of the Austric family of languages.

	Both sexes	Males	Females
AUSTRIC FAMILY	896,189	453,834	442,355
Austro-Asiatic sub-family	896,189	453,834	442,355
(1) Mon-khmer Branch	1,457	875	462
(a) Palaung-Wa Group	858	547	409
(b) Khasi group	901	428	73
(2) Munda Branch	884,732	452,859	441,873

is shown in the marginal statement No. X-6. Two branches are distinguished in it, the Monkhmer and the Munda, and of the first branch two groups, namely, the Palaung-wa and the Khasi groups are represented in Bengal. Palaung is the language of 842 persons in the

Chittagong Hill Tracts and together with Pale spoken by 114 persons, 98 of whom are in the Tripura State, represents the Palaung-wa group. Khasi spoken by 501 persons, of whom 300 are in Darjeeling and 124 in Calcutta. represents the Khasi group of the same branch. The Munda branch is represented by Kherwari and Kharia. Speakers of this sub-family of languages number 896,075. They are principally found in Western Bengal,

DIAGRAM No. X-6.



Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi and Murshidabad and more than 98 per cent. of the total speak Kherwari in one or other of its dialects. The proportion which they form to the total population in each district is illustrated in diagram No. X-6. The proportions in Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts are due to those speaking Khasi and Palaung which are not found in the west of the province. But in other districts the hatchings practically represent the proportion of persons speaking Kherwari. They form a greater proportion of the total population in Bankura where they number 10 per cent. of the total population than in any other district and they form as much as 700 per

10,000 only in the strip comprising Dinajpur (791), Malda (703) and Birbhum (754). They are as many as 6 per cent. of the total population only in three other districts, namely, Burdwan, Midnapore and Jalpaiguri and except in Darjeeling where they are over 4 per cent., they are less than 4 per cent. in every other district of the province.

373. The Tibeto-Chinese family of languages.—The Tibeto-Chinese family, apart from the 2 persons speaking Siamese classified in the Tai branch of the Tai-Chinese sub-family, is represented entirely by three branches of the

STATEMENT No. X-7.

Groups of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages.

	Both sexes	Males	Females
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY	532,296	272,253	260,043
A.—Tibeto-Burman Sub-family	532,296	272,253	260,041
(1) Tibeto-Himalayan Branch	143,802	72,171	71,631
(a) Tibetan Group	14,437	7,688	6,749
(b) Pronominalised Himalayan Group	56,714	28,012	28,702
(c) Non-pronominalised Himalayan Group	72,651	36,471	36,180
(2) Assam-Burmese Branch	384,699	198,342	186,357
(a) Bora or Bodo Group	246,870	129,300	117,570
(b) Kuki-Chin Group	42,768	19,408	23,360
(i) Metchen Sub-group	19,880	8,686	11,295
(ii) Old Kuki Sub-group	10,370	4,776	5,595
(iii) Central Chin Sub-group	3,471	1,777	1,694
(iv) Southern Chin Sub-group	3,474	1,456	1,919
(v) Unclassified Chin Sub-group	1,285	947	948
(vi) Unspecified Kuki	3,778	1,869	1,909
(c) Kachin Group	—	1	—
(d) Burma Group	95,000	47,683	47,427
(3) Unclassified	3,793	3,740	53
B.—Tai Chinese Sub-family	2	..	2
Tai Branch (Tai Group)	2	..	2

Assam-Burmese branch four groups are distinguished: the Bodo, Kuki-Chin, Kachin and Burma groups. The figures for those speaking the languages of the Tibeto-Chinese family by sub-family branch, group and sub-group are shown in the marginal statement No. X-7.

374. Tibeto-Himalayan languages.—Amongst the Tibetan group of the Tibeto-Himalayan branch, returns made have been distributed as accurately as possible, but the figures pretend to no great accuracy and no detailed comparison for members of the group can be made with 1921 when they were not separately shown. In Bengal the Bhotia languages are practically confined to Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts in which 14,333 or all but 104 of the total number speaking these languages are found. To the Tibetan group are probably to be allocated also the two puzzling entries, Fagle and Yolmo, to which reference has been made earlier. To the pronominalised Himalayan group belong the languages of the Kirant or Eastern Nepal. The languages comprising the pronominalised Himalayan group in Bengal are Dhimal, Thami, Limbu, Yakka, Khambu, Rai or Jimdar and Hayu or Vayu. Persons speaking them amount to nearly 57 thousand and the sexes are very evenly distributed so that they represent to some extent permanent immigrants. The evenness of sex distribution however does not in the case of Nepali and Bhotia tribes carry with it so strong a presumption of permanent migration owing to the extent to which the women of these countries travel abroad for employment in the same way as the men. Amongst this group Rai or Jimdar with 40 thousand and Limbu with 15 thousand speakers are the most prominent. The total number speaking languages of this group has declined by over one and a half thousand since 1921 and the decline is almost certainly to be attributed to the increasing ascendancy of Naipali or Khaskura over the tribal languages, a condition to which reference will be made later. Amongst the non-pronominalised Himalayan groups the following are represented in Bengal: Gurung, Murmi, Sunwar, Magari, Newari, Rong or Lepcha, Kami, Manjhi and Toto. Sir George Grierson notes in his linguistic survey that the classification of Kami and Manjhi is doubtful and at the present census the Kamis of Nepal both in Sikkim and in Darjeeling district, where the language is principally spoken, made representations that there was so such language as Kami at all and that their tribal language was pure and unadulterated Khaskura. The total

number speaking this group is nearly 73 thousand and is practically the same as in 1921; but it is only those speaking Murmi who have increased in numbers (from 32 thousand to nearly 36 thousand) during the decade and in every other language the numbers have shown a decrease. It is a curiosity that, although the Toto tribe have increased in numbers, not a single individual was returned as speaking the Toto language which has evidently been incorrectly recorded in the returns and included probably with one of the Bhotia languages. In statement No. X-8 figures are given by police-stations for the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts showing the numbers and proportions speaking Tibeto-Burman languages. These represent almost exclusively Tibeto-Himalayan languages of this sub-family. In Darjeeling the proportions are small in all police-stations of the Siliguri subdivision, but approach or surpass one-half in all other police-stations except Darjeeling where the percentage is 40. In Jalpaiguri they are considerable only in Mitiali and Madarihat.

375. Assam Burmese languages.

—In the Assam-Burmese branch the Bara group is represented in Bengal by Garo, Koch, Bara (Bodo or Kachari) Tipura and Rabha, but on the present occasion Rabha was not returned as a language in spite of there being over 3 thousand members of the tribe returned by the tribal name. Tipura, spoken by nearly 192 thousand persons almost entirely found in the Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts with 1,878 in Chittagong district and 567 in Tippera, makes the largest contribution towards this group and those speaking it have increased from 158,734 in 1921. The total number speaking languages of the Bara group is 246 thousand compared with 226 thousand in 1921. This increase is little more than one-half of the increase of those speaking Tipura. Those speaking Garo, Koch and Kachari have all declined in numbers. The Tipura figures are probably inflated by returns of Mrung incorrectly made for Mro. The Kuki-Chin group includes the old Kuki sub-group represented by Hallam and Hrangkol, the Central Chin sub-group represented by Banjogi, Lushei and Pankhu, the Southern Chin group represented by Khyang and Khami, Rongtu representing the unclassified Chin languages and unspecified Kuki. The total numbers speaking the Kuki-Chin group of languages is rather less than 43 thousand compared with nearly 30 thousand in 1921. Meithei or Manipuri is spoken by 19,880 persons of whom all but 344 are in the Tripura State and those speaking it in 1921 numbered only 15,875. Hallam spoken by 3,059 persons in 1921 was on the present occasion returned by 10,370 persons, all found in the Tripura State. Hrangkol returned in 1921 by 671 persons was not returned at all on the present occasion, but a consideration of the returns of Khyang below suggests that some of them (namely, 309 females whose language is shown as Hirung) might more appropriately have been entered as Hrangkol. Banjogi, Lushei and Pankhu representing the Central Chin sub-group are spoken by more than 3 thousand persons. Banjogi and Pankhu spoken by 810 and 83 persons respectively are found only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Lushei, spoken by 2,578 persons, is the language of 2,000 persons in Tripura State and 539 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and there were also 30 persons returned as speaking this language in the Darjeeling district. Lushei was returned by 2,819 persons in 1921 and those speaking it have accordingly decreased during the decade. Khyang

STATEMENT No. X-8.

Numbers and proportions speaking Tibeto-Burman languages in police-stations of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts.

NOTE.—Figures for police-stations include Mu-lims, Hindus and Buddhists. Details for other religions were not compiled by police-stations, but are given for the whole district after the police-station figures.

District and police-station	Total population	Speaking Tibeto-Burman languages.	
		Numbers.	Per cent. of total.
Jalpaiguri	983,357	7,408	1
Jalpaiguri	84,988	10	.
Rajganj	49,267	1	.
Boda	72,570	14	.
Nagrakata	37,827	212	1
Dhnburi	86,848	373	.
Mal	82,288	369	.
Mitiali	40,190	1,006	3
Alipuri Duars	76,802	35	.
Kunamgram	32,048	598	1
Kalchini	58,885	519	1
Fakata	46,827	34	.
Madarihat	43,282	1,163	3
*Whole district	48,322	3,573	7
Darjeeling	319,635	133,924	42
Darjeeling	42,780	16,979	40
Fulbari	17,341	1,433	75
Rangli Bhanglot	21,595	13,790	63
Suklapokri	14,050	9,023	64
Jore Bungalow	20,852	15,500	61
Kalimpong	51,509	30,113	53
Gorubathan	13,000	6,178	48
Kurseong	36,138	17,548	48
Mirk	14,259	10,192	71
Siliguri	31,406	1,071	3
Pharaidewa	19,440	114	1
Khoribari	20,517	355	2
*Whole district	15,388	2,393	16

*District figures for "other religions" for which figures are not available by police-stations.

and Khami are the two languages representing the Southern Chin sub-group of the Assam-Burmese branch of languages. They are found only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. There were 1,265 persons returned as speaking Khyang and 2,109 as speaking Khami, but the figures of females speaking Khyang are 307 in excess of those of males speaking the same language and the excess is very close to the number (309) returned as speaking Hirung and classified on the local officers' investigation as Khyang : it is possible that a classification as Hrangkol would have been more correct. The numbers shown as speaking Rongtu were actually returned, as has been noted above, under Rong and no such return appears to have been made in 1921. Kachin spoken by a single person in Bakarganj is the only representative of the Kachin group of languages. In the Burma group, Burmese spoken by 8,506 and Arakanese spoken by 86,554 were returned principally in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts and in Bakarganj, but as many as 4,863 persons speaking Arakanese were also returned in the Tripura State. Mro returned in 1921 by 8,583 persons was returned on the present occasion by only 3,793 although the numbers of the caste are 7,404 and it has evidently suffered by the inclusion of entries of Mrung with those of Tipura. In statement No. X-9 figures are given for the number and proportion of those speaking Assam-Burmese languages and Mro in the police-stations of Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the divisions of Tripura State. The proportions are less than half in the Chittagong Hill Tracts only in Rangamati, Barkal, Langadu and Dighinala and in Tripura State only in Dharmanagar, Sonamura, Belonia and Udaipur. In Chittagong they are highest in Teknaf and Cox's Bazar.

STATEMENT No. X-9.

Numbers and proportions speaking Assam-Burmese languages and Mro in police-stations of Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts districts and divisions of the Tripura State.

NOTE.—Figures for police-stations include for Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists and for Tripura State Muslims and Hindus. Details for other religions were not compiled by police-stations but are given for the whole district or state after the police-station figures.

District and police-station or state and division	Total population	Speaking Assam-Burmese and Mro	
		Numbers.	Per cent of total
Chittagong	1,797,038	23,619	1
Fatkhali	123,988	1,685	1
Baqaon	120,824	68	1
Rangania	76,624	627	1
Hatibazari	109,335	187	1
Chittagong	51,873	95	1
Double Moorings	57,696	15	1
Pachhalis	45,984	61	1
Mirsara	134,733	90	1
Satakund	81,010	203	1
Patara	207,303	282	1
Bolikhal	76,405	82	1
Satkania	187,923	102	1
Banekhal	106,722	10	1
Anwara	78,683	2	1
Cox's Bazar	53,679	4,600	9
Rangpur	81,667	2,568	7
Maheshkhali	81,040	2,395	5
Kutubdia	22,819	14	1
Teknaf	35,833	6,003	17
Udhua	32,801	187	1
Chakaria	86,252	2,475	8
*Whole district	2,979	798	27
Chittagong Hill Tracts	212,922	106,392	51
Kotwali (Rangamati)	37,051	2,531	7
Chandraghona	20,498	11,043	69
Barkal	20,623	3,888	19
Langadu	12,744	5,082	45
Dighinala	15,799	2,855	38
Bandarban	14,240	13,871	94
Buma	7,266	6,894	95
Lama	19,009	14,859	84
Nakhayongchhari	7,287	3,721	51
Ranggarh	19,352	14,738	76
Mahalechhari	29,535	17,265	58
*Whole district	19,827	17,650	91
Tripura State	382,450	196,831	50
Sadar	167,322	81,100	50
Kailashahar	63,525	33,617	61
Khowai	40,050	24,487	61
Dharmanagar	37,404	6,966	19
Sonamura	27,061	6,790	26
Belonia	21,634	10,054	47
Udaipur	34,314	17,767	54
Atmapur	22,124	20,847	95
Sabroom	11,885	9,890	83
*Whole State	17,141	7,830	43

*District figures for "other religions" for which, figures are not available by police-stations.

376. **The Dravidian family of languages.**—The Dravidian family is represented by languages of three groups; the Dravida comprising Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Kota; the intermediate represented by Kurukh, Malto and Gondi; and the Andhra represented by Telegu. Figures for the family are given by groups in the marginal statement No. X-10. Kota is given by Grierson as the language of a wild tribe in the Nilgiri hills, lower in position and occupation than the Todas. It was returned by 13 females only, all of whom were in the Birbhum

STATEMENT No. X-10.

Groups of the Dravidian family of languages.

	Both sexes	Males	Females
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY	228,532	123,281	105,251
Dravida Group	6,282	3,549	2,733
Intermediate Group	189,125	102,521	86,604
Andhra Group	33,125	17,211	15,914

district. Tamil spoken by 5,855 persons was returned by some persons in the majority of the districts of Bengal, but is principally found in Calcutta and Midnapore which have respectively 2,554 and 1,537 persons speaking the language. Malayalam spoken by only 305 persons is practically confined to Calcutta where 236 of those speaking it are found and the remainder are

principally found in the districts of Western Bengal. Kanarese spoken by 109 persons only is found principally in Chittagong (37), Calcutta (39) and Howrah (19). Kurukh, the most important of the intermediate group of Dravidian languages and spoken by the fifth largest number of persons in the province, is the mother tongue of 185,797 persons principally found in north, west and the southern part of the Central Bengal. The numbers speaking this language have increased from 184,044 in 1921, but they form little more than four-fifths of the number returned as Oraons whose tribal language it is. Malto, the tribal language of the Malers inhabiting the hills near Rajmahal and also used to denote the corrupt Bengali spoken by the hillmen of the Rajmahal hills, is spoken by 3,304 persons, 3,178 of whom are found in the Rajshahi district and the remainder in Northern Bengal. There were 4,997 persons returned as speaking this language in 1921. Gondi, mainly spoken in the Central Provinces but also found in Orissa is spoken by only 24 persons, all of whom are found in the Midnapore district. Telegu spoken by 33,125 persons was returned in 1921 only by 25,052. Nearly one-third of those speaking it are concentrated in the Midnapore district (10,864) and in this district together with the districts of Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Calcutta some 75 per cent. of those speaking this language are found.

377. Indo-European family of languages—Iranian and Dardic branches.

—In the Indo-European family, so far as the languages of India are concerned, only the Aryan sub-family is represented. Amongst the branches of this

STATEMENT No. X-11.

Groups of the Indo-European family of Indian languages.

	Both sexes	Males	Females
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY	49,371,617	25,673,797	23,697,820
Aryan Sub-family	49,371,617	25,673,797	23,697,820
(1) Iranian Branch	5,200	4,660	540
(a) Eastern Group	5,200	4,000	540
(2) Dardic Branch	63	52	11
Dard Group	63	52	11
(3) Indo-Aryan Branch	49,366,354	25,669,085	23,697,269
(i) Outer Sub-Branch	49,434,959	25,662,933	23,372,026
(a) North-Western Group	504	380	124
(b) Southern Group	3,161	1,941	1,220
(c) Eastern Group	48,431,294	23,060,012	23,370,082
(ii) Mediate Sub-Branch	661,968	442,263	219,705
Mediate Group	661,968	442,263	219,705
(iii) Inner Sub-Branch	259,427	163,859	105,528
(a) Central Group	135,280	91,782	43,498
(b) Pahari Group	124,147	72,107	62,040

sub-family there are represented in Bengal the Iranian, the Dardic and the Indo-Aryan branches. Figures for these languages by groups are shown in the marginal statement No. X-11. The eastern group of the Iranian branch is represented by Pashto and Persian. Pashto spoken by 4,084 persons is the language of a small number in almost every district, the greatest number of whom are found in

Calcutta with its suburbs in the 24-Parganas. There is only about 1 female for nearly 19 males speaking this language, and those whose mother tongue it is are principally the money-lenders commonly known as Kabulis throughout Bengal. Only 1,753 persons returned Pashto as their mother tongue in 1921. Persian shown in the table as a language of Asiatic countries outside India is included in subsidiary table I as one of the languages of India and spoken by 1,116 persons more than 25 per cent. of whom are found in Calcutta and a larger number of the remainder in Murshidabad than in any other district. Kashmiri spoken by 63 persons, more than half of whom are in Calcutta, represents the Dard group of the Dardic branch of this sub-family.

378. Indo-Aryan branch—outer sub-branch.—Within the Indo-Aryan branch, Grierson distinguishes three sub-branches, an outer, a mediate and an inner. The outer sub-branch is represented by languages of three groups: Sindhi of the north-western, Marathi and Konkani of the southern and Oriya, Bengali, Assamese and Bihari of the eastern sub-groups. Sindhi is spoken by 504 persons mainly found in Calcutta, Howrah, Burdwan, Midnapore and the 24-Parganas. Marathi spoken by 3,161 persons, principally in Calcutta, was returned in 1921 by only 2,651 persons. Konkani is included in the above figures and is shown by Grierson as a dialect of Marathi. Of the languages in the eastern group reference has already been made to Bengali and Oriya. These two languages together with Bihari and Assamese are all derived by

Grierson from a Magadhi *Apabhramsa* and are thus sister languages. No direct figures were recorded for Bihari and on the analogy of 1921 it has been assumed that 60 per cent. of those returning Hindustani speak Bihari and they have been given as the number speaking this language. No attempt can be made to give figures for their district distribution. Assamese spoken by 2,750 persons has increased since 1921 when only 1,079 were returned as speaking it. Those speaking it are found principally in Cooch Behar (852) and Tripura (467). Elsewhere their numbers reach 200 or more only in Dacca (230) and Rangpur (237) and there are as many as 160 in Calcutta, 187 in Jalpaiguri and 116 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

379. Mediate sub-branch.—Eastern Hindi representing the mediate sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch in the classification is the language linguistically

“bounded on the north by languages of the Nepal Himalaya * * * and on the west by various dialects of Western Hindi * * * On the east it is bounded by the Bhojpuri dialect of Bihar and Orissa On the south it meets forms of the Marathi language”

It is the language predominant in the United Provinces and the entries of Chattisgarhi refer to one of its dialects. It has been assumed, as in 1921, that 35 per cent. of the returns of Hindustani may be taken to be eastern Hindi and it is by this calculation that the figure shown in subsidiary table I has been reached.

380. Inner sub-branch.—Similarly 5 per cent. of the returns for Hindustani have been assumed to represent western Hindi. This language

“covers the country between Sahrind (Sirhind) in the Punjab and Allahabad in the United Provinces”,

an area “which,” Grierson remarks,

“corresponds to the Madhyadesa or mid-land, the true and pure home of the Indo-Aryan people.”

The other languages of the central group of the inner sub-branch, of which western Hindi is one, are Rajsthani, Gujrati and Panjabi. Rajsthani spoken by 19,574 persons is the “language of Rajasthan in the sense given to the word by Todd.” The figures given in the table are almost entirely those of one of its dialects, Marwari, spoken by all except 66 of those returning this language. Of those whose mother tongue it is 7,397 are concentrated in Calcutta. But those speaking it are also found in every district of Western, Central and Northern Bengal. Gujrati is spoken by 6,594 persons and has declined since 1921 when it was returned as the mother tongue of 7,605 persons. More than half of those speaking it, namely 3,883, are found in Calcutta, and the remainder are principally found in Western Bengal, the 24-Parganas and Nadia. Panjabi, which was returned by 4,905 persons only in 1921, is now spoken by 14,545 persons amongst whom there is only one female to nearly four males. Of those speak-
ing the language as mother tongue

STATEMENT No. X-12.

Numbers and proportions speaking Naipali in police-stations of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts.

NOTE.—Figures for police-stations include Muslims Hindus and Buddhists. Details for other religions were not compiled by police-stations but are given for the whole district after the police-station figures.

District and police-station	Total population.	Speaking Naipali.	
		Numbers	Per cent. of total.
Jalpaiguri	983,357	28,878	3
Jalpaiguri	84,868	984	1
Rajganj	49,297	298	1
Boda	72,870	18	..
Paclingar	34,000	6	..
Debaganj	54,819	2	..
Maynaguri	78,225	84	..
Nagrakata	37,827	2,454	6
Dhuburi	86,543	3,196	4
Mai	82,268	3,347	4
Mitali	40,180	3,882	8
Patigram	86,923	10	..
Alipur Duars	76,802	693	1
Kumargram	23,046	2,104	7
Kalchini	86,985	5,529	10
Palakata	46,637	58	..
Madarhat	43,282	3,548	8
*Whole district	48,322	2,890	6
Darjeeling	319,635	92,970	29
Darjeeling	42,780	21,143	49
Palbazar	17,941	4,246	24
Rangil Rangliot	21,505	7,014	36
Suklapokri	14,050	4,615	33
Jore Bungalow	20,962	7,354	37
Kalimpang	51,509	19,740	38
Gorubathan	13,000	2,540	20
Kurseong	36,288	16,140	42
Mirik	14,028	4,007	28
Siliguri	31,408	2,779	9
Phansidewa	18,840	662	3
Khorbani	20,817	495	2
*Whole district	15,388	2,149	14

*District figures for “other religions” for which, figures are not available by police-stations.

9,209 persons are found in Calcutta where there are 73 males speaking it to every 20 females. The sex proportions are less discrepant in Midnapore district where those speaking it number 1,645 and there are amongst them rather more than one female to every two males. There are 883 speaking the language in Howrah district and 860 in 24-Parganas. The Pahari group of the inner sub-branch is represented by Naipali spoken by 134,147 persons found principally in Darjeeling (92,970) and Jalpaiguri (28,878) with 3,693 in Calcutta. Statement No. X-12 shows in each police-station of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts the total population, and the number and proportion of those speaking Naipali. In Jalpaiguri the proportions are highest in Kalchini, Madarihat, Mitiali, Kumargram and Nagrakata. In Darjeeling it is nowhere the mother tongue of half the population but is spoken by more than one-third in Darjeeling, Rangli-Rangliot, Jore Bungalow, Kalimpong and Kurseong.

381. District distribution by linguistic classification.—In subsidiary table II-A giving the actual numbers upon which subsidiary table II-B is calculated, figures are given for those speaking Bengali, Hindustani, Naipali, Austro-Asiatic languages, Dravidian languages and the two branches of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages found in Bengal. Separate figures are given for those speaking the language as mother tongue and those speaking it as subsidiary language; and a further analysis is given of the numbers speaking each of these seven languages or groups of languages who speak also as a subsidiary tongue any language falling within any other of these seven groups. The figures given in subsidiary table II-A are illustrated in the linguistic map in a folder at the back of this volume. In subsidiary table II-A and II-B as well as in the linguistic map prepared from them languages foreign to India are not taken into consideration. If Persian be counted as a language of India as in subsidiary table I but not in the body of table XV, persons speaking languages foreign to India amount to 1.15 per mille of the total population. No account is taken also of other Indo-Aryan languages than Bengali, Hindustani and Naipali. Those omitted from consideration are spoken by 205,760 persons or 4.05 per mille of the total speaking languages of India amongst whom more than three-fourths speak Oriya and constitute 3.14 per mille of the total in Bengal speaking the languages of India. These tables, therefore, and the map prepared for them represent not the total population but more than 99½ per cent. of those speaking languages of India including Persian. The omission of Oriya affects to any considerable extent only the districts of Midnapore, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Calcutta. Except in Midnapore it is a language almost exclusively of immigrants and in Midnapore itself the language is being bengalised.

382. Extent of bi-lingualism.—Bi-lingualism inevitably occurs more frequently in those places where there is the least homogeneity of mother tongue. In the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions where only 15 and 20 per 10,000 of the total population respectively speak any other language as mother tongue except Bengali, the numbers using any subsidiary language amongst those dealt with in subsidiary table II are as low as 1 in 10,000 in Faridpur and except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are no higher elsewhere than 30 in 10,000. In Rangpur and Pabna, as also in Cooch Behar State in Northern Bengal, where again the numbers per 10,000 speaking Bengali are very high, the proportion of persons with any subsidiary languages is low and the same holds for Nadia, Jessore and Khulna districts. Darjeeling and Sikkim show the greatest extent of bi-lingualism. In Darjeeling nearly 45 persons in every 100 speak in addition to their own mother tongue one of the seven groups of languages dealt with in subsidiary table II and in Sikkim the corresponding proportion is more than 42 in every 100. Bankura and Birbhum have each more than 7½ per cent. able to speak some subsidiary language and in Jalpaiguri the percentage is 6 or over. In Calcutta those who are bi-lingual are only 5.4 per cent. and in Midnapore, the district with the next largest proportion of bi-lingualism, the percentage is only 3.1. Elsewhere the figures never rise above 3 per cent. but approach very near to it in Malda.

383. Languages most used as subsidiary languages.—Bengali is naturally the language most commonly used as a subsidiary language throughout the whole of the province. In those languages, however, in which bi-lingualism is prevalent it is not always Bengali which is the language most frequently used in addition to their mother tongue. In Darjeeling and Sikkim, for instance, very many more persons use Naipali as a subsidiary language than Bengali. In Darjeeling for every person using a subsidiary language who takes to Bengali there are nearly 6 who use Hindustani and 72 who adopt Naipali. In Sikkim Bengali is practically negligible as a subsidiary language but nearly 42 per cent. of the inhabitants are able to speak Naipali as a subsidiary language in addition to those who speak it as their mother tongue. In Jalpaiguri, Hindustani is the favourite subsidiary language. Here for every 10 persons adopting Naipali as a subsidiary language 23 use Bengali and nearly 208 use Hindustani. Similarly in Calcutta 5 persons use Hindustani as subsidiary language for every 3 thus using Bengali; but elsewhere, as is to be expected, Bengali is in general more frequently used and for the whole of Bengal only 2 persons use Hindustani as a subsidiary language for every 5 using Bengali. In Sikkim the incidence of the language is in some respects remarkable. Languages of the Tibetan group and Rong or Lepcha of the pro-nominalised Himalayan group may be taken as indigenous to Sikkim and in the aggregate are spoken by rather more than 25 per cent. of the total population. Naipali together with the other languages of Nepal, namely, those in the pro-nominalised Himalayan group and in the non-nominalised Himalayan group excluding Rong are spoken by almost all the remaining 75 per cent. of the population, but the extent to which Nepali languages are used in Sikkim is not gauged alone by this proportion, for of those speaking languages of the Tibetan group about 7½ per cent. speak Naipali as a subsidiary language and nearly 5 per cent. of those speaking Rong are also bi-lingual in Naipali, so that of the population of Sikkim in addition to 73 per cent. who speak Nepali languages as their mother tongue, even amongst those speaking languages indigenous to Sikkim itself an additional 12 per cent. speak some form of Nepali language. A Nepali language is therefore in use in ordinary intercourse in Sikkim amongst 85 per cent. of the population.

384. Languages with which some other is most commonly spoken as a subsidiary language.—It is the persons speaking Tibeto-Himalayan languages who are most extensively bi-lingual in Bengal. In Darjeeling amongst those speaking Bhotia tongues five times as many speak some subsidiary language as the number of those without any subsidiary language at all; and even in Sikkim rather more of those whose mother tongue is a Bhotia language are bi-lingual than not. The great proportion of those whose mother tongue is Thami, Limbu, Yakka, Rai or Jimdar, Gurung, Murmi, Sunwar, Magari, Kami, Manjhi and Newari are bi-lingual and in each case the language spoken in addition to their mother tongue is most generally Naipali. Amongst these groups, as amongst the Khambu in Sikkim, there are instances in which several times more are bi-lingual than the number speaking only their mother tongue. Similarly for every three persons in Sikkim speaking Rong as mother tongue with no subsidiary language there are four who speak also some subsidiary language. In the whole of Bengal amongst persons speaking Tibeto-Himalayan languages there are only 11 speaking no subsidiary language to every 89 who are bi-lingual, and in Sikkim the corresponding proportions are almost one to two. Those speaking Austro-Asiatic languages appear to have the next greatest facility or necessity for acquiring subsidiary languages. Throughout the whole of Bengal in every 100 persons speaking these languages there are 33 who are bi-lingual to every 67 who are not. In Birbhum, Bankura, Jessore and Pabna more persons speaking these languages are bi-lingual than those without any subsidiary language, and the relative proportions in Birbhum are as high as 82 to 17. Those speaking Kherwari adopt by preference Bengali as their subsidiary tongue whereas those speaking Kharia more generally use Hindustani. On an average 24 out of every 100 persons speaking a Dravidian language as mother tongue are bi-lingual in one of the other groups of languages dealt

with in subsidiary table II. The highest proportion of those who are bi-lingual amongst the total number speaking these languages occurs in Palma, but in both Burdwan and Bogra the numbers of those who are bi-lingual and those who are not are almost equal. Anything up to one-quarter or one-third of those speaking Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese are bi-lingual, principally in Hindustani. Amongst those speaking Malayalam there are 5 per cent. who speak Bengali amongst the men: females have an even greater facility, for 13½ per cent. speak Bengali, whilst a higher percentage than amongst the males are bi-lingual also in Hindustani, the only other language in ordinary use as a subsidiary tongue. More than a quarter, both of the males and females, speaking Telegu are bi-lingual principally in Hindustani. Bi-lingualism is of course encouraged where a small group finds itself amongst persons speaking a different language. Those speaking Oraon, however, number nearly 186 thousand and yet more than 15 per cent. of the men and almost 15 per cent. of the women are bi-lingual in Hindustani. Some few in both sexes are also bi-lingual in Naipali and nearly 10 per cent. of each sex is bi-lingual in Bengali. Bi-lingualism is almost equally current amongst those speaking Naipali and Hindustani. On an average nearly 95 persons in every 1,000 persons speaking Naipali are bi-lingual; 83 of them speak Hindustani, 4 some Tibeto-Himalayan language and nearly all the remainder Bengali. The average of bi-lingualism amongst those speaking Naipali is naturally least in Northern Bengal where Naipali as a mother tongue is more prevalent than elsewhere and it is naturally here also that Bengali is less commonly used as a language subsidiary to Naipali. Of those speaking Hindustani nearly 10 per cent. are bi-lingual principally in Bengali though 0.14 per cent. almost entirely contributed by persons in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, use Naipali as subsidiary language. The highest proportion of bi-lingualism amongst those speaking Hindustani is in the north and east of the province. In Rajshahi 65 out of every 100 persons speaking Hindustani also speak Bengali, a figure comparable only with that of Birbhum where the proportions who are bi-lingual and not bi-lingual are almost equal. Of those speaking Assam-Burmese languages nearly 7 per cent. are bi-lingual and 6.7 per cent. are bi-lingual in Bengali. The proportions are highest in Northern Bengal and in the Presidency Division where they are accounted for by the small numbers found speaking these languages. Those speaking Bengali, as is natural in a country where Bengali is the mother tongue of so large a proportion of the inhabitants, show a smaller ratio of bi-lingualism than those speaking any of the other languages dealt with in subsidiary table II. In the whole of the province only 4 in every 1,000 has command of any subsidiary language, the largest proportions being in the Burdwan Division where they rise on the average to more than 1 per cent. and in one district, Midnapore, to almost 2 per cent. Hindustani, here a mother tongue indigenous to a part of the population, is that most frequently employed and except for a very small use of Austro-Asiatic languages, i.e., principally Khervari, those speaking Bengali who are bi-lingual in excess of the number using Hindustani as their subsidiary language do not use any of the other languages of India dealt with in subsidiary table II but employ English. The number thus returned as using English as a subsidiary tongue is more than 1 in every 1,000 speaking Bengali and amongst the males is almost 1 in every 500. Amongst those speaking Oriya more than 13 per cent. are bi-lingual principally in Bengali with the exception of a small proportion using Telegu and Hindustani.

385. Comparison of tribal and language tables.—The figures of bi-lingualism also help to illustrate the extent to which tribal languages are being ousted by other tongues. Subsidiary table III gives a comparison of the figures in the caste and language tables for certain tribes having a distinctive tribal language. The record of subsidiary languages has made it possible to expand this table, which has also been shown on previous occasions, so as to include a distinction between those speaking the tribal language as mother tongue without subsidiary language, as mother tongue with some other language and as subsidiary language to some other mother tongue. In Bengal the numbers speaking Bhotia languages both as mother tongue and as

subsidiary language are only 107 less than those returned in the caste table as Bhotias of all tribes and all except 239 out of 14,676 speak a language of the Tibetan group as mother tongue. In Sikkim, as might be expected, the number able to speak Tibetan languages is rather larger than the number of those returned as Bhotia by tribe. But here also those speaking Tibetan languages as mother tongue are somewhat less than those returned in the caste table and the figures already discussed showing the high incidence of bi-lingualism particularly in Naipali amongst those speaking Tibetan languages as mother tongue suggest one reason for this deficit both in Bengal and in Sikkim. The Lepchas also number in Bengal comparatively few in excess of those returned as speaking Rong as mother tongue and are actually less than those speaking their tribal language as mother tongue in Sikkim. In Bengal those speaking Murmi as mother tongue are more numerous than those returned as Murmi by caste, but in Sikkim the numbers of the caste exceed those speaking the tribal language who are very small in number. Amongst the remaining tribes with a distinctive language those which have come under the influence of Naipali outnumber the returns for their tribal language particularly where the language is one of the non-pronominalised Himalayan group. In Bengal the Gurungs and Kamis are the most notable instances. There are 13,166 persons returned as Gurung and only 2,753 returned as being able to speak the Gurung language either as a mother tongue or as a subsidiary language. The discrepancy is even greater in the case of the Kamis who numbered 16,180 though the language returns are no more than 1-8. The process is even more strongly marked in Sikkim than in Bengal where, although the Gurungs number 7,306, only 78 persons returned Gurung as their mother tongue or subsidiary language whilst the Kamis numbered 4,817 but the language is returned by no more than 27 persons. The discrepancy is not so great amongst the Mangars but in Bengal the language is returned as their mother tongue by scarcely more than one-half of those returning Mangar as their caste. A similar condition holds for the Newari language returned as mother tongue by only 7,197 persons, though the strength of the tribe in Bengal is 12,640. In Sikkim the tribe numbers 3,811 but the language was returned only by 2,258. Sunwar was returned as a tribal name in Bengal by 4,427 persons and as a mother tongue by 2,716 of whom only 64 were returned as not speaking also some subsidiary language. The Limbus, Jimdars and Khambus representing those who speak pro-nominalised Himalayan languages appear to be holding most firmly to their tribal language. In Bengal the Jimdars and Khambus number 43,745 and those returning this language as mother tongue number 39,835. In Bengal also the Limbus number 17,643 and their tribal languages was returned by 15,016 persons of whom, however, only 945 used with it no subsidiary language. In Sikkim the figures for Khambus are 18,565 and 18,142 returned Khambu as their mother tongue; and against a return of 10,536 as Limbu by caste 10,487 returned Limbu as their mother tongue. The Garos, Tiparas and Mechhs have not been brought so extensively under the domination of any neighbouring language. There were 12,935 persons returned as Mechhs and the tribal language was returned as mother tongue by 8,794. The caste returns for Tipara were 203,069 and 191,725 were returned under the tribal language. Amongst the Garos only 36 persons less returned the tribal language as mother tongue than the number (38,228) given for the tribe. The Koch, on the other hand, numbered 81,299, but Koch was returned as mother tongue only by 8,159 persons. Reference has already been made to the comparatively high degree of bi-lingualism amongst those speaking Kherwari and Kurukh as mother tongues and both amongst the Oraons and amongst those groups whose tribal language is a dialect of Kherwari the numbers returned are in some cases considerably in excess of the numbers shown as speaking the tribal language. Oraons numbered 228,161 but only 186,883 returned the tribal language as either mother tongue or as subsidiary language and as many as 1,086 of these spoke it only as a subsidiary language to some other mother tongue. The tribal returns for Santals show 796,656, but those speaking Santali as a mother tongue were nearly 32 thousand less than this figure. The proportion is greater amongst the Mundas, Koras and Bhumijis. The Mundas numbered 108,686 but only

79,051 were returned as speaking Munda. The language returns of Kora are 20,439 excluding 51 who speak the language as a subsidiary tongue compared with caste returns amounting to 49,265. The Bhumij number 85,161 but scarcely one person returned Bhumij as his mother tongue or subsidiary language for every nine thus returned. It is possible that there may have been some discrepancy in tabulating the dialects of Kherwari and the tribes whose name is the same as the dialect, and in order to eliminate any such possibility it is perhaps best to consider the total number of those speaking all Kherwari dialects compared with the numbers of all the tribes to whom those dialects are proper. The total of those whose tribal languages are dialects of Kherwari amounted to 1,057,798. The numbers speaking these tribal languages both as mother tongue and as subsidiary language amounted to 881,016 or more than 17 per cent. less than this figure. Amongst these 1,186 spoke the language only as a subsidiary language, and amongst those speaking the tribal languages as mother tongue one person in every three spoke also some other tongue as a subsidiary language. In the case of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages there is no doubt that it is Naipali which is ousting them. Reference has already been made to the allegation of the Kami, that there is no such language as Kami and that their mother tongue and traditional language is Khaskura. Further support for this conclusion is provided by the very high ratio of bi-lingualism in these groups and the fact that the language in which they are bi-lingual was returned almost invariably as Naipali. In the case of the Kukis the figures cannot be analysed with the same confidence since the caste returns include under the single generic name a number of groups speaking languages assigned to different groups under different branches of languages within the classification scheme. In the case of Tiparas also the figures for which have been analysed above, there is some possibility of error introduced by the misuse in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of the term Murung applied not only as it should be to a section of the Tiparas but also to the Mros. For the Mros the language returns are clearly at fault since only one female is returned speaking this language for just less than every 750 males; but both in Tripura and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts these tribes are liable to come to some extent under the linguistic influence of Bengali and in Tripura State at least some few Kukis and a considerable number of Tiparas have adopted Bengali as a subsidiary language.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Languages classified by Groups. Numbers using each language as mother tongue with ratio per 1,000 of the total population, 1931 and 1921.

Language	Numbers in thousands using the language as mother tongue in—				Numbers per 1,000 of the total population using the language as mother tongue		Where chiefly spoken.
	1931		1921		1931	1921	
	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL.							
ALL LANGUAGES	51,087	26,558	24,529	47,592	1,000	1,000	
Languages of India	51,028	26,523	24,505	47,539	998.85	998.9	
AUSTRO-FAMILY	896	454	442	830	17.54	17.5	
AUSTRO-ASIATIC SUB-FAMILY	896	454	442	830	17.54	17.5	
(1) Mon-Khmer Branch	14	6.8	6.8	0.2	0.03	0.00	
(a) Palaung-Wa Group	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.05	0.02	0.00	
Palaung and Pale	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.05	0.02	0.00	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State
(b) Khasi Group	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.01	0.00	
Khasi	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.01	0.00	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Tripura State
(2) Munda Branch	895	453	442	830	17.51	17.5	
Kherwari	880	444	436	816	17.20	17.2	North and West Bengal
Khasia	15	9	6	14	0.20	0.3	Jalpaiguri.
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY	532	272	260	467	10.42	10.2	
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY	532	272	260	467	10.4	10.2	
(1) Tibeto-Himalayan Branch	144	72	72	148	2.81	3.07	
(a) Tibetan Group	14.4	7.7	6.7	15	0.28	0.3	
Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan	2.8	1.5	1.3		0.05		
Bhotia of Nepal	2.1	1.2	1.0		0.16		
Bhotia of Bhutan or Lhoke	1.3	0.8	0.7		0.03		
Bhotia of Sikkim	0.15	0.09	0.06		0.003		
Bhotia (others)	1.8	0.8			0.04		Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.
(b) Pronominalised Himalayan Group	56.7	28	28.7	58.3	1.11	1.23	
Dhimal	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.01	0.01	Darjeeling.
Thami	0.43	0.28	0.15	0.4	0.01	0.01	
Lamby	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.59	0.01	0.01	
Yakpa	0.5	0.3	0.5	1	0.02	0.02	
Khamby	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.03	0.01	0.01	
Rai or Jimalar	40	19	21	41.3	0.79	0.87	
Bayu	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	..	
(c) Non-pronominalised Himalayan group.	72.7	36.8	36	72.8	1.42	1.53	
Gurung	3.7	1.3	1.4	0.7	0.05	0.02	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling
Murmi	32.6	18.3	17.3	32	0.70	0.67	Ditto
Sunwar	2.7	1.3	1.4	4	0.05	0.08	Darjeeling
Magar	12	6	6	16	0.24	0.34	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling
Nakari	1.3	0.6	0.6	1	0.14	0.17	Darjeeling
Rong or Lepcha	1.3	0.00	0.1	0.23	0.02	0.03	
Rami	0.1	0.00	0.1	0.6	0.003	0.01	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling
Manjhi	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.2	0.00	0.00	Darjeeling
Toto	..	..	..	..	..	..
(2) Assam-Burmese Branch	284	188	188	332	7.53	6.98	
(a) Bora or Bodo Group	248	128	117	226	4.83	4.75	
Garo	38	20	18	49.2	0.75	0.91	Mymensingh, Tripura State, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar.
Koch	8	4	4	11.3	0.18	0.24	Jalpaiguri and Dacca.
Bora Bodo or Kachari	8	4.7	4.1	12	0.17	0.17	Jalpaiguri.
Tripura "Misang"	191.7	100.2	91.5	159	3.75	3.44	Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts
Rabha	..	..	..	0.3	..	0.01	
(b) Kuki-Chin Group	42.8	19.4	22.4	29.6	0.84	0.82	
(i) Meitei Sub-Group	20	9	11	16	0.39	0.34	
Meitei (Maipuri)	20	9	11	16	0.39	0.34	Tripura State.
(ii) Old Kuki Sub-Group	19.4	4.8	5.8	9.87	0.2	0.08	
Halam	10.4	4.8	5.6	3	0.2	0.08	Tripura State.
Frankol	..	..	..	0.67	..	0.01	
(iii) Central Chin Sub-Group	3.48	1.73	1.75	3	0.07	0.06	
Ptagon	2.0	0.4	0.4	0.02	0.02	0.02	Chittagong Hill Tracts
Lushai	2.0	1.3	1.3	3	0.05	0.06	Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Dakha	0.08	0.03	0.03	..	0.002	..	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
(iv) Southern Chin Sub-Group	3.3	1.8	1.8	0.87	0.07	0.02	
Khasi (Pho)	1.3	0.5	0.8	0.1	0.03	0.00	
Khami	2.0	1.3	1.0	0.77	0.04	0.02	Ditto
(v) Unclassified Chin Sub-Group	1.9	0.95	0.95	..	0.04	..	
Romatu	1.9	0.95	0.95	..	0.04	..	Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts
(vi) Unspecified Kuki	3.8	1.8	1.8	6.3	0.07	0.13	
Kuki	3.8	1.8	1.8	6.3	0.07	0.13	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.
(c) Kachin Group	0.00	0.00	..	..	0.000	..	
Kachin	0.00	0.00	..	..	0.000	..	
(d) Burma Group	96	49	47	77	1.46	1.62	
Burmese	8.5	4.9	3.6	20	0.17	0.42	Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Bakagan
Arakanese	87	43	44	57	1.09	1.20	Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong, Bakagan and Tripura State.
(3) Unclassified	3.79	3.74	0.05	8	0.07	0.17	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Mro (Mru)	3.79	3.74	0.05	8	0.07	0.17	
TAI CHINESE SUB-FAMILY	0.00	..	0.00	..	0.000	..	
Tai Branch (Tai Group)	0.00	..	0.00	..	0.000	..	
Namoc	0.00	..	0.00	..	0.000	..	
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY	228	123	106	217.8	0.000	..	
(a) Dravidic Group	228	123	106	217.8	4.47	4.87	
Tamil	3.8	3.2	2.6	3.5	0.12	0.07	Whole province
Malayalam	0.3	0.24	0.08	0.03	0.00	0.00	Calcutta.
Kannadese	0.11	0.08	0.03	0.03	0.002	0.00	Calcutta, Chittagong and Howrah.
Krita	0.01	..	0.01	..	0.0003	..	Birbhum.
(b) Intermediate Group	189.1	102.5	86.6	189	3.77	3.97	
Kurukh or Oran	186	101	85	184	3.64	3.87	North Bengal, West Bengal and Central Bengal.
Malto	3.2	1.8	1.7	5	0.06	0.10	North Bengal.
Gondi	0.02	0.01	0.01	..	0.0004	..	Midnapore.
(c) Andhra Language	33	17	16	26	0.45	0.53	
Telugu	33	17	16	26	0.45	0.53	Whole province.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Languages classified by Groups. Numbers using each language as mother tongue with ratio per 1,000 of the total population, 1931 and 1921.

Language	Numbers in thousands using the language as mother tongue in				Numbers per 1,000 of the total population using the language as mother tongue in		Where chiefly spoken
	1931		1921		1931	1921	
	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL—(continued).							
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY	49,372	25,674	23,698	46,004	966.42	966.64	
ARYAN SUB-FAMILY	49,372	25,674	23,698	46,004	966.42	966.64	
(1) Iranian Branch	5.2	4.65	0.54	2.3	0.1	0.05	
(a) Eastern Group	5.2	4.60	0.54	2.3	0.1	0.05	
Pashto	4.08	3.81	0.21	1.7	0.08	0.04	Whole province
Persian	1.12	0.82	0.30	0.6	0.02	0.01	Ditto
(2) Dardic Branch	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.001	0.00	
(a) Dard Group	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.001	0.00	
Kashmiri	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.001	0.00	Calcutta
(3) Indo-Aryan Branch	49,306	25,669	23,697	45,992	966.11	966.60	
(i) Outer Sub-Branch	46,435	25,063	23,372	45,156	948.08	948.85	
(a) North-Western Group	0.50	0.38	0.12	0.2	0.01	0.00	
Sindhi	0.50	0.38	0.12	0.2	0.01	0.00	Calcutta, Howrah, Burdwan, Midnapore and 21-Parganas
(b) Southern Group	3.10	1.84	1.22	3	0.05	0.06	
Marathi	3.10	1.94	1.22	3	0.05	0.06	Calcutta, Chittagong, 24-Parganas and West Bengal
Konkani	0.00	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.003	0.00	Calcutta and Midnapore
(c) Eastern Group	46,431.3	25,060.6	23,370.7	45,153	947.99	948.79	
Oriya	159.8	125	84.8	208	3.13	6.26	Whole province
Bengali	47,133.3	24,175.4	22,665.5	43,769	922.60	919.69	Ditto
Assamese	2.7	2.0	0.7	1	0.05	0.02	Ditto
Bihari (50 per cent of Hindi and Urdu)	1,134.3	738.2	376.0	1,064	22.31	22.78	Ditto
(ii) Mediate Sub-Branch	662	442	220	632.3	12.96	13.29	
Mediate Group	662	442	220	632.3	12.96	13.29	
Eastern Hindi (35 per cent of Hindi and Urdu)	662	442	220	632.3	12.96	13.29	Whole province
(iii) Inner Sub-Branch	269.4	163.9	105.5	213.3	5.27	4.48	
(a) Central Group	135.3	81.8	43.5	120.3	2.64	2.32	
Western Hindi (5 per cent of Hindi and Urdu)	94.6	68.2	31.4	90.3	1.55	1.80	Whole province
Brajbhasi	10.57	12.92	6.65	17	0.38	0.35	West, Central and North Bengal
Gurjari	6.6	4.5	2.1	6	0.13	0.17	Ditto
Punjabi	14.54	11.14	8.4	5	0.25	0.10	Ditto
(b) Pahari Group	134.1	72.1	62	93	2.62	1.96	
Eastern Pahari, Khaskura or Naipali	134.1	72.1	62	93	2.62	1.96	Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri
Languages Foreign to India	59	35	24	53	1.15	1.12	
SIKKIM.							
ALL LANGUAGES	109.81	55.83	53.98	81.7	1,000	1,000	
Languages of India	109.77	55.81	53.96	81.69	999.6	999.88	
AUSTRIC FAMILY							
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY	70.07	35.42	34.65	54.43	638.0	666.61	
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY	70.07	35.42	34.65	54.43	638.0	666.61	
(1) Tibeto-Burman Branch	70.07	35.42	34.65	54.43	638.0	666.61	
(a) Tibetan Group	15.13	7.56	7.57	9.84	137.5	117.84	
Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan	0.37	0.30	0.27		5.19		
Bhotia of Nepal or Bhutia	3.6	1.7	1.8		31.92		
Bhotia of Bhutan or Lhoke	0.14	0.09	0.05		1.25		
Bhotia of Sikkim	10.0	5.5	5.4		90.36		
Bhotia (others)	0.007	0.001	0.006		0.06		
(b) Pronominalised Himalayan Group	28.64	14.35	14.29	24.23	260.86	236.67	
Limbü	10.48	5.06	5.42	7.2	95.5	88.1	
Yakha	0.016	0.014	0.009	0.006	0.15	0.1	
Khumbi	18.14	9.27	8.87	15	165.2	24.9	
Bai or Jinudar				15		184.1	
(c) Non-pronominalised Himalayan Group	26.29	13.51	12.78	20.86	239.43	252	
Gurung	0.078	0.007	0.071	0.001	0.71	0.01	
Mura	6.95	3.96	3.42	6	63.55	73.5	
Sunwar	0.08	0.45	0.38	0.5	6.13	6.1	
Magari	6.98	3.96	3.42	3	25.32	36.8	
Newari	2.26	1.26	1.00	1.4	20.56	15.0	
Kang or Lepcha	12.21	6.66	6.65	9	130.28	114	
Kam	0.027	0.016	0.011	0	0.25		
Manjhi	0.28	0.13	0.15	0.3	2.99	5.67	
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY	39.70	20.38	19.32	27.4	361.6	333.37	
ARYAN SUB-FAMILY	39.70	20.38	19.32	27.4	361.6	333.37	
Indo-Aryan Branch	39.70	20.38	19.32	27.4	361.6	333.37	
(i) Outer Sub-Branch	0.55	0.46	0.09	0.3	5.04	3.17	
Eastern Group	0.55	0.46	0.09	0.3	5.04	3.17	
Bengali	0.018	0.012	0.006	0.014	0.10	0.17	
Hindustani	0.33	0.45	0.08	0.3	4.85	3.0	
(ii) Inner Sub-Branch	39.15	19.92	19.23	27.1	356.51	330.2	
(a) Central Group	0.58	0.52	0.06	0.1	2.57	1.2	
Rajasthani	0.26	0.21	0.05	0.1	2.40	1.2	
Punjabi	0.018	0.014	0.004	0	0.16		
(b) Pahari Group	38.88	19.09	18.17	27	353.9	329	
Eastern Paharia, Khaskura or Naipali	38.88	19.09	18.17	27	353.9	329	
Languages Foreign to India	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.028	0.36	0.34	

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by language and bi-lingualism,
numbers speaking with it as subsidiary language**

[Note.—In columns 17, 21, 33, 41, 49, 37 and 63 the figure does not always agree with the sum of figures following it for specific languages owing to (a)

Serial number	Natural and administrative division, district and state	Number of persons speaking											
		Bengali as		Hindustani as		Naiपाल as		Austro-Asiatic languages as		Dravidian languages as		Tibeto-Burman	
		Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Tibeto-Himalayan branch as	
												Mother tongue	Subsidiary language
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1	BENGAL	47,133,888	519,207	1,891,337	202,365	134,147	133,397	896,075	2,084	228,532	2,245	143,802	963
2	West Bengal	7,585,061	271,191	437,291	62,121	3,775	7	498,998	1,440	27,202	1,060	51	..
3	BURDWAN DIVISION	7,585,061	271,191	437,291	62,121	3,775	7	498,998	1,440	27,202	1,060	51	..
4	Burdwan	1,878,582	31,610	92,609	13,603	994	..	100,020	43	873	5	28	..
5	Bishnupur	851,740	70,851	28,195	2,725	11	..	71,474	60	110	2	7	..
6	Bankura	994,033	86,428	4,692	806	11	..	111,457	9	42	..	..	..
7	Medinipur	2,438,510	60,611	91,741	24,102	673	..	178,810	1,208	12,984	1,024	1	..
8	Howrah	994,103	14,341	95,861	10,126	242	..	26,547	6	7,228	2	14	..
9	Howrah	936,921	7,850	129,703	10,769	1,904	7	1,190	110	5,065	27	1	..
10	Central Bengal	9,107,721	75,046	774,629	56,319	4,477	3	48,680	110	33,251	139	179	..
11	PRESIDENTY DIVISION	9,107,721	75,046	774,629	56,319	4,477	3	48,680	110	33,251	139	179	..
12	24-Parganas	2,397,511	19,494	242,134	6,847	655	..	20,805	42	20,236	4	92	..
13	Calcutta	648,451	23,075	436,123	40,712	3,603	3	1,272	..	6,628	76	88	..
14	Nadia	1,712,326	1,759	11,589	705	26	..	1,078	31	2,785	50	..	..
15	Murshidabad	1,569,514	23,226	75,826	6,278	52	..	22,000	..	2,522	..	4	..
16	Jessore	1,462,686	1,318	5,006	600	16	..	849	37	768	..	..	..
17	Khulna	1,017,283	574	3,931	1,182	35	..	3,086	..	377	..	..	..
18	North Bengal	9,894,034	130,628	555,987	71,483	122,995	133,334	343,813	530	165,656	1,022	141,347	968
19	RAJSHAHI DIVISION	9,819,478	127,986	543,823	70,846	122,974	133,333	343,276	530	165,085	993	141,344	968
20	Rajshahi	1,342,521	43,324	33,265	1,031	32	..	36,441	..	15,768	977	..	..
21	Dinajpur	1,560,644	27,887	67,265	1,359	282	..	133,890	51	16,788	15	1	..
22	Jalpaiguri	624,658	5,492	120,699	48,943	28,878	2,348	64,463	200	106,611	1	7,406	937
23	Darjeeling	37,144	1,810	23,093	10,690	92,970	180,900	12,962	102	13,947	..	188,024	31
24	Rangpur	2,523,677	3,913	54,262	1,318	493	..	8,464	..	5,371	..	11	..
25	Bogra	1,451,419	12,594	25,107	668	65	..	6,818	..	1,811	..	..	..
26	Pabna	1,122,921	6,323	17,297	302	35	..	1,202	..	2,977	..	2	..
27	Mahla	773,094	24,641	201,733	6,526	77	..	74,016	177	4,022	..	..	..
28	COCH BEHAR STATE	674,686	2,642	12,184	537	121	1	637	..	571	29	3	..
29	East Bengal	20,547,072	42,342	123,430	12,442	2,900	53	4,584	4	2,423	24	2,225	..
30	DACC DIVISION	13,708,237	16,425	99,410	6,431	743	46	783	..	121	13	119	..
31	Dacca	3,393,544	1,987	35,025	2,343	607	45	82	..	81	13	119	..
32	Mysore Singh	5,040,283	11,111	49,189	2,948	87	..	..	..	81	..	..	..
33	Fardpur	2,350,693	215	9,690	390	30	1	670	..	4	..	..	..
34	Bakarganj	2,920,417	3,112	3,506	741	19	..	1	..	5	..	..	..
35	CHITTAGONG DIVISION	6,676,305	2,923	11,216	4,766	1,282	7	1,634	4	384	11	5	..
36	Tiptara	3,103,483	377	5,218	1,404	6	2	..	..	18	..	2	..
37	Noakhali	1,706,327	83	255	351	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
38	Chittagong	1,704,105	1,851	3,668	2,923	784	1	492	4	370	11	..	..
39	Chittagong Hill Tracts	102,389	612	45	71	491	4	1,142	..	..	..	3	..
40	TRIPURA STATE	165,836	22,694	12,804	1,252	875	..	2,197	..	1,918	..	2,101	..
41	BIKKIM	18	2	536	253	38,866	45,923	..	..	..	..	70,067	257

Part A : Numbers speaking each principal language group together with the any other language in the groups shown.

omission of some subsidiary languages returned and (b) inclusion under the figures of each subsidiary language spoken of these using more than one

languages		Number of persons speaking as mother tongue																			
		Bengali who also speak as subsidiary language										Hindustani who also speak as subsidiary language.									
		No language	Any language	Hindustani.	Nagahi.	Austro-Asiatic languages	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages		No language.	Any language	Urdu.	Nagahi.	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Burman languages.		Serial number.			
Tibeto-Burman	Assam-Burmese with Miu							Tibeto-Himalayan	Assam-Burmese with Miu												
Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		
388,492	1,128	46,945,176	188,712	105,322	414	1,786	77	1	346	1,704,473	186,864	177,994	2,708	261	1,314	338	1	1			
58	1	7,505,665	79,396	46,094		1,427	9			393,734	43,557	42,232	5	12	338			1	2		
58	1	7,505,665	79,396	46,094		1,427	9			393,734	43,557	42,232	5	12	338			1	3		
8		1,302,836	11,170	11,004		32				84,888	7,711	7,542		10					4		
4		849,513	2,527	2,459		58				11,472	11,723	11,708		2	2				5		
		994,107	736	742		9				2,879	1,813	1,813							6		
8		2,410,465	47,345	14,988		1,206	9			79,036	12,703	11,857			329				7		
37		954,551	9,584	9,310		6				91,881	3,480	3,403			2				8		
1	1	928,913	8,008	7,591		116				128,578	6,125	5,904	5		3				9		
297		9,063,905	43,816	37,171		107	68			722,375	52,254	49,300	3	3	21				10		
297		9,063,905	43,816	37,171		107	68			722,375	52,254	49,300	3	3	21				11		
57		2,301,439	6,072	4,482		39	3			236,768	5,846	5,277		3					12		
144		620,444	28,007	24,151			6			416,361	19,762	16,970	3		21				13		
92		1,511,516	810	604		31	50			10,531	733	733							14		
		1,262,642	6,872	6,237						30,348	25,463	23,349							15		
8		1,661,818	823	670		37				4,571	433	412							16		
1		1,616,051	1,232	1,177						3,498	453	452							17		
11,923	8	9,876,936	17,098	12,218	413	252		1	8	479,098	76,889	72,577	2,655	246	955	338			18		
10,748	8	9,302,855	16,623	11,934	413	252		1	8	467,774	76,049	71,773	2,654	246	926	338			19		
1		1,311,007	1,214	753						11,630	21,625	21,625							20		
		1,527,613	3,031	398		18				56,756	10,509	10,456		33					21		
10,091	8	935,907	2,751	2,580	30	4		1	8	116,199	4,300	2,633	310	170	910	337			22		
607		36,116	1,328	915	383	76				22,540	2,533	480	2,335	26	15	1			23		
49		2,622,100	917	771						30,260	3,102	3,092			1				24		
		1,050,472	947	374						16,203	8,902	8,901							25		
		1,422,799	122	115						12,667	4,710	4,709							26		
		796,781	6,313	6,038		154				181,897	19,838	19,827		17					27		
1,175		574,081	475	284						11,324	840	804	1		29				28		
376,214	1,119	20,498,670	48,402	9,339	1				338	109,266	14,164	13,885	45						29		
52,467	171	13,686,790	18,447	5,814	1					87,589	11,821	11,614	45						30		
900	17	3,390,807	3,037	2,177						32,992	2,033	1,947	45						31		
39,071	70	5,087,029	2,654	2,583						40,934	8,255	8,250							32		
67		2,340,980	737	397	1					9,510	180	180							33		
13,139	84	2,008,418	11,999	657						4,153	1,363	1,231							34		
132,916	948	6,647,330	28,975	3,104					338	10,401	815	745							35		
583		3,080,083	17,400	1,361						4,566	332	319							36		
13		1,702,919	3,408	328						205	50	37							37		
23,019	684	1,756,380	7,719	1,350					178	5,260	399	365							38		
108,701	264	101,942	448	65					180	41	4	4							39		
180,831		164,550	980	821						11,276	1,528	1,528							40		
		9	9	6	3					252	284	2	282						41		

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by language and bi-lingualism,
numbers speaking with it as subsidiary language**

Serial number	District and administrative division	Number of persons speaking as mother tongue															
		Nagali who also speak as subsidiary language								Austro-Asiatic languages who also speak as subsidiary language.							
		No language	Any language	Bengali	Hindustani	Austro-Asiatic languages	Dravidian languages	Tibeto-Burman languages	Tibeto-Burman languages and others	No language	Any language	Bengali	Hindustani	Nagali	Dravidian languages	Tibeto-Burman languages	Tibeto-Burman languages and others
1		22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
1	BENGAL	121,471	12,676	1,017	11,181	10	2	587		603,319	292,756	273,551	17,386	1,740	66	9	..
2	West Bengal	2,612	963	35	930					277,585	221,413	220,838	349		1		..
3	BURDWAN DIVISION	2,612	963	35	930					277,585	221,413	220,838	349		1		..
4	Burdwan	621	313	14	300					76,434	23,586	23,826	275				..
5	Balrampur	4	7	2	5					12,592	58,882	58,808	10				..
6	Ranikuma	11								20,940	84,508	84,508					..
7	Malda	462	211	1	210					154,188	44,127	43,908	21		1		..
8	Hoojaly	180	112	6	106					26,424	10,123	10,122	1				..
9	Howrah	1,684	320	12	309					1,003	187	151	86				..
10	Central Bengal	3,383	1,094	148	1,033					38,049	10,631	10,258	338				..
11	PRESDENCY DIVISION	3,383	1,094	148	1,033					38,049	10,631	10,258	338				..
12	24-Parganas	551	104		104					12,773	7,582	7,592	210				..
13	Cakhat	2,724	960	142	914					1,082	100	68	97				..
14	Nadia	19	7	1	5					1,010	68	68					..
15	Murshidabad	59	13	1	12					19,718	2,872	2,371	1				..
16	Jessore	15	1	1						880	460	469					..
17	Khalna	85								3,080							..
18	North Bengal	113,401	9,594	427	8,603	10	2	587		284,325	59,488	41,136	16,685	1,740	65	9	..
19	RAJSHAHI DIVISION	113,295	9,579	414	8,600	10	2	587		283,795	59,481	41,131	16,683	1,740	65	9	..
20	Rajshahi	31	21	21	1					20,642	15,799	15,783	66				..
21	Dinajpur	276	26	1	25					124,027	16,863	16,118	744				..
22	Jalpaiguri	22,054	6,814	164	6,088	10	2	579		50,370	13,893	870	12,920	74	65	9	..
23	Darjeeling	10,406	2,764	204	2,368			8		8,432	4,520	364	2,590	1,066			..
24	Rangpur	465	20	9	19					8,610	445	440	5				..
25	Bogra	30	35	5	30					4,152	2,636	2,636					..
26	Palou	26	29	7	22					440	762	755	7				..
27	Maldah	47	80	3	27					69,453	4,563	4,204	851				..
28	COCH BEHAR STATE	166	16	12	3					539	7	6	2				..
29	East Bengal	1,875	1,025	407	615					3,360	1,224	1,209	14				..
30	DACCA DIVISION	838	54	4	46					762	1	1					..
31	Dacca	375	32		32					82							..
32	Mymensingh	85	2	2													..
33	Faridpur	29	1	1						670							..
34	Bakarganj		19	1	14						1	1					..
35	CHITTAGONG DIVISION	746	536	124	412					1,425	209	199	11				..
36	Tippura	4	2	1	1												..
37	Noakhali		1	1													..
38	Chittagong	257	257	116	411					310	182	173	10				..
39	Chittagong Hill Tracts	485	6	6						1,115	27	26	1				..
40	TRIPURA STATE	440	435	279	157					1,183	1,014	1,009	3				..
41	SIKKIM	38,651	215		210			3									..

* Excluding those speaking as subsidiary language some other language of the same group than their mother tongue

Part A : Numbers speaking each principal language group together with the any other language in the groups shown.

Dravidian languages who also speak as subsidiary language							Tibeto-Himalayan languages who also speak as subsidiary language							Assam-Burmese languages and Mro who also speak as subsidiary languages									
No language	Any language *	Bengali	Hindustani	Nepali,	Austro-Asiatic languages	Tibeto-Burman languages	No language	Any language *	Bengali	Hindustani	Nepali,	Austro-Asiatic languages	Dravidian languages	Assam-Burmese languages with Mro.	No language	Any language *	Bengali	Hindustani.	Nepali	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Dravidian languages.	Tibeto-Himalayan languages.	Serial number.
48	49	50	51	52	53	54	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	
174,306	54,226	19,818	33,359	953	7	..	16,002	127,800	108	1,238	116,506	..	361,045	27,447	26,185	1,291	12	..	..	..	..	..	1
21,428	5,774	1,203	4,502	2	1	..	51	..	..	..	..	..	56	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
21,428	5,774	1,203	4,502	2	1	..	51	..	..	..	..	..	56	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
441	482	401	28	..	1	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
96	14	7	5	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
15	7	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
8,414	4,570	445	4,076	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
9,829	100	242	1,08	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
5,018	352	101	2,61	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
25,898	7,353	5,962	1,083	..	..	..	116	63	48	..	..	..	262	35	8	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
25,898	7,353	5,962	1,083	..	..	..	116	63	48	..	..	..	262	35	8	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
15,029	5,207	4,042	476	..	..	..	47	45	..	45	..	..	55	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
5,701	882	29	587	..	..	..	65	18	..	3	..	..	118	26	1	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
1,954	781	705	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	85	7	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
2,210	308	297	6	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
520	220	228	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
370	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
125,258	40,398	12,003	27,732	951	6	..	13,614	127,733	108	1,189	116,502	..	9,568	2,355	2,173	303	12	..	..	..	..	..	18
124,825	40,260	11,902	27,695	951	6	..	13,611	127,733	108	1,189	116,502	..	9,497	1,261	1,068	303	12	..	..	..	..	..	19
10,110	3,398	5,548	49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
15,396	1,442	1,264	77	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
80,627	25,884	771	25,142	211	..	..	5,050	2,347	1	292	1,254	..	8,023	1,063	913	246	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
8,503	3,444	469	2,291	720	..	..	8,548	125,386	107	897	115,248	..	462	155	123	57	12	..	..	..	..	..	23
5,325	46	46	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	10	33	88	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
1,040	771	726	45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
818	2,664	2,655	9	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
3,511	511	428	82	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
433	138	101	37	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	71	1,104	1,104	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
1,722	701	650	42	..	..	..	2,221	4	..	1	4	..	351,159	25,055	24,003	973	..	..	..	..	..	..	29
120	..	1	..	..	..	..	119	..	..	..	..	..	47,793	4,974	4,397	217	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
81	..	..	..	..	..	..	119	..	..	..	..	..	597	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16,573	4,003	2,819	374	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	64	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,554	1,975	1,975	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
301	83	89	15	..	..	..	1	4	1	1	4	..	130,783	2,133	1,465	623	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
11	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	371	12	11	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	36
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
280	81	37	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22,038	1,561	897	620	..	..	..	..	..	..	38
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	2	..	108,143	558	553	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	39
301	617	591	26	..	..	..	2,101	..	..	..	..	..	172,593	18,248	16,141	73	..	..	..	..	..	..	40
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24,591	45,476	..	3	37,461	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41

*Excluding those speaking as subsidiary language some other language of the same group than their mother tongue.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by language and bi-lingualism.

(NOTE.—In columns 17, 25, 33, 41, 49, 57 and 65 the figure does not always agree with the sum of figures following it for specific languages owing to

Serial number.	Natural and administrative division, district and state	Number per 10,000 of the total population speaking												Tibeto-Burman	
		Bengali as		Hindustani as		Naiya as		Austro-Asiatic languages as		Dravidian languages as		Tibeto-Himalayan as			
		Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language	Mother tongue	Subsidiary language		
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1	BENGAL	9,226	102	370	40	27	26	175		45		28	..		
2	West Bengal	8,772	313	506	72	4	.	577	2	31	1				
3	DURDWAN DIVISION	8,772	313	506	72	4		577	2	31	1		..		
4	Burdwan	8,717	201	588	86	6		685							
5	Birbhum	8,959	748	245	29	..		734	1	1					
6	Bankura	9,950	778	42	7			1,008							
7	Midnapore	8,602	217	328	80	2		637	4	40	4				
8	Houghly	8,633	129	856	91	2		328	.	65					
9	Howrah	8,527	67	1,180	48	17		11	1	54			..	..
10	Central Bengal	9,010	74	766	56	5	.	48		33			..	..
11	PRESIDENCY DIVISION	9,010	74	766	56	5	.	48		33					
12	24-Pargannas	8,635	72	882	25	2		75	.	75					
13	Calcutta	8,419	198	3,644	310	11		11		55	1	1			
14	Nadia	9,536	11	76	3			7		18	.	..	..	..
15	Murshidabad	9,262	206	554	46			161		18	.	.			
16	Jessore	9,040	8	30	1			5		5					
17	Khulna	9,046	4	24	7	.		19	.	2					
18	North Bengal	8,788	116	494	64	109	118	305		147	1	125	1		
19	RAJSHAHI DIVISION	8,736	120	510	66	115	128	322		155	1	132	1		
20	Rajshahi	9,803	303	433	7			255		110					
21	Dinajpur	8,719	159	283	6	2		791		95					
22	Jalpaiguri	9,195	56	1,225	48	24	24	675	2	1,658	10	75	10		
23	Durgha	1,171	57	785	131	2,908	4,009	105	3	371		4,101	1		
24	Rampur	9,724	15	206	5	2		33	.	21					
25	Bogra	9,078	116	231	6	1		63		17	.	..	..
26	Fabna	9,842	58	120	2			8	.	21	..		..
27	Malda	7,336	234	1,914	62	1		703	2	38		..	..
28	COOCH BEHAR STATE	8,724	45	206	9	2		9		10		..	..
29	East Bengal	9,750	20	59	6	1		2	.	1	.	1	..		
30	DACCAL DIVISION	9,885	12	71	5	1		1	.						
31	Dacca	9,687	6	102	7	2	.								
32	Mymensingh	9,825	22	96	6	..									
33	Faridpur	9,051	1	41				3				..	..
34	Bakarganj	9,637	11	19	3							..	..
35	CHITTAGONG DIVISION	9,760	4	16	7	2		2	..	1		..	..
36	Tippera	9,080	1	17	5	.			..				..
37	Noakhali	9,098	..	1	2								..		
38	Chittagong	9,517	10	32	16	4		3	..	2			..		
39	Chittagong Hill Tracts	1,908	29	2	3	23		54			.		..		
40	TRIPURA STATE	4,328	601	335	33	23		57	.	50		55			
41	BIKKIM	2	..	49	23	3,539	4,182	..	..	..	.	6,381	23		

Part B : Proportions to the total population borne by each of the figures in part A.

(a) omission of some subsidiary languages returned and (b) inclusion under the figures of each subsidiary language spoken of those using more than one.]

		Number per 10,000 of those speaking as mother tongue.																
languages		Bengali who also speak as subsidiary language										Hindustani who also speak as subsidiary language						
Assam-Burmese with Mru as	Subsidiary language	No language	Any language	Hindustani	Nayali	Austro-Asiatic languages	Dravidian languages	Tibeto-Burman languages.		No language	Any language	Bengali	Nayali	Austro-Asiatic languages	Dravidian languages	Tibeto-Burman languages		Other languages
								Tibeto-Burman- Lavan	Assam-Burmese and Mru							Tibeto-Burman- Lavan	Assam-Burmese and Mru	
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
76	..	9,980	40	22						9,012	988	941	14	1	7	2		1
.		9,895	105	61		2				9,004	996	966			8			2
		9,885	105	61		2				9,004	996	966			8			2
		9,919	81	80						9,167	831	815		1				1
		9,970	30	29		1				1946	5,054	5,048		1	1			2
		9,992	8	7						6,114	1,866	1,866						6
		9,808	192	61		5				8,615	1,285	1,202			21			7
		9,901	99	97						9,665	365	357						4
		9,914	86	81		1				9,128	472	456						9
		9,952	48	41						9,325	675	636						10
..	..	9,962	48	41						9,325	675	636						11
.		9,975	25	18						9,778	222	218						12
1	..	9,908	432	372						9,347	456	529						13
1	.	9,906	5	4						9,348	652	650						14
.	..	9,946	54	49						6,639	3,361	3,355						15
..	..	9,996	5	3						9,131	869	829						16
..		9,992	8	7						8,258	1,147	1,144						17
11		9,983	17	12						8,617	1,383	1,305	48	4	17	6		18
10		9,882	18	13						8,602	1,388	1,320	49	5	17	6		19
		9,991	9	6						8,490	6,504	6,501	..	..				20
..	..	9,980	20	8		..				8,137	1,563	1,554		5				21
103	..	9,957	43	40		..				9,827	373	322	26	14	75	28		22
19	..	9,945	355	244	102	20				8,668	1,137	191	931	10	6			23
..	..	9,990	4	3						9,419	561	530	..					24
..		9,991	9	4						6,451	3,546	3,546						25
..	..	9,999	1	1						7,277	2,723	2,723						26
..	..	9,918	82	78		2				9,017	963	953		1				27
20	..	9,992	8	5						9,310	690	661	1		24			28
178	1	9,976	24	5		..	..			8,853	1,147	1,125	4	..				29
38	..	9,987	13	4		..	..			8,610	1,190	1,188	5					30
2	..	9,991	9	6		..	..			9,420	580	556	18	..				31
77		9,995	5	5		..	..			8,322	1,678	1,678		..				32
..	..	9,907	3	2						9,214	186	186						33
41	..	9,959	41	2						7,543	2,457	2,286						34
195	..	9,957	43	5						9,473	727	664						35
2	..	9,944	56	4						9,264	636	611						36
..	..	9,980	20	2						7,193	2,807	2,000						37
181	4	9,956	44	8		..	..		1	9,296	704	644						38
5,106	12	9,956	44	6		..	..		16	9,111	859	889						39
4,989	..	9,941	59	86						8,597	1,193	1,192						40
..	..	5,000	5,000	3,333	1,667					4,702	5,298	37	5,261					41

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Distribution by language and bi-lingualism.

Serial number.		Natural and administrative division, district and state.	Number per 10,000 of those speaking																
			Nepali who also speak as subsidiary language								Austro-Asiatic languages who also speak as subsidiary language								
			No language.	Any language	Bengali	Hindustani	Austro-Asiatic languages.	Derivarian languages	Tibeto-Burman languages	No language	Any language *	Bengali	Hindustani	Nepali.	Derivarian Languages	Tibeto-Burman languages			
1	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47			
1	BENGAL	9,055	945	76	833	1		44		6,733	3,267	3,052	194	19	1				
2	West Bengal	7,449	2,551	93	2,463					5,562	4,438	4,428	7						
3	BURDWAN DIVISION	7,449	2,551	93	2,463					5,562	4,438	4,428	7						
4	Burdwan	6,640	3,361	130	3,212					7,642	2,358	2,332	27						
5	Birbhum	3,637	6,363	1,818	1,545					1,762	8,238	8,236	2						
6	Bankura	10,000								2,418	7,582	7,582							
7	Midnapore	6,865	3,135	15	3,120					7,325	2,475	2,465	1						
8	Hooghly	3,372	4,628	248	1,380					7,230	2,770	2,770							
9	Howrah	8,819	1,681	63	1,623					8,429	1,571	1,269	302						
10	Central Bengal	7,557	2,443	331	2,307					7,816	2,184	2,109	69						
11	PRESIDENCY DIVISION	7,557	2,443	331	2,307					7,816	2,184	2,109	69						
12	24-Parganas	8,412	1,588		1,588					6,290	3,710	3,592	118						
13	Calcutta	7,370	2,624	384	2,475					8,506	1,464	535	793						
14	Nadia	7,308	2,692	1,338	1,154					9,360	631	631							
15	Murshidabad	7,500	2,500	102	2,308					8,927	1,073	1,073							
16	Jessore	9,375	625	625						4,476	5,524	5,524							
17	Khulna	10,000								10,000									
18	North Bengal	9,220	780	35	700			48		8,270	1,730	1,197	485	51	2				
19	RAJSHAHI DIVISION	9,220	780	34	700	1		48		8,267	1,733	1,199	486	51	2				
20	Rajshahi	5,962	1,038	1,034	192					5,065	4,335	4,317	16						
21	Dinajpur	9,076	922	35	887					8,786	1,214	1,180	54						
22	Jalpaiguri	7,630	2,470	57	2,108	3	1	200		7,815	2,155	196	2,004	11	10				
23	Darjeeling	9,724	276	22	257			1		6,511	3,459	231	2,000	1,286					
24	Rangpur	9,894	606	152	334					9,476	524	518	6						
25	Bogra	4,014	5,986	769	4,617					4,134	3,866	3,866							
26	Pabna	4,727	5,273	1,373	4,000					3,661	6,339	6,281	58						
27	Malda	6,104	3,896	389	3,307					9,388	617	568	47						
28	COCH BEHAR STATE	8,780	1,240	1,074	248					9,370	130	93	37						
29	East Bengal	6,466	3,534	1,403	2,121					7,330	2,670	2,638	30						
30	DACCA DIVISION	9,273	727	54	619					9,987	13								
31	Dacca	9,467	533		333					10,000									
32	Mymensingh	9,770	230	230															
33	Fatidpur	9,667	333	333						10,000									
34	Bakarganj	10,000	526	7,368							10,000	10,000							
35	CHITTAGONG DIVISION	5,519	4,181	967	3,214					8,722	1,278	1,218	67						
36	Tippeta	6,067	3,333	1,666	1,667														
37	Noakhali	10,000	10,000																
38	Chittagong	3,278	6,722	1,450	5,212					6,301	3,669	3,516	203						
39	Chittagong Hill Tracts	9,878	122	122						9,764	236	228	8						
40	TRIURA STATE	5,029	4,971	3,188	1,794					5,385	4,615	4,593	14						
41	SIKKIM	9,945	55		54			1											

*Excluding those speaking as subsidiary language some other language of the same group than their mother tongue.

Part B: Proportions to the total population borne by each of the figures in part A.

as mother tongue

Dravidian languages who also speak as subsidiary language.					Tibeto-Himalayan Languages who also speak as subsidiary language					Aryan-Burman Languages, and Min who speak as subsidiary language.					Total number.						
No language	Any language *	Bengali	Hindustani	Nepali	Aryan-Burman Languages who also speak as subsidiary language	No language	Any language *	Bengali	Hindustani	Nepali	Aryan-Burman Languages who also speak as subsidiary language	No language	Any language *	Bengali		Hindustani	Aryan-Burman Languages who also speak as subsidiary language				
48	49	50	51	52	53	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64		65	66	67	68	69	70	71
7,627	2,373	867	1,469	42	.	1,113	8,887	8	66	8,102	.	9,294	706	671	33	.	.	.	.	.	1
7,678	2,122	443	1,655	1	..	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	9,655	345	172	172	.	.	.	.	.	2
7,678	2,122	443	1,655	1	..	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	9,655	345	172	172	.	.	.	.	.	3
3,052	4,048	1,503	320	11	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
8,727	1,273	636	151	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	7,500	2,500	.	2,500	.	.	.	.	.	5
8,339	1,607	1,607	238	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
6,480	3,520	343	3,140	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7
8,448	552	335	210	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8
9,410	500	100	392	3	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	10,000	10,000	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
7,789	2,211	1,793	326	.	.	6,481	3,519	..	2,681	.	.	8,822	1,173	269	471	.	.	.	.	.	10
7,789	2,211	1,793	326	.	..	6,481	3,519	2,681	.	.	.	8,822	1,173	269	471	.	.	.	.	.	11
7,427	2,673	2,294	245	.	.	5,100	4,501	4,891	.	.	.	9,649	551	571	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
8,744	1,250	44	880	..	..	7,831	2,169	361	.	.	.	~ 105	1,295	60	972	..	..	..	..	..	13
7,144	2,836	2,707	51	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9,230	561	511	.	..	..	..	..	..	14
8,799	1,201	1,178	23	.	.	10,000	.	..	..	..	..	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15
9,979	3,021	3,008	.	.	.	.	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	16
9,073	27	27	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17
7,561	2,439	724	1,674	57	.	963	9,037	8	84	8,242	.	8,025	1,975	1,823	254	10	..	..	..	..	18
7,561	2,439	720	1,677	58	.	963	9,037	8	84	8,242	.	8,834	1,164	985	282	11	.	.	.	.	19
9,436	3,561	3,532	41	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
9,198	802	755	16	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21
7,670	2,480	72	1,300	22	.	8,851	3,169	1	894	1,603	.	8,947	1,055	965	244	.	..	..	..	..	22
7,118	2,885	394	1,917	603	.	937	9,363	8	67	8,405	.	7,446	1,554	2,026	939	196	.	.	.	.	23
9,914	86	86	.	.	.	10,000	.	..	..	..	..	3,565	6,735	6,735	.	.	.	.	.	.	24
5,743	1,257	4,009	246	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	25
1,051	8,949	8,919	30	..	..	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	26
8,730	1,270	1,051	201	.	15	.	.	..	..	..	..	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	27
7,584	2,416	1,768	848	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	604	9,396	9,396	.	.	.	.	.	.	28
7,106	2,894	2,663	173	.	.	9,982	18	..	4	18	.	9,334	666	638	26	.	..	..	..	..	29
9,917	83	.	83	..	..	10,000	.	.	.	.	.	9,109	891	838	53	.	..	..	..	..	30
10,000	.	.	..	..	..	10,000	.	.	.	..	..	9,950	50	.	30	.	..	..	..	..	31
10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9,220	780	711	69	..	..	..	..	..	32
10,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9,552	144	448	.	..	..	..	..	..	33
8,000	2,000	.	2,000	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	..	8,702	1,295	1,298	.	.	.	.	.	.	34
7,833	2,167	1,540	392	.	.	2,000	8,000	.	2,000	8,000	.	8,840	169	110	47	.	..	..	..	..	35
8,462	1,538	1,538	.	.	.	10,000	.	.	.	10,000	.	9,794	200	180	17	.	..	..	..	..	36
10,000	..	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8,462	1,538	1,538	.	..	..	..	..	..	37
7,611	2,189	1,540	405	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,339	661	580	262	..	..	..	..	..	38
..	..	..	..	..	..	3,893	6,667	.	3,893	6,667	.	9,949	51	51	.	..	..	..	..	..	39
8,783	3,217	3,081	136	..	..	10,000	.	.	.	.	..	9,944	956	951	4	.	..	..	..	..	40
..	..	..	..	..	..	3,510	6,490	.	.	5,349	..	..	.	.	.	.	..	..	..	..	41

*Excluding those speaking as subsidiary language some other language of the same group than their mother tongue.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Comparison of tribal and language tables.

Name of tribe, and tribal language.	Strength of tribe.			Number able to speak the tribal language whether as mother tongue or subsidiary language.			Number speaking the tribal language									as subsidiary language to some other mother tongue.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	as mother tongue without subsidiary language.			as mother tongue with some subsidiary language.			as subsidiary language to some other mother tongue.					
							Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16			
BENGAL.																		
Bhotia (all tribes)	14,793	9,141	6,639	14,078	7,813	6,308	4,043	2,174	1,865	10,384	5,610	4,884	239	123	114			
Bhotia of Bhutia— Drukpa	2,113	1,423	1,120	1,691	778	743	369	184	166	1,231	644	577						
Bhotia of Nepal— Sherpa	6,462	3,728	4,153	8,767	1,528	3,649	3,132	1,934	1,178	5,633	2,871	2,461						
Bhotia of Sikkim— Dzungpa	973	461	311	132	95	57	47	29	18	201	68	38	1					
Bhotia of Tibet— Tibetan and un- specified	1,163	2,122	1,771	1,836	3,413	2,421	164	61	303	4,034	2,239	1,808	338	186	118			
Bhumi	85,161	43,354	12,807	9,758	4,310	4,948	4,355	2,087	2,268	5,403	3,728	3,080						
Garo	38,292	10,203	18,421	38,123	20,137	18,030	33,834	17,349	16,483	4,358	2,787	1,571	1	1				
Gurung	13,168	6,031	7,135	2,753	1,333	1,420	888	315	653	1,885	1,018	867						
Jumra and Khambu	42,745	20,638	22,100	38,963	19,162	20,084	2,205	844	1,361	37,530	18,528	18,902	31	10	21			
Kami	16,180	8,857	7,223	148	7	141	22	1	21	128	6	120						
Koch	81,289	41,704	49,595	8,245	1,306	3,079	7,255	3,617	3,638	904	579	325	88	70	16			
Kota (Kotia)	48,568	23,306	24,859	20,490	10,251	9,960	16,126	3,301	4,737	10,311	5,082	5,229	81	51	10			
Kuki	16,592	8,808	7,691	3,778	1,869	1,909	3,539	1,033	1,900	230	236	8						
Lepcha (Rong)	12,720	4,413	8,307	11,944	3,998	3,939	985	329	365	11,248	3,093	5,583	5	4	1			
Lumbu	17,843	9,789	8,057	18,016	7,839	7,777	848	518	127	14,071	7,321	6,750						
Magar	24,042	12,254	11,788	12,491	5,270	6,831	1,828	731	1,207	10,279	4,826	5,453	184	18	171			
Moon (Boko or Kachari)	12,533	7,039	5,696	9,692	4,346	4,000	7,046	4,117	3,351	1,098	619	477	8					
Munda	106,896	76,723	51,691	79,183	10,078	39,113	52,862	28,201	29,661	26,189	13,841	13,348	142	30	106			
Murmi	35,224	17,548	17,676	30,188	16,614	17,532	4,162	2,637	1,525	31,478	19,107	12,771	806	269	336			
Nuwari	12,640	7,104	5,536	7,281	3,928	3,273	860	260	280	8,657	2,067	2,960	4	1	3			
Oron (Kurukh)	228,181	112,004	106,007	188,883	101,290	85,493	136,885	73,875	64,010	45,912	23,001	20,911	1,088	514	372			
Santal	796,656	401,006	395,030	786,653	366,411	380,142	616,779	257,103	261,076	248,856	126,309	117,741	1,824	1,099	725			
Sumwar	4,427	2,163	2,274	2,716	1,297	1,419	64	37	27	2,851	1,290	1,562						
Tapara	203,068	105,213	97,826	161,728	100,212	91,193	177,611	88,588	88,023	14,214	11,644	2,670						
SIKKIM.																		
Bhotia (all tribes)	15,192	7,120	7,472	15,318	7,701	7,617	7,072	3,338	3,734	8,058	4,223	3,823	188	140	48			
Bhotia of Bhutia— Drukpa	7	3	1	737	33	32	47	33	14	92	62	38						
Bhotia of Nepal— Sherpa	6,441	1,849	3,799	3,794	1,791	1,803	1,810	694	616	2,194	1,007	1,187						
Bhotia of Sikkim— Dzungpa	10,989	3,776	3,191	10,096	1,536	1,437	5,161	5,476	2,088	5,148	2,907	2,451	31	63	18			
Bhotia of Tibet— Tibetan and un- specified	760	292	261	681	379	303	551	333	110	396	167	169	107	77	30			
Gurung	7,308	3,708	3,598	7,143	7	71	72	2	70	8	6	1						
Khumbu	18,008	9,373	8,192	18,143	9,272	8,870	4,129	2,117	2,012	14,013	7,185	6,868						
Kami	4,617	2,443	2,074	87	16	11	10	8	2	17	8	9						
Lepcha (Rong)	15,689	6,580	6,474	13,273	6,717	6,555	7,646	3,743	3,907	7,557	3,019	2,688	68	56	16			
Lumbu	10,536	5,102	6,444	10,680	5,063	5,435	3,044	1,568	1,538	7,441	3,658	3,550	3	1	2			
Magar	4,184	2,050	2,114	2,780	1,515	1,265	723	330	387	2,057	1,182	873						
Murmi	7,617	3,559	3,441	6,983	3,361	3,318	1,112	418	994	5,870	3,140	2,724						
Nuwari	3,611	1,841	1,759	2,259	1,302	980	381	245	116	1,897	1,017	880						
Sumwar	780	410	380	679	348	331	123	78	51	650	270	280						

CHAPTER XI

Religion

386. Introduction.—Detailed statistics by religion are given in imperial table XVI for divisions, districts and states and in imperial table V for towns. Summary figures of the principal religions are given also in imperial table XX for divisions, districts, cities and states, and in provincial table II so far as the necessity for economy has permitted their compilation for police-stations. Religion also forms a basis of classification for the tables showing age and marital condition (imperial table VII) and literacy (imperial table XIII). Subsidiary tables obtained from the census figures of this and previous enumerations and printed at the end of this chapter show—

I—distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total population by natural divisions, 1881 to 1931, with percentage of variation ;

II—distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total population by natural divisions, districts and states, 1881-1931 ;

III—number of Christians by divisions, districts and states. 1881-1931, with percentage of variation ; and

IV—distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total urban and rural population of natural divisions.

387. Source of the statistics.—The statistics of religion are obtained from column 4 of the census schedule and the instructions to enumerators for filling up this column were as follows :—

“ Enter here the religion which each person professes, as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jain Christian, Buddhist, Parsi and the sect where necessary. In the case of Christians, the sect must always be entered. In the case of aboriginal tribes who are not Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc., the name of the tribe should be entered in this column ”

These instructions were further elaborated in the directions issued to the supervisors which were as follows :—

“ The answer which each person gives about his religion must be accepted and entered in column 4, but care should be taken not to enter Jains, Sikhs, Brahmos and Aryas as Hindus. If a man says he is a Jain or a Sikh he should be entered as such, even though he also says he is a Hindu. If a Jain desires his sect to be recorded it should be added in brackets after his religion in column 4, e.g., Digambar, Sthanakavasi. Swetambar, Swetambar Terapanthi.

In the case of Muhammadans, in addition to the difference of racial groups (Sayyad, Shekh, Mogal, Pathan) and functional groups (Jolaha, Dhunia, etc.) which are shown in column 8, there are also differences of sect which are shown in column 4, e.g., Sunnis or Shias. As the great majority of Muhammadans in Bengal are Sunnis no entry of sect need be made for Sunnis, and it will be assumed that Muhammadans are Sunnis for whom the sect is not entered. Other sects should be entered in brackets after the religion. Shias are not likely to be found (except in isolated instances) outside Murshidabad, Calcutta, Dacca, Hooghly and 24-Parganas.

Great care should be taken to get a correct return of Christian sects and to eliminate vague entries such as Protestant. In the case of Christians belonging to definite tribes or races the term Indian Christian should not be entered in column 8, but the tribe to which the individual actually belongs.

Instances may be found of aboriginals who have no recognised religion, but adhere still to their old tribal beliefs. For these the tribal name, e.g., Santal, Munda, Garo, Tipara, Lushai, will be entered in column 4, but care should be taken that such an entry is not made for one of an aboriginal tribe who professes Hinduism.”

The provision in the census schedule for a return of sect has not previously been made use of in Bengal except in the case of Christians and to some extent of Muslims. Some note will be given later under each religion of the difficulties encountered in obtaining returns of sects particularly for Hindus and of the extent to which the requirements of economy have restricted the use made of such information as was obtained.

388. **Accuracy of the results.**—During slip-copying and sorting where the schedule was found to contain no entry of religion it was filled up with reference to the name or caste of the person concerned and the religion and sect of other persons on the same page. In the case of Indian Christians where the sect was not shown it was assumed to be that of the mission at work in the district and village of enumeration. The accuracy of the returns of religion for all practical purposes may be taken roughly to be the same as that of the figures of general population by sexes. It cannot be said that in any considerable proportion of cases any person entertains a doubt as to the religious community to which he belongs: and it would therefore be expected that this column of the schedule would present no difficulties to any person called upon to answer the questions on which it is filled up.

389. **Border-line cases.**—There are of course a number of cases on the border of Hinduism and Islam which provide an opportunity for conflicting claims. The Bhagawania or Satya-dharma sect is one of these. It is recruited from both Muslims and Hindus but far from inter-marriage being possible between Hindu and Muslim recruits each social group of the Muslims and each caste of the Hindus keeps its barriers closed against inter-marriage even within the same sect, although converts from both communities will dine together. The Hindus renounce the practice of the daily *ahnik* and *sandhya* devotions and the Muslims do not observe the annual Ramzan fast or repeat the daily prayers (*namaz*), but the recruits from the Brahman caste retain their sacred thread. Muslims are said not to practise circumcision or to eat meat or onions; they shave the head and face and revere the *tulsi* plant or Indian basil, keep the *dol jatra* or *holi* festival and worship Sachimata, bury their dead but with practices like the Vaishnava *samadhi* and not according to Muslim rites, and as with the Hindu members of the sect marriage amongst them is merely an oral agreement between the parties in the presence of the *guru* without the sanctions and formalities of Muslim practice. Some members of the sect were discovered during the enumeration in Jessore but their religion only proves to have been recorded for them in the returns and the only numbers by sect returned were 92 in Khulna (male 49, female 43). There are Nagarchis in Bakarganj of whom one group is entirely Muslim but members of another, following the occupation of drummers, cotton carders and quilt makers, have Hindu names and conform to many Hindu usages. They read the *kalma* at marriage and perform the *jonacha* ceremony at death, but for these Muslim rites they use their own priests and are reported to practise all other customary Hindu ceremonies, to worship images of the Hindu gods, to perform *puja* to Lakshmi, Visvakarma, Saraswati, etc., and to eat no food forbidden to Hindus. In Calcutta and West Bengal Chitrakars or Patuas, generally classed as Muslims, make images and pictures of the Hindu gods and goddesses and do not practise circumcision or the burial of the dead. In Pabna and Mymensingh a group known as Kirtanias exists with mixed Muslim and Hindu names: they are ordinarily regarded as Muslims but are reported to eat no meat and to be in many cases strict vegetarians, to keep no observance of the Ramzan fast or the recital of the daily *namaz* and to have practices consistent with orthodox Hinduism, whilst their musical entertainments themselves could be tolerated amongst Muslims only by a relaxation of strict orthodox disapproval. The numbers of these indeterminate groups, however, are small. Only in the case of Bhagawantias have they been separately compiled, and even here some proportion of the sect will have returned itself as Hindu or Muslim only without specification of sect; whilst the groups not shown separately in imperial table XVII have also been included in the religious community to which each member of the group declared that he belonged.

390. **The religious classification of primitive tribes.**—It is the religious allocation of primitive peoples which presents the greatest difficulty. Their beliefs and those of groups included within Hinduism are alike often vague or vaguely understood and Hinduism is sufficiently catholic to embrace them without thereby notably adding to the incogruities and inconsistencies already existing in the body of tolerated belief and observance. The primitive also

in contact with divergent practices in an area to which he has moved from his own country and the protection of his own gods or spirits takes the precaution of adopting some of the practices of his neighbours with a view to keeping on the right side of the gods who may be powerful there. In Bankura district the census officer at the time of slip-copying noted from the schedules amongst the Santals of the district the increasing extent to which Hindu practices are being adopted as evidenced by the prevalence of distinctively Hindu names and of the practice of child marriage. He found children returned as Santals by religion bearing such distinctively Hindu names as Sabitri, Rajani, Lakshmi, Narayan, Surendra, Jogeswar, Nandalal, Surjyamani, Narendra, Saraswati and Swarnamani, whilst there were instances of both boys and girls returned as married before the age of 7. In Burdwan the district officer reports that Santals in villages with a predominant Hindu population assimilate their usages to those of the Hindus. They rever the *tulsi* plant, observe the *paus parbban* festival, abstain from beef, adopt the practice of daily cleansing floors and courtyards with the wash made from cow-dung (*gobar*) and water and decline food cooked by Muslims. Some adopt the Vaishnava necklace of wooden beads, wear the occipital tuft of hair (*chaitan*) and cremate their dead, and some married women wear the vermilion mark and the even more distinctive iron bangle (*churi*) of Hindu wives. There is thus a natural tendency for Mundas, Oraons, Santals and similar primitive people to adopt Hindu practices in areas where they find on arrival that Hindus are in possession, and amongst both the Oraons and the Santals recent movements of religious reform professedly tribal in character have shown the influence of Hinduism. The Kharwar movement amongst the Santals initiated in 1871 is stated to have been due to the declining belief in the efficacy of the tribal spirits or *bongas* and to the difficulties or inconveniences attending upon conversion to Hinduism, Islam or Christianity. In the practices of this sect Hindu influences are evident in the adoration of Rama, a Hindu god; meticulous observance of the practice of bathing before the first meal; abstention from the flesh of pigs, fowls and bullocks and even from keeping pigs and fowls and from using cows for ploughing; and the refusal to eat in the houses of fellow tribesmen professing other sects. So also amongst the Oraons in the movement initiated in 1914 and known as the Khurukh Dharma or Tana Bhagat abstention from animal food and liquor and condemnation of many of the tribal customs were associated with the renunciation of the belief in nature spirits and with such less obviously religious prescriptions as an exhortation to cease cultivating the fields or to work as coolies under other castes or tribes. Apart from their tendency to absorb the practices of numerous or influential neighbours the primitive tribes are also particularly subject to missionary and proselytising influence both Christian and Hindu and during the last decade numerous converts have been announced as having been "reclaimed" to the Hindu faith by such bodies as the Hindu Mission. In addition to this imperceptible infiltration into tribal belief of Hindu beliefs and customs and the definite conversion of numbers of tribals to Hinduism account must also be taken in considering the figures by religion of the claim advanced by such bodies as the Hindu Mission and the Provincial Hindu Sabha that any religion or belief indigenous to India or characteristic of any part of India is to be considered Hinduism. Under the aegis of these two bodies efforts, of which a summary account is given later, were made to secure a return as Hindus of all members of primitive tribes whatever and it is possible that where these exhortations reached the hands of Hindu enumerators and an

STATEMENT No. XI-1.

Numbers of certain castes returned under tribal religions in Jalpaiguri district.

Baraik	4,458	2,519	1,939
Bediya	681	293	292
Ho	3	2	1
Klean	124	64	60
Mehtor	8	2	1
Muchl	2	1	2
Musahar	70	34	36
Nalya	8	5	8

religions. On the other hand imperial table XVII shows that in certain instances groups like those in the margin which might reasonably be

opportunity of modifying them did not occur to the census authorities of the locality, the number of Hindus may have been swelled by the inclusion of some members of primitive tribes who, upon a classification more in harmony with that intended at the census, would have been included amongst tribal

expected to fall amongst Hindus have been returned in Jalpaiguri district under tribal religions. In Sikkim some of the Nepalese groups, such as Rais, Limbus, Gurungs, etc., complained that they had been entered as following tribal religions, although they were really Hindus in spite of the employment of non-Hindu magicians and exorcists (*Phedangbas*, *Bijuwās*, etc.), but the case was investigated and it was found that there was no reason to believe that there had been any infraction of the general instructions that the religion of each person was to be recorded exactly as he returned it. The comparatively large number appearing for Sikkim under tribal religions for the first time at this census may be taken as being in all probability more correctly shown than if they had been recorded as Hindus.

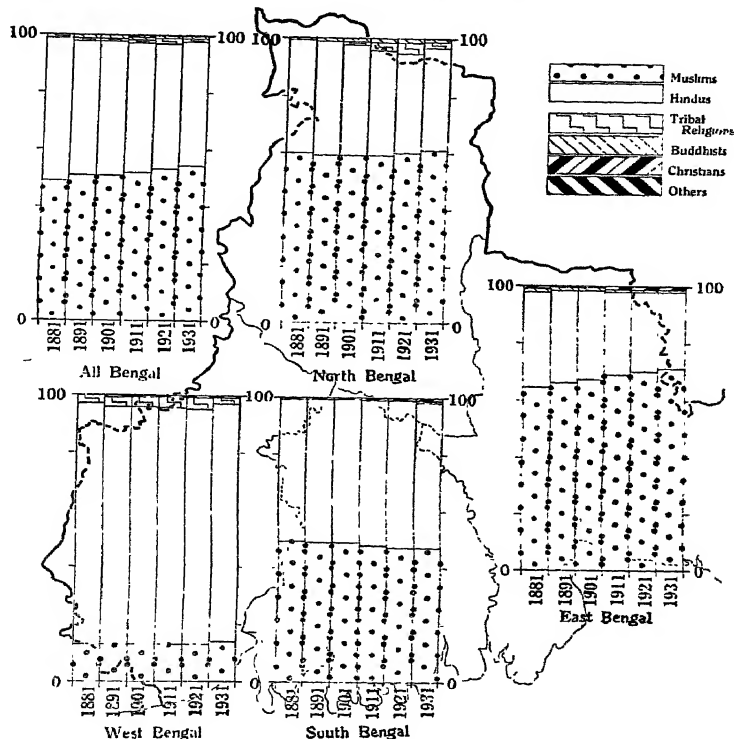
391. Alleged inaccuracies due to communal feeling.—The census was taken at the end of a decade in which communal feeling had been more bitter between Hindus and Muslims than for many years previously and at a time when no member of either of these communities could fail to be alive to the importance in Bengal of the numerical strength of his co-religionists in view of the impending constitutional changes and the question of communal electorates. Numerous allegations were made on both sides during the process of enumeration that enumerators of one community were suppressing details of persons of the other community and fictitiously increasing the numbers of their own. Most of these allegations were not supported by specific details and were consequently incapable of investigation. But in such cases as fell under examination by the local census officers no ground was found in any case for the allegations made. During slip-copying one instance did indeed come to light of a tampering with the returns in the district of Mymensingh. Upon a series of representations by Hindu bodies or individuals alleging that the numerical and literacy returns of the Hindus had been reduced in the sorting office at Dacca in the case of certain police-stations in Mymensingh district it transpired that, in the police-station Iswarganj, during slip-copying, far from there being any reduction in the numbers of Hindus or increase in the number of Muslims, certain slip-copyists had entered (and incidentally got payment for) slips for entirely fictitious Hindus, and had turned 74 Muslim slips into Hindus (male 64, female 10) literate and illiterate. These figures, however, are too insignificant to affect proportions worked out from the religion tables. In one other instance it also transpired that, in Char Jaypara of Dohar police-station in the Dacca district, entirely by oversight about 226 members of Muslim families (males 115, females 111) had failed to secure enumeration at all. Their houses were on the boundary of the next mauza Lata Khola and the enumerator omitted them in the belief that they fell outside his mauza. Here too the difference in working out comparisons is negligible.

As regards other religions by the nature of the case it is unlikely that any grave errors should have been introduced into the returns and the figures for religion may consequently be taken as being of a comparatively high degree of accuracy.

392. Religious constitution of divisions at successive enumerations.—Subsidiary table I shows the religious constitution of the population at every census from 1881 and the figures in this table are graphically shown in a number of diagrams in this chapter. Muslims contribute more than 54 per cent. of the total population of Bengal and predominate particularly in East Bengal and North Bengal where they form respectively 71 and 60·8 per cent. of the total population. They contribute less than half of the population of Central Bengal and little more than 14 per cent. in West Bengal. They have enlarged their proportion of the population throughout the whole of Bengal by an uninterrupted increase from just less than 50 per cent. in 1881 to their present proportions and in Eastern Bengal have shown from 1881 to the present a corresponding regular increase from 64·5 to 71 per cent. of the total population. In Central Bengal they have declined from 49·5 per cent. of the population in 1881 to 47·2 in 1931 and in North Bengal after a very small decline between 1881 and 1901 when they numbered 59·6 and

39.1 of the population, respectively, they have shown a small increase. In West Bengal they have more than maintained their proportion in a predominantly Hindu area having actually increased it from 13 per cent. in 1881

DIAGRAM No. XI-1.
DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGIONS OF THE POPULATION OF NATURAL DIVISIONS
AT EACH CENSUS, 1881 TO 1931.

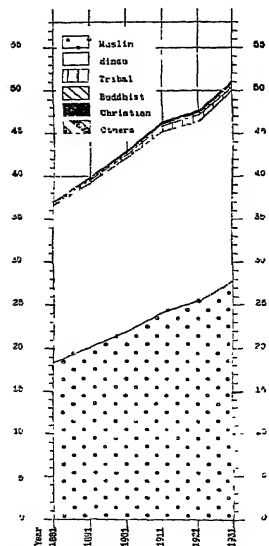


to 14.1 per cent. at the present census. The Hindu proportion throughout all Bengal at present is 43.5 per cent. and their proportionate strength has shown an uninterrupted and gradual decrease since 1881 when they formed 48.8 per cent. of the population or less than 1 per cent. fewer than the Muslims. They predominate overwhelmingly in Western Bengal where their numbers are 82.9 per cent. of the population, a figure showing an increase over the proportion of 1911 (82.3) though at previous enumerations their percentage was higher and was as much as 84 in 1881. In Central Bengal they have more than maintained the proportion of 1881 (49.8) and have shown an uninterrupted increase since that date till they now form 51½ per cent. of the population. In North Bengal they form 36.4 per cent. of the population, an increase over the figure 35.5 per cent. of 1921, but still less than their proportion in 1911 (37.4) which itself was the result of a continuous decrease from the figure of 40.1 in 1881. In East Bengal they form little more than one-fourth of the total population (27.37 per cent.) and their proportionate numbers have continuously declined from 33.6, the figure of 1881. Diagram No. XI-1 shows graphically the proportionate composition of the population by religions at each census for each natural division and

shows at a glance how inconsiderable is the proportion of other than Hindus and Muslims. It amounts to scarcely more than 1 per cent. and the largest proportion of the population furnished by any other community in any division is the $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. contributed to West Bengal by persons professing tribal religions, who in 1921 numbered as much as $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the population in this division. Tribal religions account for nearly 2 per cent. of the population in North Bengal, but here again they number 2 less in every hundred than in 1921. The only other considerable community is the Buddhists in Eastern Bengal where they form nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population, a ratio which has consistently increased from 1 per cent. in 1901. It is mainly accounted for by the Buddhists in Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State who bring up the proportion of Buddhists in that area to 3.4 per cent. compared with 3.1 in 1911 since which date their proportion has regularly increased.

393. Strength of the main religions at each census, 1881 to 1931.—Diagram No. XI-2 plotted from the accompanying statement No. XI-2

DIAGRAM No. XI-2.
Religious distribution of the population at each census, 1881-1931.
The scale shows millions.



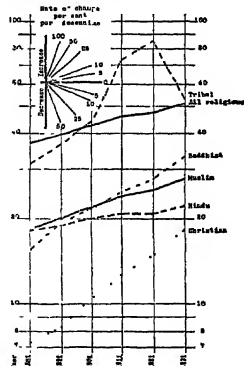
illustrates for Bengal the figures from which are calculated the proportions illustrated in diagram No. XI-1. This diagram shows in cumulation the actual numbers of each main religion since 1881, and in consulting it the reader must bear in mind that slopes above the lowest for Muslims do not represent equal increases in each year because the base from which each religion is measured is not horizontal. The most convenient method of studying the proportionate changes in each religion is perhaps by means of diagram

No. XI-3, where an equal degree of slope represents an equal percentage of increase or decrease. This diagram clearly brings out the relatively slower rate of increase of Hindus compared with Muslims. During the decade 1921-1931 the Muslims have increased 9.1 per cent. against the Hindu increase of only 6.7 per cent. and in every decade since 1881 they have shown a greater rate of increase so that they are now 51.2 per cent. more numerous than in 1881, whereas the Hindus are only 22.9 per cent. more numerous than them. Both these communities show the greatest increase since 1921 in the same areas. In Chittagong Division and Tripura State the increases are Muslims 15.7 per cent. and Hindus 10.2 per cent.; in Burdwan Division Muslims 13 per cent. and Hindus 8.4 per cent.; and in East Bengal, as a whole, Muslims 11.8 per cent. and Hindus 5.8 per cent. The diagram shows a proportionate increase of Buddhists and Christians which might remain unsuspected on an examination of the proportionate distribution or even of the actual increase in figures from year to year. The increase of Muslims is naturally the major factor controlling the increase of the total population, and the curves for Muslims and All Religions run virtually parallel thus indicating virtually identical percentages of increase. The diagram illustrates very clearly an enormous decrease (37.6 per cent.) during the last decade in the number of primitive peoples who are prepared to

DIAGRAM No. XI-3.

Changes in religions at each census, 1881-1931.

(Numbers are shown by figures, rates of change by slope. Scale shows millions for All religions, Muslims and Hindus, tens of thousands for others.)



return their tribal religions in place of Hinduism or Christianity. Amongst the Bhumij, Kora, Munda, Oraon and Santal of the west of Bengal and the Garo, Kuki, Mech, Mro and Tipara of the east, the numbers recorded in 1921 and 1931 were 1,344,308 and 1,507,448, showing an increase during the decade of 12 per cent. : but whereas the distribution was in 1921 536,379 Hindus and 807,929 professing tribal religions representing 40 per cent. and 60 per cent. of the total, in 1931 the corresponding figures were 1,014,507 and 492,941, or 67½ and 32½ per cent. respectively. In other words for every Hindu of these groups in 1921 there were nearly two in 1931, but for every two professing tribal religions in 1921 there was just more than one only in 1931.

STATEMENT No. XI-2.

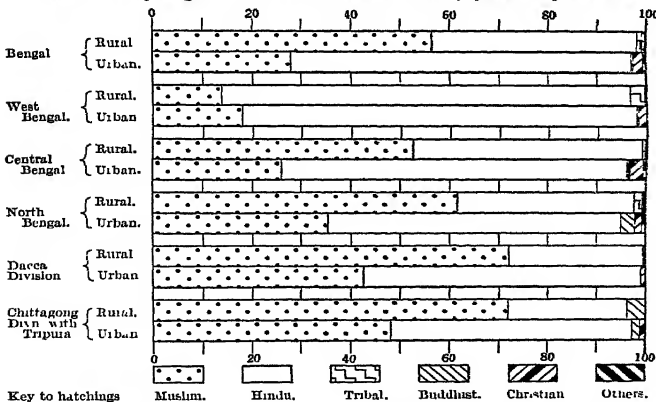
Strength of the main religions at each census, 1881-1931.

Year	Muslim.	Hindu.	Tribal Religions.	Buddhist.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1881	13,394,426*	18,071,296	312,080	153,106	72,250	10,171
1891	20,174,882	18,978,500	264,820	195,645	82,730	14,072
1901	21,954,955	20,155,674	442,194	216,506	100,590	7,086
1911	24,277,228	20,048,557	750,780	246,866	129,740	12,002
1921	25,486,134	20,812,629	849,045	275,759	140,669	19,936
1931	27,810,100	22,212,009	529,419	320,663	153,667	22,129

394. **Religious constitution of rural and urban areas.**—Subsidiary table IV shows the distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total urban and rural population of natural divisions. From this table diagram No. XI-4 has been plotted which may be compared with diagram No. II-7 of chapter II.

DIAGRAM No. XI-4.

Distribution by religion of 100 of the rural and urban population by divisions.



Hindus everywhere form the great majority of the urban population and in Bengal generally and also in every division except West Bengal they contribute a larger proportion of the urban population than of the rural population. The exception is interesting as being that division in which Muslims are in a

minority and in which alone a larger proportion of the urban population is Muslim than of the rural population. Christians in every division contribute a larger proportion of townsmen than of countrymen. As a general rule every other community contributes a smaller proportion to the urban population of each area than to the rural population. The only apparent exception is the case of Buddhists in North Bengal and is undoubtedly accounted for by the concentration in places like Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong of Buddhists of Sikkimese and Nepalese extraction and to the comparative infrequency with which these Tibeto-Himalayan people reside as cultivators outside the towns. An explanation of the relatively greater proportion in the towns of Hindus than of any other community is no doubt to be sought along two lines. Their literacy ratio is higher and more of them therefore seek such employment as can be found only in towns; and their general standard of living upon the average is higher and they therefore

feel more acutely the discomforts and inconveniences of rural life. The comparative freedom from irksome restrictions which is provided by town life, particularly in the great centres such as Calcutta, is appreciated by many educated Hindus who feel that the relaxation of caste and other religious restrictions there possible is not incompatible in towns with the retention of a considerable degree of orthodoxy. The educated Hindu tends more and more to gravitate to the towns: as a young man his interest in the work of rural improvement is academic, and when he retires his ambition generally is to settle down in some urban area where municipal politics provide more excitement than the monotony of village life and the heart-breaking struggle against its ignorance, prejudice, conservatism and petty faction. The Muslim has hitherto not experienced to the same degree either intellectual dissatisfaction with village life or general improvement in his standard of living, and a larger proportion, therefore, are still content to remain and make their living out of the land, particularly in Eastern Bengal. That they are comparatively more numerous in towns in Western Bengal is no doubt due to the fact that they have not the same opportunity of obtaining agricultural tenancies in districts where Hindus predominate.

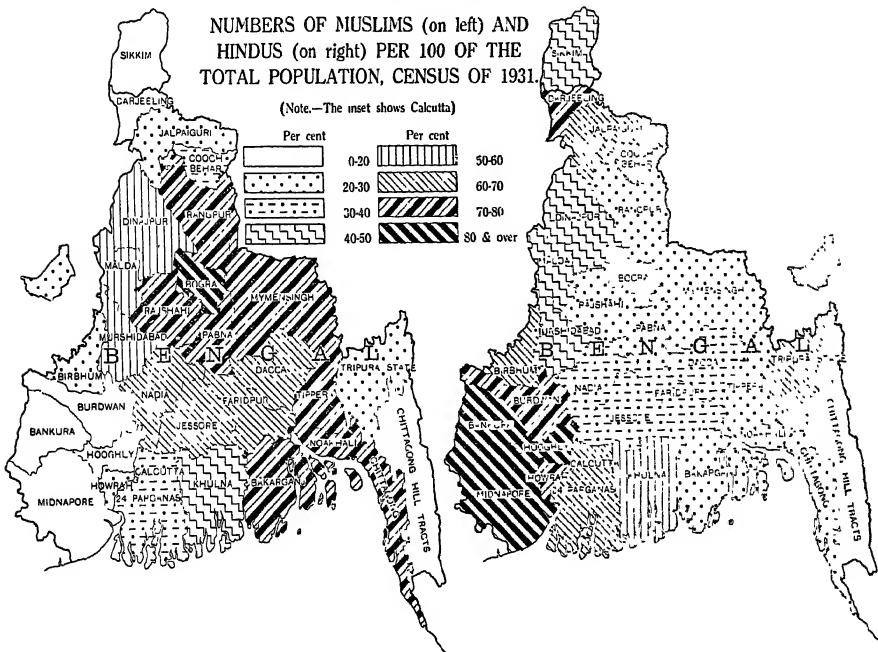
395. Muslims in Bengal and other parts of India.—The Muslims of Bengal number 27,810,100 and form 35·4 per cent. of the total Muslim population of India, British Territory and States and no other area contributes anything approaching so large a proportion. In the whole of India Muslims form 22·16 of the total population and only in four regions do they constitute a larger proportion of the total population than in Bengal. Their highest proportion is in the North-west Frontier Province (91·84) and in Baluchistan (87·44), and they form 77·27 of the population of Jammu and Kashmir State and 56·54 per cent. of the population of the Punjab.

396. Distribution of Muslims in Bengal.—Within Bengal they predominate particularly in the Chittagong and Dacca Divisions where they form 73·68 and 70·93 per cent. of the population respectively and also in the Rajshahi Division where they contribute 62·24 per cent. of the population. In the Presidency Division they do not contribute even half of the population, their percentage being 47·20, whilst in the Burdwan Division they amount to only 14·14 per cent. of the total.

397. Distribution by districts.—Their proportions in the different districts are graphically illustrated in diagram No. XI-5 where their proportions and the proportions of Hindus have been shown side by side to the same scale. They form a fairly solid block of more than 50 per cent. of the population in a band running throughout the whole of Bengal from the districts of Murshidabad, Malda and Dinajpur on the north-west to Bakarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong on the south-east. Their proportion reaches more than 80 per cent. in Bogra, between 70 and 80 per cent. in Rangpur, Rajshahi, Pabna, Mymensingh, Tippera, Bakarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong, between 60 and 70 per cent. in Nadia, Jessore, Faridpur and Dacca and from 50 to 60 per cent. in Dinajpur, Malda and Murshidabad. At the three angles of the province, in Darjeeling (and also in Sikkim), in Bankura, Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore, and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts they form less than 20 per cent. of the population. In the other districts their proportions are from 20 to 50 per cent. Since 1881 their variations in individual districts are comparatively unimportant in the Burdwan Division, where the greatest deviation (in Birbhum) is from 20·5 per cent. in 1881 by a fairly regular increase to 26·7 per cent. in 1931. In the 24-Parganas, Calcutta and Khulna they have lost ground since 1881 although figures for Calcutta show an increase of nearly 3 per cent. of the total population since 1921. In the other three districts of this division they have consistently increased with the exception of a very slight set-back between 1911 and 1921 in the district of Jessore. In Rajshahi as a whole their total proportions have consistently increased since 1901 after having declined by about one per cent. in that year from 1881. The increases are most marked in Rangpur, Malda, Pabna and Bogra

districts where they have increased their proportion of the total population continuously since 1881 in Rangpur from 60·99 per cent. to 70·79 per cent. in Malda from 46·38 per cent. to 54·28 per cent. in Pabna from 72·42 per cent. to 76·9 per cent. and in Bogra from 80·81 per cent. to 83·36 per cent. In Jalpaiguri there is a steady decrease from 35·85 per cent. in 1881 to 23·9 per cent. in 1931, and a similar decrease in the same years from 5·27 per cent. to 2·63 per cent. is shown by Darjeeling. A net decrease in the proportions

DIAGRAM No. XI-5.



is also shown from 78·42 per cent. to 75·79 per cent. in Rajshahi and from 52·55 per cent. to 50·51 per cent. in Dinajpur. In Rajshahi the decrease has been consistent, but in Dinajpur successive decreases up to 1911, when Muslims formed 48·84 of the population, have now been turned into increases to 49·07 per cent. in 1921 and 50·51 per cent. in 1931. In East Bengal the most striking increases in percentage are in Mymensingh from 66·79 per cent. in 1881 to 76·56 per cent. in 1931 and in Tippera from 66·33 per cent. to 75·78 per cent. and with the exception of Chittagong Hill Tracts in every district in Eastern Bengal the proportion of Muslims has steadily increased from 1881. In Sikkim their numbers are negligible and in Cooch Behar and Tripura State they form only 35·34 and 27·12 per cent. of the population respectively. In Cooch Behar their numbers are increasing for the same reason that sends Muslims from the predominantly Muslim district of

Mymensingh into Assam where they go to take up the land which they can no longer find in their own district to support their increasing numbers.

398. Ordinary tolerance of Muslims.—It is not likely that the increase in the numbers of Muslims is to any considerable extent due to proselytising or reconversion, and indeed the only conversions of which records appear to be published are from Islam to Hinduism or Christianity. In Bengal the Muslims do not appear to have any active missionary organisations and such associations as they have are social and political like the Majlis Mainul Musalmeen, founded in April 1926 under stress of acute communal feeling particularly in Calcutta, less for religious objects than for "economic, civic benevolent, political and patriotic" purposes. In the country districts of Bengal the Muslim is ordinarily tolerant enough unless communal consciousness has been excited either by the preaching of itinerant *maulvis* and *mullas*, or by some definite clash with practices on the part of other communities repugnant to their own religious feelings. In many parts of the country the Muslim peasant is indeed tolerant of Hindu practices and joins to some extent in Hindu worship. Muslims used to take a part in the famous Janmastami procession at Dacca and even at the present time instances are reported in other parts of the province of specific Hindu practices followed by the Muslims. The use of combined Muslim and Hindu names is not unusual in more than one part of Bengal. In Jessore it is reported that the Muslims revere the *tulsi* plant and *bel* tree and observe the festivals of Jamai Sashti and Bhratriditiya. In Bogra in some areas the Muslims observe the Hindu period of ceremonial uncleanness (*asauch*) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the head and beard; the women wear the vermilion mark of Hindu wives and the worship of Durga is frequent. It is even reported that there the *navanna* ceremony is universal and that Muslims from great distances travel to the shrine of Gopinath at Gopinathpur to offer fruit and milk and to bathe in a well for the cure of their ailments, whilst at Mahasthan Muslims as well as Hindus mark their iron safes with vermilion on the Dasara day and perform the Satyapir *puja* with offerings of *sinni*. In Jalpaiguri Muslims propitiate the goddess Buri by flinging offerings of rice or fruit (*naivedya*) into the stream. The Buri *puja* is also observed by Muslims in Rangpur particularly during a spell of continuous misfortune or on undertaking any litigation. In Pabna, Manasa or Bisahari is often worshipped by them and they contribute towards the Kali *puja* particularly in time of epidemics, whilst the worship of Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of the disease, calling themselves *kaviraj*, though Muslim, will admit to taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goddess. Practices such as the use of turmeric (*gaye halud*) at the marriage ceremony have also been borrowed from the Hindus. Inter-communal borrowing is not confined to the Muslims: the unsophisticated Hindu will render reverence to any manifestation of holiness without enquiring what religion it exemplifies, and *pirs* and *fakirs* or their memory receive veneration and offerings in many parts of Bengal. In Rangpur it is reported that Hindus will extend to elderly Muslims the gesture of touching the feet which is more an act of religious veneration than a punctilio of good manners. This approximation of practices is however discountenanced by the orthodox and efforts are made by preachers of both communities to purge away observances not consistent with strict communal bigotry: even during the census enumeration communal rioting occurred in Rangpur, one of the districts from which some of the instances here cited are drawn.

399. Sects of Muslims.—Bengal shows little variation in the sects professed by its Muslims. All except a very small minority are Sunnis and of the remainder, excepting a small number of the Ahmadiya persuasion in Calcutta, whose numbers in the recent census were not ascertained in the interest of economy, such as do not profess the Sunni faith may be taken generally to be Shias, who are found principally in the 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Midnapore and Burdwan and also in Murshidabad, Bakarganj, Hooghly and

Howrah. Some few were also returned, but in no case to the number of more than 50 in any district, in Khulna, Dacca, Malda, Rangpur, Birbhum and Nadia.

400. Hindus in Bengal and other parts of India.—The Hindus of Bengal number 22,212,069 and form only 9·02 per cent. of all Hindus in India including the Indian states. Their percentage to the total population of Bengal is nearly 25½ less than that borne by all Hindus to the population of India, British Territory and States. Against 43·48 per cent. in Bengal there are 68·24 per cent. in all India, 65·48 in British Territory and 57·20 in Assam, whilst the proportions are even higher in Madras (88·31), the Central Provinces and Berar (86·01), the United Provinces (84·5), Bihar and Orissa (82·31) and Bombay (76·05). They are as many as 85·33 per cent. of the population in Rajputana Agency, 84·35 per cent. in the Hyderabad State and 77·71 per cent. in the aggregate of all states and agencies. The other predominantly Muslim provinces have a very much smaller sprinkling of Hindus than Bengal. Thus the North-West Frontier Province with 91·84 per cent. Muslims has only 5·9 per cent. Hindus. Baluchistan with 87·44 per cent. Muslims has 8·94 per cent. Hindus and the Punjab with 56·54 per cent. Muslims has 26·84 per cent. Hindus.

401. Distribution of Hindus by divisions.—The Burdwan Division is the greatest strong-hold of Hinduism in Bengal. Hindus here form 82·85 per cent. of the total population having increased by more than ·78 per cent. from their proportion (82·07) in 1921 in which year they reached the end of a continuous decrease in percentage from 83·96 in 1881. In the Presidency Division they command 51·24 per cent. of the population which represents a small continuous increase from 49·83 per cent. in 1881 with the exception of a slight decrease between 1911 and 1921 from 50·47 to 51·41 per cent. In Rajshahi Division, Dacca Division and Chittagong Division their proportions are increasingly smaller. They form 34·89 per cent. of the Rajshahi Division, where after a continuous decline from 37·83 per cent. in 1881 to 33·71 per cent. in 1921 they have effected a small increase of over one per cent. during the last decade. In Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, however, their proportions have consistently declined from 35·85 to 28·55 per cent. in Dacca and from 28·49 to 22·65 per cent. in Chittagong.

402. Distribution of Hindus by districts.—The map shown together with that for Muslims in diagram No. XI-5 illustrates these figures in detail for districts. In Bankura, Hooghly and Midnapore Hindus form over 80 per cent. of the population; in Howrah, Burdwan and Darjeeling their proportions are between 70 and 80; in Birbhum, Calcutta, 24-Parganas, Jalpaiguri and the States of Cooch Behar and Tripura they form 60 to 70 per cent. of the population and in Khulna also they have just a clear majority over all other communities. In Bogra and Chittagong Hill Tracts they form between 16 and 18 per cent. and in all other districts their percentage is less than half of the total population. In West Bengal they have consistently declined in proportion from 80·49 per cent. in Burdwan to 78·62 per cent. and in Birbhum from 77·64 per cent. to 67·17 per cent. After decreasing in Bankura from 87·43 per cent. in 1881 to 86·32 per cent. in 1921 they have in the last decade increased their percentage to 90·99. Again in Midnapore a small decline between 1881 and 1891 followed by less than 0·25 per cent. increase between 1891 and 1901 has been turned into a very small increase from 87·81 per cent. in 1911 to 88·2 in 1921 and to 89·06 per cent. in 1931. In Hooghly the percentage has varied from 80·53 in 1881 to 82·93 in 1931. In Howrah a small decrease from 80·09 per cent. in 1881 to 78·67 per cent. in 1911 has been turned as in Midnapore into an increase during the last two decades to 79·28 per cent. in 1921 and 78·3 per cent. in 1931. In the Presidency Division there are decreases in the proportion in Nadia which shows a continuous decline from 43·88 per cent. to 37·53 per cent., in Murshidabad where there has been a corresponding decrease from 51·74 to 43·01 per cent. and in

Jessore where the percentage has alternately shown decrease and increase in successive decades beginning with a decrease from 39·62 in 1881 to 39·05 in 1891 and where the proportion now is 37·95 per cent. compared with 38·11 per cent. in 1921. Decreases in these districts have been more than made good by the almost continuous increase from 62·02 per cent. to 64·2 in the 24 Parganas broken only by a slight decline in the ratio between 1901 and 1911, in Calcutta from 62·60 to 68·71 per cent. beginning with a decrease to 65·17 in 1891 and 65·05 in 1901, but thereafter continuously increasing, and in Khulna where the increase has been regular from 48·49 per cent. in 1881 to 50·22 per cent. in 1931. In the Rajshahi Division there has been a continuous decrease in the proportions in Rangpur from 38·92 in 1881 to 31·55 in 1921 and 28·77 in 1931, in Bogra from 19·18 in 1881 to 16·64 in 1921 and 16·35 in 1931 and in Pabna from 27·56 in 1881 to 24·06 in 1921 and 22·99 in 1931. In Rajshahi after fluctuating between 21½ and 22¼ the percentage has increased from 21·37 in 1921 to 22·81 per cent. in 1931. Similarly in Dinajpur an increase from 47·32 per cent. in 1881 to 47·59 per cent. in 1891 had been reduced to 44·09 in 1921 which has now risen to 45·22 per cent. In Jalpaiguri the increase was continued for three decades from 63·26 per cent. in 1881 to 65·98 per cent. in 1891 and 67·90 in 1901. Two decades of decline followed but in the last decade the proportion has again risen from 55·02 per cent. in 1921 to 67·53 per cent. in 1931. In Darjeeling the decline lasted for yet another decade and the proportion was reduced from 81·71 per cent. in 1881 to 71·2 per cent. in 1921, but has since risen to 74·12 per cent. Similarly in Malda after four decades of gradual decline from 53·37 per cent. in 1881 to 40·63 per cent. in 1921 the proportions have been increased to 42·17 in 1931. In Dacca and Chittagong Divisions except the Chittagong Hill Tracts apart from the increase of 9 per thousand in Chittagong between 1891 and 1901 the proportions have consistently declined in every district. They are no more than 35·86 in Faridpur against 40·08 per cent. in 1881 and 36·25 per cent. in 1921, and are as little as 21·47 per cent. in Noakhali against 25·77 per cent. in 1881 and 22·35 per cent. in 1921. The most notable decreases have been nearly 10 per cent. from 32·35 in 1881 to 22·89 in 1931 in Mymensingh, and in Dacca and Tippera from 40·48 and 33·63 respectively in 1881 to 32·77 and 24·14 in 1931. In all these districts the decrease in the numbers per hundred during the last decade has varied within comparatively narrow limits from about ½ to 1½. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts there has similarly been a decline during the last decade of about one from 18·21 to 17·27 per cent. In Sikkim the percentage of Hindus has declined by almost exactly the same figure (24·5) as appears for the first time in the census records under tribal religions for that state; and in Cooch Behar there has been a continuous decline in proportions from 70·94 in 1881 to 64·32 at the present census. In the Tripura State on the other hand a proportion of 10·22 in 1881 had been raised by 1911 to 68·86 per cent. and the decline between that year and 1921 when the figure was 68·22 has been partly recovered in the present year when the figure is 68·4 per cent. In the Tripura State it is to be observed that all religious communities show an increased percentage of the population with the exception of those following tribal religions.

403. Sects of Hindus, difficulties encountered.—The attempt to take a return of sects of Hindus was an innovation at the present census and in Bengal was attended with very considerable difficulty. In previous years attention had been concentrated on obtaining the sects of Christians; and in Bengal the Hindu is extremely tolerant of every form of sectarian worship. The difficulties likely to be encountered were anticipated before the enumeration and the instructions circulated to district census officers contained a provision illustrating the main Hindu sects and attempting to deal with the difficult question of eliciting his sect from a person who was or professed himself unable to give it. The instructions are reproduced below :—

“The Main Hindu sects for census purpose are *Sakta*, *Saiva* and *Vaishnava*; adherents of the *Ganapatya* and *Saura* sects may also be found. An attempt should be made to ascertain

what is the sect of the persons enumerated; in the case of those who have taken *mantras* there should be no difficulty, failing that the family deity may offer a clue to the sect, or the person enumerated may have a preference for the worship of some particular deity: the unqualified entry 'Hindu' should be made only in the case of those whose belief or practice is so indeterminate that no sect can be entered for them."

It is of course only a comparatively small proportion of the Hindu population in Bengal which receives the initiation ceremonies and the occasion is often postponed till comparatively late in life when the feeling arises that it is time to think less of worldly things and more of religion. Even in the case of those who are initiated, though the essential formula of the initiation contains the name of one god and one god only and determines the sect of the *dikshita*, sectarian differences are of so little importance that it is difficult for the individual to remember, if he ever heard aright, the name which the *guru* gave him or the sect of the *guru* himself and it is quite possible that it may never occur to him to find out what it is. It proved that very little help was forthcoming from the private places of worship maintained in many Hindu houses. In some cases deities characteristic of more than one sect have shrines in the same household and receive equal honour, whilst the existence of a family idol does not generally preclude any member of the family from paying equal devotions to the gods of another sect. Apart from the difficulty of discovering a word in Bengali which should convey the meaning of the English word "sect" in the absence of any clearly defined term in general popular use, the majority of Hindus, even when the intention of the question was made clear to them, were unable to give a definite answer to it. Ingenious supervisors and enumerators suggested such criteria as eating or abstaining from meat and fish on the assumption that a man might be taken as a Sakta who ate flesh and as a Vaishnava if he abstained particularly if he ate also no fish. But this criterion brought them up against persons, who, whilst professing Vaishnavism, admitted the eating of flesh: and beyond the criteria at first suggested no other of any assistance were devised. Even an appeal to personal preference generally yielded no result, since the individual questioned professed an equal devotion to all the gods of the Hindu pantheon known to him and ordinarily worshipped in Bengal, and Hindus in the province are not ordinarily kept to the pitch of sectarian bigotry by exclusively sectarian priests. As a result the return of Hindu sects is extremely unsatisfactory and incomplete. Out of a total of no more than 22,212,069 Hindus of all shades of opinion no less than 69 per cent. or 15,327,826 persons distributed more or less proportionately between the sexes were unable or unwilling to return their sect. The classification, therefore, adopted in imperial table XVI, columns 11 to 28, is necessarily unsatisfactory. The main division attempted is between Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic sects, but amongst the very great majority of Hindus who failed to return their sect there is no reason to doubt that most profess, or would prefer to be included amongst, sects classified as Brahmanic in the table.

404. Brahmanic sects returned.—Amongst the sect returns actually obtained the proportions are very much what would have been expected. The principal sects in Bengal are undoubtedly the *Vaishnava* and *Sakta* sects in that order, and against 3,565,787 persons returned as Vaishnavas there were 3,276,720 returned as Saktas, a proportion which on general grounds appears to be very tolerably accurate. Only 38,169 persons returned themselves as Saivas and all other Brahmanic sects together amounted only to 1,201 including 382 persons (certainly Madrasis) returned in Midnapore as Adi-Dravidas, 730 persons returned as Sanatanists principally in Burdwan (652) but in small numbers also in Midnapore, Rangpur and Hooghly, 82 persons returned in Khulna under the Satya Dharma sect and 7 persons, 6 in Burdwan and 1 in Jessore, returned as Saura.

405. Non-Brahmanic sects returned.—The return of non-Brahmanic sects is also disappointing. Only 2,366 persons in Bengal and 77 in Sikkim

definitely label themselves under non-Brahmanic sects. In Bengal the total is composed of Brahmos (2,165) and Aryas (201) and in Sikkim they are all Kabirpanthis. Brahmos thus returned number in Calcutta 1,554 and in Mymensingh 306, but although schisms within the sect may have accounted for a number of defections, it is not unlikely that a number of persons who would ordinarily describe themselves as belonging to the Brahma Samaj preferred to return themselves as Hindus only. It is of course possible that political considerations may have contributed to the incompleteness of returns of sect by Brahmos. An apprehension was felt or professed that the separate return of Brahmos and Aryas would lead to their exclusion from the total figure of Hindus and to a consequent weakening in the numerical strength of the community when such questions as communal representation came up for discussion. During the enumeration explanations were circulated expressly stating that Brahmos and Aryas would be included amongst the total for Hindus: but communal solidarity may have induced some Brahmos to conceal their sect in the census returns. The decrease in the number of Brahmos from 3,284 in 1921 to 2,165 in 1931 should therefore be accepted with caution as representing the relative extent to which beliefs characteristic of the Brahma Samaj were current at each end of the last decade. On the other hand the Arya Samaj shows an increase of over 107 per cent. on its numbers of 1921, viz., from 97 to 201.

406. Reasons for sectarian tolerance.—It might have been expected that Bengal as the "land of heresies" would display a well-regulated sectarian system, but whilst Buddhism and Jainism have practically lost all influence in Vanga where they originated, it is significant that the latest considerable development of the Hindu religion which has originated in Bengal, the Vaishnava sect initiated by Sri Chaitanya, began as a revolt against distinctions of religion, sect and caste and has itself probably contributed to the blurring of sectarian differences in the province.

407. Proselytising activities in Bengal Hinduism.—The last decade has witnessed the institution of missionary activities amongst the Hindus of Bengal in the foundation in 1925 of a Hindu Mission putting forth as its professed aim (1) to preach and propagate the Hindu religion and culture; (2) to reform and readjust orthodox Hindu society in the light of Hindu ideals; (3) to reclaim all those who or whose ancestors once wandered away from the parent faith of Hinduism; and (4) to unite the followers of all creeds and doctrines of Indian and non-Indian origin into one great religious brotherhood, "spiritualising them with the sole enfranchising ideals of Sanatan Dharma". The mission adopts as its definition of "Hindu" a very much wider expression than is commonly accepted in scientific or general use, viz.,

"all persons who follow a religion or doctrine which had its origin in India or in good faith call themselves Hindus and generally follow or try to follow the fundamental principles, usages and customs of the Hindus as enjoined in the Hindu scriptures."

Such a definition of "Hindu" abolishes as separate religions not only reforming and unorthodox sects of Hinduism such as the Arya and Brahma Samajists, Vaishnavas, Kabir Panthis, etc., but also Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism, and although it does not seem to have occurred to the mission, it would presumably be claimed that the Zoroastrians are also to be included as Hindus since their faith in its origin derives from elements similar to those which contributed the Aryan portions of the Hindu faith. In Bengal the principal contention of the mission arising out of its definition of "Hindu" is that members of primitive tribes are Hindus whether or not they conform to Hindu belief and practice, and considerable effort was expended by the mission and its workers in order to secure the return of primitive peoples as Hindus. A number of printed pamphlets were issued during the course of enumeration and a reproduction of one of these together with a free translation in English is given on the next page.

লোক গণনা ও বাংলার হিন্দু-সমাজ ।

Census and Hindu Society in Bengal.

বাংলা, আসাম ও বিহার অঞ্চলে লক্ষ লক্ষ শাঁওতাল, গারো, ডাঙ্গ, বানাই, খাসিয়া, ওড়ঙ্গ, মুন্ডা, মিকির, মিরি, মিসুনি, বুসাই, কুকী, লালু, কাছাড়ী, বাভ, মেচ প্রভৃতি নবানারী রামায়ণ-মহাভারতের যুগ হইতে বসবাস করিতেছে। হিন্দুস্থানের উপবাক্ত অধিবাসিগণ সকলেই মূলতঃ হিন্দু। গত ১৯২১ সালের লোক গণনার সময় ইহাদিগের অধিকাংশকেই “হিন্দু” না লিখিয়া অজ্ঞাপাসক (Animist) লেখা হইয়াছে। ইহাদ্বারা এই সকল সরল ও ধার্মিক ভ্রাতা-ভগ্নিদেব প্রতি অনায করা হইয়াছে।

আমরা আশা করি আগামী ১৯৩১ ইং জাহ্নবী মাসে লোক গণনার সম্বন্ধ উপবাক্ত হিন্দু নবানারীগণ গত লোক গণনার ঐ ভুল সংশোধন করিয়া লইবেন। তাহারা ধর্ম “হিন্দু”, জাতিতে “কৃত্রিম” এবং তাহাদের বংশোদ্ভূতি “সিংহ” অথবা “রায়” লেখাইবেন। বাহাতে এই উপদেশ সর্বত্র সমানভাবে প্রতিপালিত হয় তজ্জন্য বিশেষভাবে প্রচাৰ কার্য চলাইতে হইবে।

হিন্দু মিশনের প্রত্যেক সভ্য, পৃষ্ঠপোষক, ভক্ত, শিষ্য, সেবক যে যেখানে আছেন—কাল বিলম্ব না করিয়া চতুর্দিকের প্রতিবেশী হিন্দুদিগের মধ্যে এই বিষয়ে প্রচারে প্রযত্ন হউন।

এই বিরাট বিস্তৃত কার্যের সকলতার জন্য হিন্দু মাত্রেই আন্তরিক সাহায্য ও সহায়িত্ব প্রয়োজন।

৬ই আশ্বিন—১৩৩৭।

From the days of the Ramayan and the Mahabharat there have been living in Bengal, Bihar and Assam thousands of Santhals, Garos, Dalus, Banais, Khasias, Oraons, Mundas, Mikurs, Miris, Lushais, Kukis, Lalungs, Kacharis, Rabhas and Meches. These inhabitants of Hindustan are fundamentally Hindus. In the census of 1921 they were returned as Animist instead of as Hindus. By this a wrong has been done to our simple religious brothers and sisters.

We hope that during the forthcoming enumeration in January 1931 the above Hindus, men and women, will rectify the mistakes made at the previous census. They should record “Hindu” as their religion, “Kshatriya” as their caste and “Sinha” or “Ray” as their family name. Special propaganda should be undertaken to see that these instructions are carried out uniformly in all places.

Each member, supporter, devotee and disciple of the Hindu Mission wherever he may be should devote himself to giving this matter publicity amongst all his Hindu neighbours.

The sympathy and help of every Hindu is required for the success of this enormously extended undertaking.

Dated, the 6th Aswin 1337.

408. **Interference of the Indian Tea Planters' Association.**—It is no doubt the prominence in discussions relative to impending constitutional changes of the numbers and constitution of the Hindus in this province which led the Indian Tea Planters' Association also to contend that Oraons, Mundas and Santals, many of whom are employed in tea gardens, were incorrectly returned as “animists” at the last census and should have been included amongst “Hindus” and this body actually exhorted its members, upon whom a considerable part of the labour of organising the census devolved, to instruct their enumerators to record the labour population as Hindus, alleging that

“it is an open fact that the coolies of Oraon, Munda, Santal and other tribes follow a Hindu faith and other Hindu rites”.

409. **Suddhi and Sangathan.**—The claim that the primitive peoples in India are really Hindus who have lost sight of their religion conditions the description adopted for the two aspects of the work on non-political lines done by the Hindu Mission. It makes the term conversion strictly inapplicable to the ceremonial inclusion within the Hindu fold of any person of Indian origin; and that branch of the mission's activities which is directed to the conversion of Muslim and primitive tribals is known as “suddhi” or purification, a word intended to indicate that their reception into orthodox Hinduism merely involves a cleansing away of objectionable practices and by inference the least possible interference with accepted tribal belief. The other main non-political activity of the mission is directed to “sangathan” the unification or integration of Hindu society by such reforms as the abolition of untouchability, remarriage of widows, the encouragement of inter-caste and international marriages, the spread of female education and the encouragement of such festivals (*pujas, utsavas* and *kirtans*) as may be participated in by all classes of the Hindu community. The reports of the mission recount from time to time the numbers of conversions made amongst primitive tribes,

Indian Christians and Bengali Muslims, and the cases in which "*sarvajanin mahotsavas*" or "*Durga utsavas*" have been celebrated with a view to consolidating the Hindu community. The accounts of conversions are perhaps somewhat optimistic, but the figures for tribal religion show a pronounced decline since 1921, although a comparison with the total figures of selected groups of primitive peoples shows a marked increase during the last decade, and it is therefore clear that there has been a considerable access to the Hindu community of persons who by birth belong to the primitive tribes.

410. **Hindu public opinion on certain social questions.**—An attempt was made during the course of census operations to elicit the views of educated Bengalis upon the present state of Hindu public opinion regarding a number of social questions affecting Hindus. The questions circulated are given in an appendix to this chapter which also contains extracts from two of the answers received. The questionnaire was sent in the first place to members of the provincial services, and in a few instances to other persons who were expected to be interested in the questions dealt with. More than one thousand letters were issued and replies were received from well over one-third of the persons addressed. Some of the replies showed that the letters had been misdirected to persons who were not Hindus and three returns were obtained from persons born outside Bengal whose replies were consequently set aside. After eliminating these items 382 letters remained. They were first divided according to caste into Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas, Namasudras and other castes : and Brahmans who formed the majority of the correspondents were again subdivided according as they came from West Bengal, North Bengal,

East Bengal or Central Bengal. An attempt was then made to introduce a further division in the replies according as the correspondent described himself as orthodox or unorthodox in belief and practice. This distribution yielded the figures shown in the margin.

	Total	Orthodox.	Unorthodox
ALL CASTES ..	382	116	266
Brahmans	155	72	86
West Bengal	25	10	15
North Bengal	11	2	11
East Bengal	32	24	28
Central Bengal	3	36	2
Baidyas	54	13	41
Kayasthas	120	21	99
Namasudras	13	2	10
Other castes	38	5	30

411. **Growth of latitudinarian practice.**—Reference will be made elsewhere to the replies received in answer to question No. 4 of the circular touching the essential beliefs or practices considered to distinguish the caste. It is doubtful to what extent the replies received actually represent proportionately the incidence of public opinion amongst the educated classes. Probably very few persons who receive an English education would be able to describe themselves as being strictly and unyieldingly orthodox in both belief and practice. The replies received indicated very clearly that there has been a very great change of public opinion during recent years and the spread of latitudinarian beliefs was recognised by almost all correspondents. Very few approached the attitude of one correspondent of the Aguri caste who, with a generous admixture of metaphors, referring to the "revolution" recently brought about in public opinion in the direction of a more liberal outlook described it as

'sentimentality kicking feverishly at every pillar of society and trying ineffectively to bring them down : happily this flood did not muddle the current of my caste people.'

There is scarcely any field of Hindu life which has not been modified by recent movements. The spread of education and economic conditions have driven increasing numbers of families to towns where a much greater laxness of observance is permitted than in the villages, and one correspondent noted the significant fact that even in Calcutta itself those who had taken up a residence there some generations ago were more conservative and orthodox in their opinions than other members of the same caste whose migration to the same city was of more recent date. Increasing contact with other countries and the increasing extent to which young men educated abroad on returning home are unable to resume their social life on exactly the same terms as before have also contributed to the adoption of a more tolerant and less rigid attitude in regard

to religious or caste observances. Even the most conservative and orthodox have not been unaffected by these changes and as one correspondent pertinently observes

"the significant point is that society as such will not actually *sanction* a change, though it is getting more and more inclined to *tolerate* it".

Many correspondents found themselves embarrassed by a request to describe themselves in one or other of the clear cut categories and the division into orthodox and unorthodox, therefore, does not represent any sharp distinction in the views held by persons allocated to each class.

412. No marked divergence of views characteristic of castes.—Similarly the division into castes does not yield a very clearly marked divergence of opinion as between one caste and another. The Brahmans (at least of the higher classes), the Baidyas and the Kayasthas are exactly upon the same level of intellectual attainment and are accustomed to the same degree of culture and refinement in their social life and they form between them all but a negligible proportion of the answers received. Even of the remainder, amounting to no more than 50 out of 382, all were persons of education who were prepared to give to the social questions raised a degree of thoughtful attention probably not given to them by the majority of their caste men. Finally two points are to be noticed. One is that all the correspondents had received an English education and that there was therefore amongst them no representative of those whose education has been entirely upon Sanskrit lines and who may be very learned indeed but are generally very much less liberal or progressive in their views of what is good for society. The second point is that all the correspondents were men and that their opinions therefore do not directly represent the body of opinion amongst their women-folk which on the whole is very much less progressive than their own.

413. Relaxation of caste restrictions.—Powerful agencies are at work for the relaxation of caste restrictions in general, and it may be said that probably the ablest as well as the most vocal agitation is progressive rather than reactionary. Bodies like the Hindu Mission and the Hindu Sabha are professedly committed to the removal of untouchability and to inter-marriage between castes or even between races. Generally speaking orthodox correspondents were opposed to any relaxation of caste restrictions and were in favour of maintaining the doctrine of untouchability, although on this point some liberal influences were detected in the replies received. Instances cited of inter-marriage between castes were rare and in most cases it was not stated whether the violation of social custom had involved suffering and unhappiness to the parties concerned irrespective of the degree to which they were denied recognition by their own societies as a result. In many cases where inter-marriage does take place the parties find it most convenient to adopt themselves into one of the schismatic or reforming sects such as the Brahmo Samaj. In other cases their personality or position in local society is strong enough to live down social disapprobation and after the lapse of time, perhaps in a second or third generation, to resume their place in society. One correspondent pointed out that the generally felt disapprobation for inter-caste marriages applied not only to marriages *pratiloma* but also to the *anuloma* type regarding which very little, if any, disapprobation was expressed in the Shastras. It is probably inevitable that so long as Hindu society remains upon any organisation similar to that now existing, the practical inconveniences and disadvantages arising from the uncertain position in either caste of parties to a marriage between two castes will prevent any widespread toleration of the practice except in those cases where it is customary as for instances in some parts of Eastern Bengal between Baidyas and Kayasthas.

414. Views regarding touch and food tabus.—On the other hand correspondents of every degree of orthodoxy showed a much greater liberality of outlook as regards pollution by contact, eating of prohibited foods and

inter-dining with other castes. Only the most violent reactionaries declared that they felt polluted by contact with "unclean" persons and that they would not on any account dine with members of "unclean" castes. Commonsense and convenience combine to prevent the Hindu from accepting the necessity of bathing and changing his clothes every time he happens to touch a person whose contact conveys ceremonial pollution. Most higher caste Hindus no longer consider themselves polluted by contact with "unclean" castes irrespective of personal cleanliness; the feeling depends upon the occupation and the personal habits and cleanliness of the individual of the lower caste concerned. Even orthodox correspondents subscribed to the statement that pollution by contact as well as untouchability is at present non-existent: but on the other hand the most liberal were also prepared to admit that an important factor was the situation in which the contact took place. At any religious ceremony pollution by contact would be certainly felt and would invalidate the ceremony performed. But the Hindu accepts with resignation the conditions of modern life which throw him in buses or trams or trains into close contact with people whose caste he certainly makes no effort to ascertain but can very reasonably deduce from their appearance. A similar distinction is made in regard to the eating of prohibited foods or foods prepared by improper persons and to inter-dining with other castes. With regard to diet indeed a considerable amount of hypocrisy is acknowledged to exist and although probably no Hindu of any shade of thought would knowingly eat beef or ham, even the orthodox connive at the eating of other prohibited foods, provided that those who indulge in such practices do not make a parade of it and, if necessary, do it clandestinely. Most correspondents even amongst the Brahmans declared that what they principally looked to was not the caste or status of the person preparing the food but his personal cleanliness and the cleanliness of the vessels in which it was cooked and served and there were comparatively few who declared that they would in no circumstances dine with other inferior castes. Even here, however, the progressive section recognise a certain social propriety which excludes members of lower castes from feasts on ceremonial occasions.

415. **Prayaschitta.**—As regards the necessity of performing *prayaschitta* for breaking caste the very widest tolerance was expressed even by orthodox persons. It was categorically stated by many correspondents that the necessity of performing any ceremony in these circumstances was a thing of the past. Instances were indeed cited in which the performance of *prayaschitta* had been demanded by the caste and had been performed by persons who had proceeded to England; one instance was given of a man who had lost caste by going to the war and was not received back into society even though he performed the expiatory ceremony; whilst other instances were given in which refusal to perform it had led to social ostracism or outcasting; but in these latter cases the persons concerned generally found in the course of time that some section of their society was prepared to receive them. When such a question as this arises the tendency is for feeling to be divided and for two groups to show themselves in the society concerned which are respectively in favour of and against pressing a demand for the performance of *prayaschitta*. One instance was cited in which such a split had actually led to the displacing on the local caste society of the elder and more conservative members of the caste in favour of younger men with liberal and progressive views. Such instances however as were cited were almost invariably given from the early youth of the writer, and there can be no doubt whatever that it is only in very rare instances that the performance of this ceremony is demanded from persons who have journeyed overseas to Europe, America, Japan and other countries. Where *prayaschitta* is demanded, its performance is often desired only, as one correspondent expressed it, "to bring down the pride of Europe-returned persons"; and another orthodox Brahman of Central Bengal stated that "for going to Europe a show of respect towards superiors and a propitiatory feast sufficed." Its performance is often, as another orthodox Brahman stated, "a mere formality" and is interpreted as indicating that the person returned from abroad has not as it were "gone native" in the country overseas but has remained a good Hindu whose allegiance to the social customs of

his group is still acknowledged. It is clear that at present only in every rare circumstances would even the most conservative persons in the more educated groups insist upon the performance of this ceremony, unless the demeanour of the returned member was such as to offer violent affront to the susceptibilities of his castemen.

416. The "pan" system.—On some social questions opinion is unanimous amongst both the orthodox and the unorthodox. These correspondents who supported the *pan* system were very few indeed, though one correspondent characterised it as neither harmful nor objectionable. Under this system the unfortunate father of daughters to whom it would be disgrace either to leave them unmarried or to marry them into a group socially lower than his own is unable to marry them in his own or a higher group without being subjected to very heavy exactions. The family of the bridegroom demands the payment of a certain sum of money before it will consent to the alliance. If this money were settled upon the girl either as her own property or as "nest-egg" for the newly married couple, though the custom would still probably cause economic hardship, it would presumably be regarded with less distaste. As it is, however, the money does not even go to the bridegroom but is appropriated by his family. It is to some extent astonishing that a practice universally condemned should be almost universally prevalent. It was apparently not known 40 or 60 years ago and the rather indefinite explanation of its origination in "economic conditions" does not seem either to be clear or to account for the ascendancy it has established over the higher castes. On the other hand no father of daughters for whom he will be compelled to pay *pan* if he wishes to get them married, can afford to renounce the contribution exacted from the families in which he seeks wives for his sons; and the habit has established itself so strongly that in some groups, for instance amongst the Baidyas, although the question of contributing is never specifically raised, it is an understood thing that the bride's father shall contribute the amount considered to be appropriate for the occasion and he can be relied upon to do this because failure would be taken as due to inability to meet the expense and he would lose social position thereby. Two circumstances appear likely to contribute in reducing the preference of the practice. One is the fact that young men are now-a-days tending to put off marriage until they have completed their education and feel that they are in a position to support a wife. This is an inevitable consequence of the decay of the joint family system to which some reference will be made later. A second factor is the gradual rise in the age at which girls are married. In both the Kayastha and the Baidya castes it is becoming not unusual for girls to remain unmarried until they are 18 or 20 years old. Some of them have pursued their education to the graduate stage. All of them as the age of marriage is increased resent more and more a system which virtually amounts to their families having to buy them husbands. In their protests against the system they are also joined by young men of their caste amongst whom there is growing a tendency to take a wife of their own choosing on the basis of mutual attraction rather than to be provided for by their families in what their elders consider to be the interest of the family.

417. Purdah.—As regards *purdah* also there were comparatively few correspondents prepared to stand out for its rigorous perpetuation. Here, however, there is a strong feeling particularly amongst the old-fashioned or orthodox that it is possible to go too far in relaxation. It is generally stated that *purdah* exists only in a very restricted form both in villages where all the inhabitants are known to one another and also in towns where there is greater freedom of movement. Many thoughtful persons are entirely averse from any such free association of the sexes as is characteristic of Western countries and consider that it would for many years to come lead to abuses of a serious nature. Comradeship between the sexes is foreign to Indian tradition, and is not recommended to the Indian mind by those of its aspects in Europe and especially America which receive the widest advertisement.

418. The Hindu attitude to child-marriage.—It is again only the very orthodox and reactionary amongst the educated of all castes who are in favour

of child-marriage, but the term is understood both by orthodox and unorthodox correspondents alike in a very different sense from that which it bears in the West. Kayasthas, Baidyas and some groups of Brahmans assert that child-marriage for many years has not been in vogue amongst them, but in illustration they generally quote the fact that girls are rarely married before the age of 14 or 16. On the other hand amongst the Baidyas particularly there is no doubt that, as is shown in chapter VI, a very large number of the girls are not married until 18 or 20. The tendency amongst young men to postpone their marriage until after they have begun to earn themselves and in some cases until they are in a position to maintain a separate family also naturally tends against child-marriage, since a young man of 25 to 30 who has received the best education which Bengal can give him will probably desire in his wife an intellectual companion more nearly of an age with himself than a young child of ten or eleven years, particularly if he contemplates, as he very often does, establishing his own household in pursuit of his profession at a distance from the rest of the family. Amongst many sections no doubt the recent Child-marriage Restraint Act is tacitly ignored, but the fact that it has continued to be in existence for well over a year without any considerable body of protest indicates that the measure was not premature.

419. Attitude to the education of women.—All sections of Hindu community are in favour of increased education for girls and evidence of this will be found in chapter IX *infra* in the figures for literacy recorded at the present census. The most orthodox, however, in some cases are against sending girls to school and a large number consider that their education should not be continued after their marriage. They would prefer, if possible, that education should be given in the home and that in any case married girls should not be sent to school. Nearly all sections of the community agree that some modification of the curriculum is desirable for girls. They would welcome a course of education which was specifically directed towards their household duties in later life. "Generally," writes one correspondent,

"there should be female education feminine in character so that females may fit themselves efficiently in the household as good mothers, loving sisters and daughters and faithful wives. They should be given general education comprising sewing, cooking, music and other fine arts such as painting, etc. No use wasting time in teaching algebra, higher mathematics, etc."

The raising of the age of marriage and the *pan* system itself have been to some extent responsible for the increased enthusiasm in female education. The marriage price of a bridegroom varies amongst the higher classes according to his university degree or rather according to the discrepancy between his standard of education and that of his bride; and this has made it a sound investment for parents and guardians to have their girls educated as far as their means and time will allow. The statutory raising of the age of marriage has left daughters longer on the hands of their parents and it has made it necessary for them to find some means of keeping them employed and out of mischief.

420. Attitude towards the participation of women in public life.—Opinion is however universally more conservative as regards the adoption of professional careers by women and their increased participation in public life, for instance as members of public bodies. The extent to which they are actually doing this has been noted elsewhere. It is very widely held by both liberal and conservative Hindus that women cannot hope to adopt professional careers and take part in public life without a sacrifice of the sweetness and sanctity of home life. Many of them feel that, in the absence of a tradition behind them, women engaging in public life will find themselves subjected to temptations which they have had no preparation to resist. The adoption of professional work is also felt to be liable to enhance the present existing and increasing unemployment amongst educated young men. Amongst the correspondents who replied to enquiries only a comparatively small number, taken almost exclusively from the Baidya and Kayastha castes, declared unreservedly in favour of women appearing in the professions and in public life. A very large majority of thinking Hindus would welcome

the adoption of careers by widows as a means of ensuring their own independence, but the great majority of them would prefer to see them employed only in teaching medicine and social work amongst their own sex and many would prefer that they should not take even to these professions until comparatively late in life. Probably the feelings of the great majority even of progressive Hindus are represented by the following extract :—

“ We feel that woman's proper place is in the home and that she is unsuited by reason of her sex, temperament and physical structure to plunge into the rough and tumble of public life. We feel that there is want in the country of women teachers, women doctors and women nurses and to a limited extent we are prepared to admit a certain number of widows of mature age to take to such professions for the benefit of womenkind in general but their numbers must be limited. But we are opposed to a general participation by women in professional careers or in public affairs ”

On the other hand in Bengal no less than elsewhere *factum valet* and after the part taken by women in civil disobedience and non-co-operation movements reactionary opposition to their taking a greater part in public life is bound to subside sooner or later. Hindu opinion was profoundly shocked when young girls came forward publicly as assassins, but society will now evidently have to accommodate itself to a situation in which women take an increasing part in public life particularly when compulsory widowhood denies them a full outlet for their activities in home life. Even although orthodox Brahman correspondents describe it as “ humiliating,” “ positively harmful ” and “ absolutely ungodly ” and a large number look upon those women who are prominent in public affairs as actuated by a discreditable desire for self-advertisement, the women who have tasted a new freedom are unlikely to content themselves with its withdrawal and society will have to adjust itself to the changed conditions. It is safe to predict that if a further review is taken at the end of the next decade it will be found that under the stimulus of enfranchisement and representation on the legislative bodies women are then taking a very much larger part in public life than could ever be imagined ten years ago.

421. The joint family.—The joint family system was one of the most characteristic institutions of Hindu life but the opinions received were unanimous that certainly in the higher castes it has now begun to break up. In the lower castes and amongst purely agricultural families it remains firmly established. Those, however, who follow the learned professions or adopt clerical occupations are driven aside in search of work and there set up their own establishments. They find it difficult to pool their earnings and the spread of Western individualism makes it irksome for them to remit all that they can save from their own expenses as a contribution to the joint family. In educated circles the joint family is tending to split up into a number of groups which perhaps contribute towards the maintenance of the parent family where it is necessary, and meet on ceremonial or stated occasions to keep up the solidarity of the family without actually remaining in it all the time. The system had many advantages. The joint family when it was bound together by unquestioned loyalty to its head was an admirable substitute for universal insurance : it provided for every member and even secured for those whose abilities were mediocre the certainty of ungrudging maintenance. The position of the Hindu widow has often been painted in the most pitiable colours but in the best type of joint family her practice of the austerity, self-denial, self-sacrifice and service to others which characterise the ideal type of widow invested her with the greatest respect and, if she happened to be the mother of children, her position was of very great honour indeed. Temperament and family tradition of course were largely responsible for the treatment meted out to unproductive members of the family and to those who had the misfortune to be bereaved but the present disintegrative forces are generally recognised as being bound to lead to some deterioration in the position both of the non-earning members of the family and of its widows. The member of a family who has broken away and set up for himself in his profession at a distance earning his living by his own labour and finding a more immediate interest close at hand, resents anything like the necessity for maintaining idle members of his family and is at the same time unable to

regard the incompetent with the same tolerance as they enjoyed before. The widow of such a person, if she is unprovided for, cannot count on the same consideration from her husband's relatives as she might have had if he had been joint with them. It is inevitable that she should attach herself to some relative of her husband's family or to her own family and in neither position is her lot likely to be at all a happy one. Many correspondents commented upon the fact that the presence of a widow in a family was always welcomed because she would cheerfully undertake the drudgery of the family whilst the extreme self-denial expected of a Hindu widow makes her support very little of a burden. But where she is unprovided for and has children there are bound to be heart-burnings on account of differences in the treatment which her children and those of her husband's relatives receive and one correspondent shrewdly remarked that in general the unfortunate widow is treated with more consideration by men than women. It might have been expected that the break up of the joint family and the increasing irksomeness of a widow's life when the joint family has been disintegrated would stimulate the cause of female education, would lead to more widows adopting some means of livelihood and would encourage society to look with more favour upon widow remarriage as a way of providing for them. In many cases indeed it is reported that widows earn something to give them an independence by teaching or tutoring and by sewing and embroidering clothes, but one correspondent noted that contrary to expectation the break up of the joint family system and the increasing hardness of widow's conditions are not leading to any increase in widow remarriage.

422. Opinion regarding widow remarriage.—On this question of widow remarriage also there is considerable divergence of opinion. To the Hindu the relation of husband and wife is sacramental rather than contractual and once it has been established it cannot be severed even upon death except by a desecration. Every Hindu in his heart probably considers that the Hindu widow is capable of realising the finest ideal of womanhood by ascetic self-denial, devotion to her husband's memory, and the self-sacrifice with which she consecrates herself to the service of the remaining members of her husband's family; and there are many, particularly amongst the orthodox, to whom any sacrifice of this ideal appears profoundly repugnant. They would prefer that the ideal should still be attempted even if it involves, as it does in many cases, suffering and almost unbearable nervous and psychological strain upon the widows. There is, however, a large body of progressive thinkers who, finding no shastric injunction in favour of perpetual widowhood, are prepared to favour and even to encourage remarriage of widows. The Hindu Sabha advocates this but with a certain complacent patronage puts it forward as being specially appropriate for the lower castes upon the ground, for which there is apparently very little justification in fact, that they are dying out owing to their failure to find unmarried girls as brides. Correspondents who replied to the questionnaire gave numerous instances of widow remarriages. In all cases they were viewed with displeasure by some portion of the caste, though in many the parties concerned were able to overcome opposition or at least to secure a considerable body of partisans in their support. There are definite organisations for the encouragement of widow remarriage, and since 1927 instances have been reported in Pabna, Mymensingh, Tippera, Dacca, Jessore, Nadia, Chittagong, Malda, Bakarganj, Jalpaiguri and Rajshahi, and the figures discussed in chapter VI show that it has indeed become more prevalent during the last ten years. Nearly all correspondents, however, were in favour of restricting the remarriage of widows to those who have been bereaved before the marriage was consummated or to those at least who were of tender years and some of them thought it necessary to insist that the widow should not be remarried without her own consent, a proviso rendered necessary by the fact that orthodox Hindu law regards women as no free agent but as being at all stages of her life a chattel or rather a ward of some male relative. The rush to marry children before the Child Marriage Restraint Act came into operation resulted, as has been

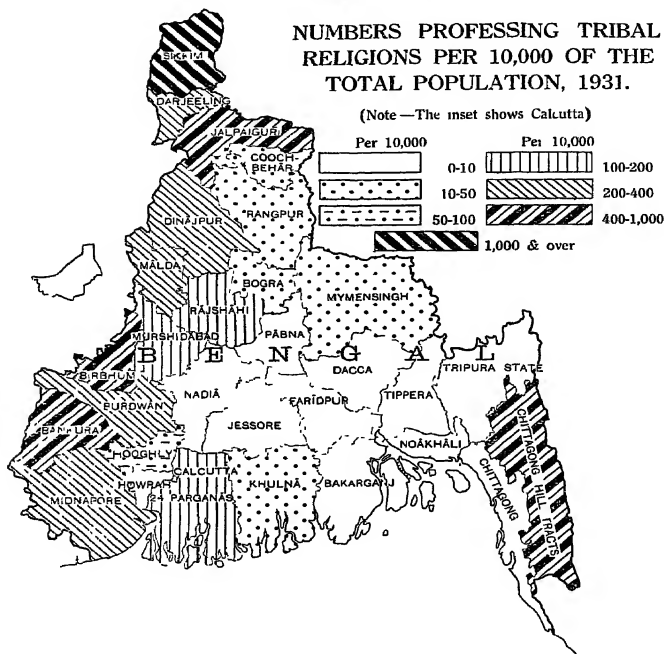
noted in chapter VI, in an enormous increase in the number of girls married at the earlier ages and is bound to cause in succeeding years a large increase in the number of child widows. In the report on the census of 1921 Mr. Thompson estimated the average age of marriage at rather less than 20 for men and about $12\frac{1}{2}$ for women. The Act therefore does not prohibit the marriage of any man over the average age at which they usually marry. But in the case of women the Act renders illegal marriages of girls as much as $1\frac{1}{2}$ years older than the average at which they were being married when Mr. Thompson made his calculations. Whereas therefore the group of men seeking marriage has not been reduced by the Act, the group of women amongst whom they must look for their wives has been very considerably reduced. As a result either the men must postpone marriage till a later age or the deficiency of potential wives must be made good by adding widows to their numbers; the first alternative would almost certainly lead to an increase of prostitution and irregular unions, and it is to be conjectured that Hindu public opinion will consequently more readily adjust itself to the second.

423. Tribal religions.—At the present census the term “animist” previously used to describe the religion of aboriginal and primitive peoples has been replaced by the vaguer, but more satisfactory term “tribal religions.” It has been felt that the connotation of the word “animist” is too specific and that a term is more satisfactory which merely indicates adherence to a system of beliefs and practices considered to be characteristic of the tribe without at the same time conveying any suggestion as to their nature. Bengal contributes only 529,419 or 6·29 per cent. of the total number of persons professing tribal religions in all India. Some 29·78 per cent. are contributed by the aggregate of states and agencies and the largest individual contributions are in Bihar and Orissa (24·42 per cent.), and the Central Provinces and Berar (16·11 per cent.), Burma provides 9·1 per cent. and Assam 8·48 per cent. and in all British Territory Bengal therefore occupies the 5th place among the major provinces. Tribal religions contribute only 1·03 per cent. of the population of Bengal compared with a proportion of 2·39 in the whole of India or 2·17 in British Territory.

424. Variations in numbers.—The actual numbers professing tribal religions have declined by 37·6 per cent. in the whole of Bengal during the last decade and the decline in numbers comes out clearly in diagram No. XI-2 whilst diagram No. XI-3 shows even more noticeably the percentage decline as well as the decline in actual numbers. During the decade there has been a decline in numbers in every division of Bengal except the Presidency Division. The decline is as much as 52·1 per cent. in North Bengal, 49·3 per cent. in Dacca Division and 30·8 per cent. in the Burdwan Division. But the numbers professing tribal religions have actually almost doubled in the Presidency Division, where the increase is 92·9 per cent. The persons following tribal religions are 1·03 of the total population of Bengal as against 1·79 per cent. in 1921 and 1·58 per cent. in 1911. They form a large proportion of the population (2·75 per cent.) in Burdwan Division than elsewhere, but even in Burdwan Division the proportion has declined from 4·27 per cent. in 1921 to 2·75 per cent. in 1931. With the exception of a decline between 1891 and 1901 from 3·68 to 3·52 per cent. in this division their history from 1881 to 1921 showed a continuous increase not only in numbers but also in their proportion to the total population which was 2·97 per cent. in 1881. Their next largest proportion is in Rajshahi Division where they form 1·88 per cent. of the population as against 4·07 per cent. in 1921, a figure representing the peak of a progressive increase in proportion from 9 per 10,000 in 1881. In the Presidency Division they contribute only 0·58 per cent. of the total population and have continuously increased their proportion since 1881 when they formed no more than 2 in 10,000 of the population. They contribute no more than 0·19 per cent. of the population of Chittagong Division and 0·13 per cent. of the Dacca Division. They are most numerous in Birbhūm, Bankura, Jalpaiguri and Chittagong Hill Tracts where they number more than 4 per cent. of the population. They are relatively numerous also in Darjeeling,

Dinajpur, Malda, Burdwan and Midnapore where they form 2 to 4 per cent. of the population and in Rajshahi, Murshidabad and the 24-Parganas where they form between 1 and 2 per cent. They are less than 1 per thousand in Pabna, Nadia, Jessore, Faridpur, Dacca, Tippera, Bakarganj, Noakhali, Chittagong, Howrah, Calcutta and the Tripura State while in the other districts in the province they number no more than 1 to 8 per thousand. Only in the 24-Parganas, Murshidabad, Jessore, Khulna, Rangpur and Chittagong districts have they increased their relative strength of the total population since 1921. Their proportions in each district are illustrated in diagram No. XI-6.

DIAGRAM No. XI-6.

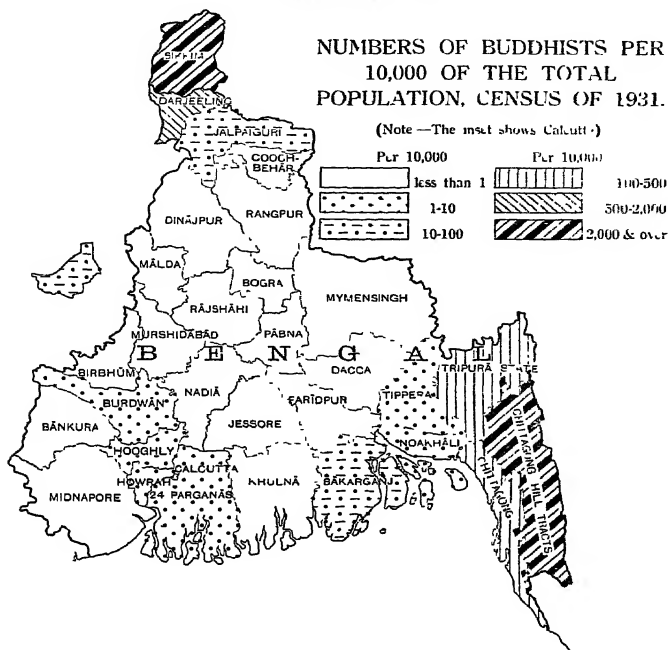


425. Buddhism.—Buddhism in Bengal is almost entirely confined to the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts in the north and to Chittagong district and Chittagong Hill Tracts in the south-east of the province. Bengal's contribution to the total of Buddhists in India is no more than 330,563 or 2.47 per cent., but Burma contributes 96.57 per cent., and the contribution of Bengal is the next largest. Buddhists form 0.65 per cent. of the population of Bengal against 84.3 per cent. in Burma, 3.65 in India and 4.68 in British Territory.

426. Distribution of Buddhists in Bengal.—The map forming diagram No. XI-7 shows the number of Buddhists per 10,000 of the total population. In Sikkim they form 32.3 per cent. of the total population, a proportion which the gradual infiltration of Nepali settlers professing a Hinduistic faith has continuously reduced from 34.81 per cent. in 1901. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts they form no less than 72.99 per cent. of the total population, a proportion larger than that of 1881 (72.81) which had been reduced by 1911 to 65.77, but had recovered to 68.55 in 1921. They form 18.4 per cent. of the population of Darjeeling where their proportions have consistently increased since 1881 and where there is a General Buddhist Association and 4.2 per cent. in Chittagong. Elsewhere throughout the province only in Jalpaiguri, Calcutta and Bakarganj does their proportion reach as much as from 1 to 10

per thousand. No sects of Buddhists have been separated. That form of religion current in northern Bengal derives from the Lamaistic Buddhism of Tibet and differs from the beliefs in the south-east of the province which more nearly resemble those of Burma. The sectarian differences in the

DIAGRAM No. XI-7.



Lamaistic creed in northern Bengal are confined to the priesthood, and although there are even separate orders of priests bearing tribal names such, for instance, as Newar, Tamang, etc., worship at the Buddhist *gumpas* is not confined to the laity of any particular sect or tribe.

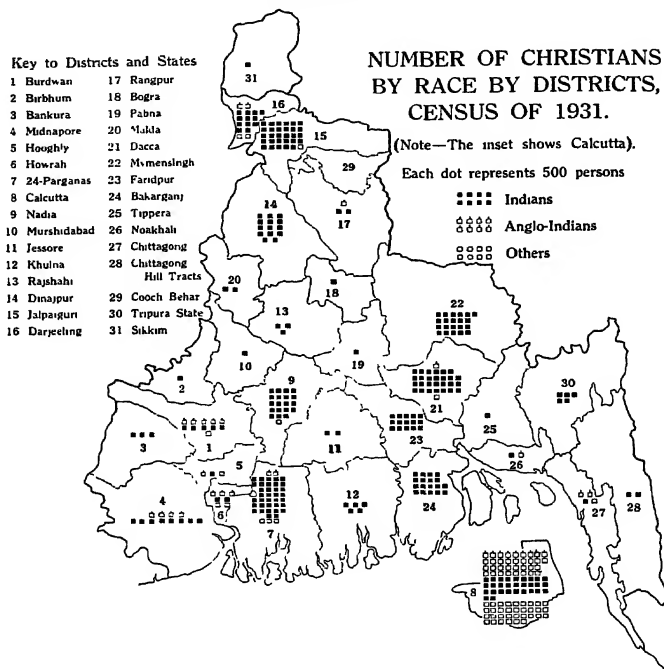
427. **Christians.**—The total number of Christians in Bengal is 183,067 and their numbers have shown a fairly regular rate of increase from 1881 when they were 72,289. They form 2·86 per cent. of the total number of Christians in India and a considerably larger proportion is furnished by Madras (28·18 per cent.), the Punjab (6·59 per cent.), Bihar and Orissa (5·43 per cent.), Burma (5·26 per cent.), Bombay (5·04 per cent.), United Provinces (3·25 per cent.) and Assam (3·22 per cent.). In Bengal itself they form no more than 0·36 per cent. of the total population compared with 1·8 in the population of India and 1·42 in the population of British Territory. The population of Madras contains a larger percentage (3·8) of Christians than any other, and Assam with 2·35 and Burma 2·26 per cent. fill the second and third place. They are most numerous in the Presidency Division (81,273) and then in the Dacca Division (41,446) and Rajshahi Division (35,339).

428. **Variations in numbers of Christians.**—Throughout the whole of Bengal their increase during the last decade (22·8 per cent.) has been greater than at any other decade since 1881 except between the years 1891 and 1901 when the percentage increase was 29·5. Except in the Dacca Division where they have increased by 32·1 per cent. in the last decade against 22·2 between 1891 and 1901 elsewhere in every division their

increase was the greatest between 1891 and 1901. Their numbers are now $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater in all Bengal than they were in 1881 and in the Rajshahi Division there are actually almost 19 times as many of them as they were in that year.

429. **Racial distribution of Christians by districts.**—A map shown as diagram No. XI-8 indicates not only the strength of Christians but also their

DIAGRAM No. XI-8.



racial distribution as Indians, Anglo-Indians and others. Amongst the Indians some groups are included such as Sinhalese which are not actually Indian, as well as some others of Nepalese origin who may not have been born in India. As might be expected no less than 16,863 Anglo-Indian Christians out of a total of 27,573 reside in Calcutta, and for the most part they are found principally in urban areas. Next to the Presidency Division with 17,768 the Burdwan Division with 6,244 contains the largest number of Anglo-Indian Christians. Amongst the Indian Christians also more live in the Presidency than in any other division. Out of 131,886 45,099 live in the Presidency Division of whom 17,388 are found in the 24-Parganas and 14,280 in Calcutta. Dacca Division with 40,419 and Rajshahi Division with 31,835 Indian Christians come next in order to Presidency Division. Jalpaiguri has no less than 14,327 Indian Christians and Dacca and Mymensingh 13,567 and 10,603 respectively. Nadia with 9,742, Dinajpur with 6,802 and Darjeeling with 6,104 in West and North Bengal and Bakarganj with 8,769 and Faridpur with 7,480 in the east are the only other districts in which Indian Christians are found in any numbers. On the map they are seen to lie therefore principally in two series of districts running contiguously from north to south, viz., Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Rajshahi (though here no more than 1,483), Nadia, Calcutta and 24-Parganas and again in Mymensingh, Dacca, Faridpur and Bakarganj.

430. European Christians.—The great majority of other Christians are Europeans. They amounted in all to 22,955 and scarcely more than 5,200 of these are to be found outside the Presidency Division, most of whom (16,083) residing in Calcutta and its suburbs in 24-Parganas, with 1,542 in parts of the 24-Parganas, 1,232 in Howrah including 822 in Howrah City and 1,213 in Darjeeling.

431. Christian missions.—The enumeration took place before the necessity for stringent economy had become apparent and elaborate provisions were made for accurate return of sects of Christians. The instructions issued to local officers were as follows :—

“ Experiences has shown that the return of sects of Indian Christians will be very incomplete unless special precautions are taken beforehand. Local instructions should be given as to the way in which the adherents of each mission are to be entered. The correct recording of Christian sects is facilitated by the fact that usually there are only one or two missions at work in each district. The co-operation of the missionaries at work in each district should be asked for and they should be requested to take steps to explain to their converts how they should return themselves. The supervisors and enumerators should also be instructed as to the sects likely to be met with in their circles and blocks. As far as possible the record of all blocks where Christians are numerous should be prepared by Christian enumerators and should be examined by the charge superintendent or other qualified officer who should satisfy himself that the real sect has been entered.”

The names of the missions at work in each district were obtained from the mission workers and a list is given below of the sectarian missions working in Bengal with the districts in which they have branches.

STATEMENT No. XI-3.

Christian Missions at work in Bengal outside Calcutta.

Sect and name of mission.	District in which working.
ANGLICAN	
Church of England Zenana Mission	Burdwan, Howrah, 24-Parganas.
Church of England Mission	Midnapore, Howrah, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Chittagong
Church Mission Society	Howrah, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Rangpur
Oxford Mission	24-Parganas, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj.
St. Andrew's Mission	24-Parganas, Mymensingh
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Mission	24-Parganas.
St. Joseph's Mission	Malda
BAPTIST	
American Baptist Mission	Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Bakarganj
Baptist Mission	Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Dacca, Faridpur, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Bengal and Orissa Baptist Foreign Mission	Midnapore
London Baptist Mission	Jessore, Dinajpur.
Australian Baptist Mission	Patna, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Tippera
New Zealand Baptist Mission	Tippera.
CONGREGATIONAL	
Free Church Mission of Finland	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri.
INDIA UNITED CHURCHES	
Church of Scotland Mission	Burdwan, Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling.
Presbyterian Mission	Howrah
London Mission Society	24-Parganas, Murshidabad
English Presbyterian Mission	Rajshahi.
LUTHERAN	
Santal Mission of the Northern Churches	Burhum, Rajshahi, Dinajpur.
Lutheran Mission	Malda.
Swedish Mission	Cooch Behar.
METHODIST	
Methodist Episcopal Mission	Burdwan, Burhum, Midnapore, 24-Parganas.
Wesleyan Methodist Mission	Burdwan, Bankura, 24-Parganas
American Methodist Mission	Burhum
MINOR AND UNSPECIFIED PROTESTANT	
American Church of God Mission	Howrah, Bogra, Rangpur.
Protestant Mission	24-Parganas.
Christian Mission Society	Nadia
Seventh Day Adventist Mission	Nadia, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj
Indian Baptist Mission	Jessore
Shudhuta Kuti Mission	Jessore
Church of the Nazarene Mission	Mymensingh.
Evangelist Mission	Faridpur
North-East India General Mission	Chittagong Hill Tracts.
ROMAN CATHOLIC (Latin Rite)	
Roman Catholic Mission	Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Khulna, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Darjeeling, Rangpur, Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Noakhali, Chittagong.
Basanti Catholic Mission	24-Parganas.
Congregation of the Holy Cross, Canada	Chittagong.
SALVATIONIST	
Salvation Army	Jessore, Rangpur.

432. Sects of Christians.—The sectarian classification of these missions is given according to an elaborate scheme circulated by the Census Commissioner for India, by which the several hundreds of sects returned in India on previous occasions were classified amongst 15 main divisions. It was originally intended to show a special table corresponding to table XV of 1921 in which Christians were distributed by race and sect. Summary figures by race are included in the fly leaf and supplement No. II to imperial table XVI, but the only sects for which separate figures have been obtained amongst Christians are Roman Catholic, Romo-Syrian, Other Syrian and Others. The inclusion of a separate group for Romo-Syrians is in the nature of a compromise to reconcile the conflicting views entertained as to the allocation of the sect to the Roman or Syrian Church. In order to guard as far as possible against the omission from any of the groups chosen of returns which should be included sorters were directed to include amongst Roman Catholics entries such as the following—Catholics, Church of Rome, Franciscan Friars, Italian, Latin Catholic, Latin Christian, Spanish Mission and St. Francis de Sales; amongst Romo-Syrians such entries as Syrian Catholics and Syro-Roman and amongst Other Syrian such entries as Gregorian Church, Jacobite Church, Mar Thoma, Nestorian, St. Thomas Christian, Syrian and Yugo-mayam. It is unlikely that all of the above returns were found in Bengal, but this provision ensures that any which were found will have been correctly allocated according to the classification adopted by the Census Commissioner. Actually the returns show that a very small number of Christians in Bengal were returned as Romo-Syrians or other Syrians, and Anglo-Indians contributed more than other races to both of these sects. Roman Catholics numbered 70,578 of whom 46,792 were Indians and 16,295 were Anglo-Indians. Protestant sects of all kinds accounted for 111,949 persons of whom 85,023 were Indians and 15,570 of European or Allied races. The great majority of Christians in Bengal who are Indians or of European and Allied races are Protestants, while the majority of Anglo-Indians are Roman Catholics.

433. Other religions—Jains.—Other religions than those mentioned above amount to no more than 4 in every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal, a proportion which has remained practically constant since 1881. The main contribution is made by Jains who number 9,669. Half of them are found in the Presidency Division in Calcutta (3,185) and Murshidabad (1,018). They are present in greatest numbers after the Presidency Division in Rajshahi, where they number 3,276, the single district of Rangpur contributing no less than 1,414. In other parts of Bengal their numbers are few and Birbhūm with 494 and Dinajpur with 465 have the largest numbers after those districts already named. There were nearly half as many again returned as Jains in 1921 as in 1931, and it is possible that the same considerations which may have influenced Brahmos to return themselves as Hindus only made some Jains to give a similar return; but the numbers in 1921 showed an unusually high increase over those of the previous census and were almost double those of 1911 (6,782) and the present returns are more than 42 per cent. in excess of those of 1911. As on the previous occasion the Swetambari Terapanthi sect of Jains were anxious to obtain a return of their numbers and assisted in the census of Calcutta, but amongst the Jains enumerated only 652 returned their sect, 426 being Swetambari, 147 Swetambari Terapanthi and 79 Digambari. There were as many as 2,199 Swetambari Jains in Calcutta alone in 1921. The two Jains returned in Sikkim are of the Swetambari sect and no sect was returned by Jains outside Calcutta except in the districts of Burdwan, Murshidabad and Hooghly.

434. Sikhs.—The Sikh population is somewhat smaller than the Jain amounting to 7,334, of which no fewer than 5,047 are concentrated in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas. The numbers are nearly three times as many as in 1921 when they were very little more numerous than in 1911. Burdwan Division contributes 1,868 mostly from the districts of Midnapore (1,197)

and Howrah (405), where the Bengal Nagpur Railway workshops at Kharagpur and the Bengal Nagpur and East Indian Railway Administrations at Howrah account for their comparatively large numbers.

The majority of both Jains and Sikhs are clearly temporary residents, since the number of males to females is very low in each religion. But in Burdwan and in Nadia and Murshidabad the sex ratios approach for Jains fairly close to the average throughout Bengal, and the Jain community in these places is permanently established. There is less than one female to every four Sikh males, and the largest proportion of females to males amongst the community is found as might be expected in Midnapore, where facilities for bringing their families are afforded to railway employees at Kharagpur. The sex ratio in Calcutta has risen since 1921 when there were only 100 Sikh females to every 365 males and there are now about 100 females to every 327 males.

435. **Jews.**—The Jewish community totalling in all 1,867 is practically confined to Calcutta and 24-Parganas where all but 12 were found, 8 of those being in the Rajshahi Division and 7 of them in the district of Darjeeling. Its numbers have increased by 16 since 1921 but are not yet as high as in 1911 (1,993) or even in 1901 (1,914).

436. **Zoroastrians.**—The Parsis shown as Zoroastrians total 1,520 of whom 1,261 are found in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas and the majority of the remainder in Howrah district which contains 97, mostly settled in the Howrah City itself where they number 84. There are nearly three as many Parsis as in 1921.

437. **Confucians.**—Confucians number 1,447, all except 84 of whom, 76 in Chittagong and 8 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were returned in Calcutta. The Chinese in such places as Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri have, therefore, been returned in those areas either as Chinese in 47 cases noted in supplement No. I to imperial table XVI, part C, or as Buddhists.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Distribution by religion of 10,000 of the total population by natural divisions, 1881-1931, with percentage of variation.

Religion and area	Actual No in 1881.	No per 10,000 of the total population in						Variation per cent increase or decrease—						Net Variation per cent, 1881-1931
		1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1881	1901-01	1911-01	1921-01	1931-01	1881-01	1881-01	
MUSLIM.														
BENGAL	27,010,100	5,444	5,555	5,234	5,119	5,085	4,989	+ 0.1	+ 5.2	+ 10.4	+ 8.8	+ 9.7	+ 51.2	
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	1,022,770	1,414	1,344	1,314	1,317	1,299	1,295	- 0.3	- 1.0	+ 1.0	+ 8.6	+ 4.3	+ 27.7	
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	4,771,105	4,720	1,772	4,834	1,882	1,920	1,950	+ 5.0	+ 18.1	+ 1.1	+ 1.0	+ 3.3	+ 17.1	
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooh Behar)	6,549,059	5,083	5,582	5,087	5,008	5,029	5,057	+ 1.5	+ 2.0	+ 3.2	+ 3.7	+ 3.0	+ 27.1	
EAST BENGAL	14,067,087	5,103	6,902	6,889	6,748	6,627	6,452	+ 11.8	+ 9.9	+ 14.7	+ 15.1	+ 17.0	+ 87.5	
Dacca Division	9,834,289	7,092	6,969	6,831	6,676	6,522	6,363	+ 9.9	+ 6.3	+ 11.1	+ 12.1	+ 16.9	+ 77.8	
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	5,122,508	7,121	7,140	7,000	6,880	6,851	6,952	+ 1.7	+ 11.3	+ 12.8	+ 14.1	+ 21.0	+ 109.9	
SIKKIM	104	10	5	4	..	..	..	+ 420.1	- 54.3	+ 109.5	..	..	..
HINDU.														
BENGAL	22,212,969	4,348	4,372	4,523	4,790	4,767	4,882	+ 6.7	+ 0.7	+ 3.9	+ 6.2	+ 5.0	+ 22.9	
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	1,104,441	8,285	8,207	8,283	8,319	8,324	8,396	+ 8.1	+ 5.2	+ 1.7	+ 2.1	+ 3.1	+ 15.4	
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	5,179,127	3,724	3,111	3,017	3,023	3,008	3,061	+ 6.1	+ 2.3	+ 1.7	+ 1.9	+ 4.8	+ 39.1	
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooh Behar)	4,101,709	3,443	3,552	3,788	3,921	3,974	4,008	+ 5.6	+ 1.2	+ 2.0	+ 4.3	+ 3.2	+ 13.1	
EAST BENGAL	3,708,702	2,737	2,848	2,947	3,111	3,227	3,250	+ 5.8	+ 1.6	+ 6.3	+ 6.8	+ 10.0	+ 38.9	
Dacca Division	3,068,570	2,568	2,570	2,512	2,565	2,591	2,681	+ 4.8	+ 0.3	+ 5.3	+ 4.0	+ 7.8	+ 28.8	
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	1,807,832	2,508	2,601	2,620	2,791	2,831	2,827	+ 10.2	+ 9.0	+ 10.9	+ 11.9	+ 16.0	+ 73.9	
SIKKIM	47,074	4,587	6,873	6,874	6,481	..	..	- 13.7	+ 7.1	+ 53.2	..	..	..
TRIBAL.														
BENGAL	528,410	103	179	158	103	92	85	- 37.6	+ 16.2	+ 65.1	+ 21.3	+ 16.5	+ 69.1	
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	238,115	275	427	105	352	368	297	- 20.6	+ 0.4	+ 18.1	+ 3.0	+ 28.7	+ 84.8	
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	58,063	59	82	34	14	11	2	+ 92.6	+ 6.2	+ 119.8	+ 82.1	+ 877.0	+ 4,589.2	
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooh Behar)	201,979	180	363	264	108	44	8	- 52.1	+ 19.0	+ 133.7	+ 154.9	+ 489.3	+ 2,004.9	
EAST BENGAL	90,768	14	28	41	20	21	68	+ 12.1	+ 47.0	+ 114.5	+ 2.5	+ 63.8	+ 68.8	
Dacca Division	17,842	18	37	33	27	31	30	+ 19.1	+ 6.1	+ 31.7	+ 3.5	+ 18.0	+ 81.3	
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	15,821	18	28	60	7	1	128	- 27.7	+ 18.1	+ 101.0	+ 119.8	+ 98.9	+ 79.2	
SIKKIM	28,840	2,453	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BUDDHIST.														
BENGAL	330,583	65	58	53	50	48	42	+ 19.9	+ 11.7	+ 14.0	+ 11.8	+ 24.8	+ 113.1	
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	300	1	..	..	..	..	1	+ 88.0	+ 37.1	+ 34.1	+ 23.0	+ 80.4	+ 15.7	
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	3,353	8	4	3	3	3	2	+ 3.2	+ 12.6	+ 11.5	+ 31.0	+ 17.9	+ 59.3	
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooh Behar)	69,613	50	58	52	51	46	21	+ 74.5	+ 9.7	+ 11.2	+ 18.9	+ 129.0	+ 243.8	
EAST BENGAL	269,180	123	112	106	104	104	107	+ 21.7	+ 13.0	+ 13.1	+ 10.0	+ 11.0	+ 68.0	
Dacca Division	15,417	9	8	7	6	6	107	+ 21.7	+ 13.0	+ 13.1	+ 10.0	+ 11.0	+ 68.0	
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	247,778	844	322	314	317	328	444	+ 21.4	+ 13.5	+ 16.1	+ 9.7	+ 10.4	+ 12.7	
SIKKIM	35,412	3,225	3,278	3,289	3,481	..	..	+ 32.2	+ 7.4	+ 40.7	..	..	..
CHRISTIAN.														
BENGAL	163,097	38	31	28	25	21	19	- 22.8	+ 14.9	+ 21.7	+ 29.5	+ 13.9	+ 183.1	
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	18,511	21	20	18	11	8	6	+ 16.0	+ 15.0	+ 45.0	+ 49.0	+ 41.5	+ 215.0	
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	81,273	81	77	72	70	61	50	+ 14.1	+ 1.5	+ 1.0	+ 20.0	+ 6.8	+ 97.4	
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooh Behar)	35,311	21	23	18	9	7	1	+ 40.1	+ 17.7	+ 10.5	+ 100.7	+ 78.0	+ 1,789.9	
EAST BENGAL	47,748	54	19	17	16	15	14	+ 30.8	+ 19.2	+ 10.3	+ 31.9	+ 29.9	+ 174.4	
Dacca Division	41,440	30	28	24	21	19	18	+ 11.1	+ 13.2	+ 20.1	+ 32.2	+ 23.0	+ 108.0	
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	6,090	0	8	5	6	5	6	+ 32.9	+ 77.0	+ 12.1	+ 10.3	+ 8.0	+ 214.3	
SIKKIM	278	28	45	22	23	..	..	- 25.4	+ 29.8	+ 111.1	..	..	..
OTHERS.														
BENGAL	22,120	4	5	4	3	4	3	- 5.5	+ 49.0	+ 43.7	- 36.8	+ 55.5	+ 102.3	
WEST BENGAL (Burdwan Division)	3,007	4	2	2	1	1	5	+ 108.1	- 0.8	+ 253.3	- 31.0	- 63.6	- 18.5	
CENTRAL BENGAL (Presidency Division)	14,450	14	10	10	8	7	4	- 4.5	+ 59.0	+ 39.7	+ 14.5	+ 84.8	+ 301.3	
NORTH BENGAL (Rajshahi Division and Cooh Behar)	4,089	4	5	3	3	4	4	- 21.1	+ 55.1	+ 1.9	- 22.4	+ 6.9	+ 23.8	
EAST BENGAL	174	..	1	1	1	3	11	+ 11.7	+ 59.5	+ 80.4	+ 80.5	+ 2,590.1	+ 144.2	
Dacca Division	240	..	1	1	1	1	1	+ 80.4	+ 29.3	+ 19.3	+ 6.4	+ 297.8	+ 8.1	
Chittagong Division and Tripura State	594	..	1	1	1	14	..	- 17.3	+ 27.0	+ 251.7	- 08.4	+ 445,000	+ 2,469.2	
SIKKIM	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	- 75.0	+ 700.0	- 87.5	..	..	..

Natural division, district or state	Number per 10,000 at the total population whose 1 below is														
	Muslim							Hindu							
	1901	1921	1931	1901	1921	1931	1931	1901	1921	1931	1901	1921	1931	1931	1931
BENGAL	5,444	5,355	5,234	5,119	5,068	4,999	4,348	4,372	4,523	4,700	4,767	4,882			
West Bengal	1,414	1,344	1,444	1,317	1,299	1,296	8,285	8,207	8,233	8,319	8,324	8,396			
BURDWAN DIVISION	1,414	1,344	1,444	1,317	1,299	1,296	8,285	8,207	8,233	8,319	8,324	8,396			
Burdwan	1,836	1,831	1,888	1,876	1,931	1,908	7,902	7,791	7,931	7,908	8,094	8,090			
Birbhum	2,069	2,067	2,181	2,223	2,127	2,023	6,717	6,897	7,024	7,029	7,139	7,104			
Bankura	1,009	1,007	1,024	1,025	1,021	1,011	4,441	4,441	4,441	4,441	4,441	4,441			
Midnapore	739	677	890	694	637	652	8,009	8,009	8,009	8,009	8,009	8,009			
Hooghly	1,017	1,008	1,008	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000			
Howrah	2,127	2,030	2,073	2,030	2,043	1,950	7,700	7,025	7,007	7,004	7,005	7,005			
Central Bengal	4,720	4,732	4,834	4,882	4,920	4,950	5,124	5,141	5,047	5,023	4,988	4,983			
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	4,720	4,732	4,834	4,882	4,920	4,950	5,124	5,141	5,047	5,023	4,988	4,983			
24-Parganas	3,865	3,462	3,613	3,624	3,511	3,738	6,420	6,421	6,420	6,421	6,421	6,421			
Calcutta	2,000	2,303	2,006	2,048	2,048	3,173	6,571	7,003	6,750	6,805	6,717	6,700			
North	6,177	5,018	5,003	5,008	5,008	5,008	7,412	7,412	7,412	7,412	7,412	7,412			
Murshidabad	3,338	3,357	3,197	3,177	3,046	3,400	4,301	4,301	4,301	4,301	4,301	4,301			
Jessore	6,169	6,175	5,186	5,124	5,089	5,046	6,753	6,511	7,117	7,021	6,965	6,965			
Torag	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000			
North Bengal	6,083	5,982	5,927	5,908	5,928	5,957	3,843	3,852	3,738	3,921	3,974	3,974			
RAJSHAH DIVISION	6,083	5,982	5,927	5,908	5,928	5,957	3,843	3,852	3,738	3,921	3,974	3,974			
Rajshahi	6,083	5,982	5,927	5,908	5,928	5,957	3,843	3,852	3,738	3,921	3,974	3,974			
Dinajpur	7,670	7,654	7,756	7,768	7,753	7,842	2,231	2,227	2,112	2,123	2,123	2,123			
Balgaon	5,051	4,907	4,884	4,837	5,150	5,255	4,223	4,490	4,490	4,490	4,490	4,490			
Barisal	2,869	2,475	2,891	2,902	3,205	3,383	5,733	5,733	5,733	5,733	5,733	5,733			
Rangpur	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013	3,013			
Faridpur	7,079	6,803	6,578	6,860	6,872	6,069	2,877	3,157	3,370	3,60					

Natural division, district or state.	Number per 10,000 of the total population whose religion is—																																
	Tribal										Buddhist										Others.												
	1921	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		
BENGAL	103	179	158	103	92	85	65	58	53	50	48	42	40	36	32	28	25	22	18	12	9	11	10	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		
West Bengal	275	427	405	352	368	297	1						1	25	22	18	12	9	11	10	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	0	0		
BURDWAN DIVISION	248	318	152	137	39	40	1																										
Burdwan	602	680	584	460	429	182																											
Bankura	426	907	841	790	970	812																											
Medinipur	308	479	110	44	32	45																											
Hooghly	80	102	105	26	19		1																										
Howrah	8	6	23	1	3	4	1																										
Central Bengal	58	32	34	14	11	2	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	95	91	82	78	68	63	58	53	48	43	38	33	28	23	18	12	7	2		
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	58	32	34	14	11	2	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	95	91	82	78	68	63	58	53	48	43	38	33	28	23	18	12	7	2		
24 Parganas	136	42	40	5	2																												
Calcutta	3	13	19																														
Nadia	132	124	105	85	74	7																											
Murshidabad	4	7	8	3	1																												
Jessore	13	7	11	3	1																												
Khulna	180	385	264	108	44	8	59	53	52	51	46	21	35	28	28	20	12	7															
North Bengal	188	467	279	114	48	9	63	56	53	54	49	23	36	28	29	12	7																
RAJSHAKH DIVISION	127	290	100	11	9																												
Rajshahi	384	652	604	401	69	10																											
Dinapur	617	1,860	1,152	193	92	35	76	93	69	80	87	5	155	98	65	35	8	2															
Jalpaiguri	216	448	407	138	40	1,848	1,838	1,894	1,768	1,814	1,210		203	262	295	145	8	2															
Darjeeling	32	29	44	20	2																												
Rangpur	78	21	8	12	25																												
Bogra	21	78	21	8	12	25																											
Bajna	6	5	8	3																													
Maida	343	778	320	209	208	21																											
GOOCH BEHAR	23	18	3	4	17	7																											
East Bengal	14	28	41	20	22	68	123	112	106	104	104	107	23	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17		
DACCA DIVISION	13	27	33	27	31	30	9	8	7	7	6	5	36	26	24	22	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17		
Dacca			4		2																												
Myrmenanah	34	78	84	74	85	85																											
Fardiga	2																																
Barkarganj							42	40	36	32	28	25	30	20	26	24	22	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18	17	20	18		
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	19	26	62	2	1		342	322	321	316	328	360	6	5	8	5	10																
Tippora							6	8	7	6	7	2	2	3	2	2	2																
North Hill							9	8	4	3	4	1	4	3	2	2	2																
Chittagong							420	449	484	480	478	478	11	10	11	10	10																
Chittagong Hill Tracts	552	895	2,156	3	45		7,269	6,885	6,677	6,084	6,908	7,281	38	38	11	20	187																
TERPURA STATE			79	18	164		6,148	380	333	281	344	344			68	63	6	8	168														
SIKKIM	2,453						3,225	3,278	3,283	3,481					25	46	32	24															

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Numbers of Christians by divisions, districts and states, 1881-1931, with percentage of variation.

Division, district or state	Total number of Christians in						Variation per cent					Net variation per cent.	
	1911	1921	1931	1901	1891	1881	1921-31	1911-21	1901-11	1891-01	1881-01	1881-1931	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	163,067	149,069	129,746	106,596	82,339	72,289+	22 8 +	14 9 +	21 7 +	29 5 +	13 9 +	153 2	
West Bengal (BURDWAN DIVISION)	16,841	15,377	13,782	9,463	6,312	4,480+	16 0 +	15 9 +	45 9 +	49 9 +	41 5 +	318-6	
Burdwan	5,440	5,156	3,820	2,960	1,408	910+	30 0 +	9 0 +	20 1 +	110 2 +	54 7 +	497 8	
Burdham	630	468	813	619	522	484+	30 0 +	45 1 +	0 7 +	56 9 +	987 5 +	2,212 6	
Bankura	1,645	1,121	1,012	361	132	56+	15 8 +	40 4 +	173 5 +	175 0 +	138 7 +	2,537 3	
Malda	6,680	5,838	1,106	1,974	1,545	740+	4 9 +	40 1 +	111 0 +	27 8 +	108 6 +	722 8	
Hooghly	1,007	846	851	759	483	653+	10 8 +	1 9 +	12 1 +	19 9 +	3 4 +	55 7	
Howrah	3,730	3,108	3,120	2,583	2,072	2,051+	10 6 +	2 5 +	20 6 +	24 9 +	1 0 +	81 9	
Central Bengal (PRESIDENCY DIVISION)	81,273	71,110	68,088	64,416	51,619	48,537+	14 3 +	4 5 +	9 1 +	20 9 +	6 3 +	87 4	
24-Parganas	19,063	18,755	16,027	11,822	12,082	10,192+	7 0 +	15 8 +	16 0 +	6 5 +	27 4 +	95-9	
Calcutta	47,484	39,037	30,551	37,925	28,067	30,214+	21 0 +	1 3 +	4 3 +	30 8 +	4 0 +	57 2	
Nadia	10,042	8,533	8,132	8,091	7,297	6,440+	17 0 +	6 0 +	12 3 +	10 9 +	13 3 +	55 9	
Murshidabad	919	525	111	391	540	470+	24 2 +	27 1 +	5 6 +	27 6 +	14 9 +	15 3	
Jessore	1,167	2,217	1,693	1,275	963	747+	11 3 +	31 0 +	32 5 +	32 4 +	28 9 +	23 0	
Khulna													
North Bengal (RAJSHAHI DIVISION with COOCH BEHAR)	36,511	25,479	17,257	9,058	3,358	1,880+	39 4 +	47 7 +	90 5 +	169 7 +	78 6 +	1,768-9	
RAJSHAHI DIVISION	37,330	21,373	17,167	8,915	3,067	1,832+	39 4 +	47 7 +	92 6 +	190 7 +	67 4 +	1,928-9	
Rajshahi	1,321	1,000	823	851	105	121+	52 9 +	200 0 +	8 0 +	294 3 +	13 2 +	1,103 6	
Dinajpur	6,081	5,009	1,964	770	511	457+	30 4 +	155 0 +	152 1 +	52 4 +	11 8 +	1,427 6	
Darjeeling	14,767	8,726	5,501	2,486	357	1,099+	69 2 +	58 6 +	121 3 +	506 4 +	124 5 +	0,127 6	
Malda	8,280	8,098	7,639	4,467	1,502	842+	2 2 +	5 3 +	72 1 +	197 4 +	7 6 +	883 5	
Rangpur	1,680	1,114	599	453	343	86+	51 4 +	86 0 +	32 2 +	32 1 +	298 8 +	1,880 4	
Bogra	476	401	161	40	15	27+	18 7 +	149 1 +	302 5 +	106 7 +	44 4 +	1,682 9	
Pabna	428	435	500	106	162	114+	5 9 +	9 0 +	201 2 +	2 5 +	42 1 +	275 4	
Malda	1,192	848	430	173	72	264+	117 5 +	27 4 +	148 0 +	140 9 +	170 4 +	4,484 6	
COOCH BEHAR	172	128	90	143	291	48+	34 4 +	42 2 +	87 1 +	50 9 +	506 3 +	258 8	
East Bengal (DACCA AND CHITTAGONG DIVISIONS with TRIPURA)	47,742	36,495	30,619	25,659	21,050	17,412+	30 8 +	19 2 +	19 3 +	21 9 +	20 9 +	174 4	
DACCA DIVISION	41,448	31,373	27,226	23,679	18,885	15,408+	32 1 +	13 2 +	20 1 +	22 2 +	22 6 +	186-9	
Dacca	14,210	13,177	13,194	11,356	8,790+	6 2 +	1 4 +	14 2 +	10 3 +	19 1 +	81 5		
Mymensingh	10,764	1,121	2,181	1,291	211	131+	101 1 +	89 1 +	68 9 +	511 4 +	39 7 +	7,028-4	
Faridpur	7,137	6,209	5,810	4,611	3,320	2,714+	19 0 +	8 4 +	25 2 +	81 9 +	29 1 +	174 9	
Bakarganj	9,865	7,574	5,541	5,501	4,059	3,717+	18 0 +	15 8 +	17 0 +	20 0 +	25 3 +	140 4	
CHITTAGONG DIVISION	3,700	1,262	2,755	2,113	2,032	1,801+	13 4 +	18 4 +	12 8 +	20 8 +	7 5 +	95 7	
Tripura	547	457	410	202	182	190+	17 5 +	11 5 +	40 4 +	60 4 +	8 5 +	139-6	
Nokhali	795	783	713	662	641	588+	1 5 +	6 4 +	12 2 +	8 3 +	9 0 +	35-2	
Chittagong	1,400	1,261	1,430	1,237	1,101	1,055+	18 2 +	1 8 +	15 0 +	3 0 +	12 9 +	52-5	
Chittagong Hill Tracts	759	661	172	252	18	49+	14 4 +	284 3 +	31 7 +	1,300 0 +	63 3 +	1,446-9	
TRIPURA STATE	2,796	1,300	138	137	133	113+	30 0 +	1,247 8 +	0 7 +	3 0 +	17 7 +	2,197 3	
SIKKIM	276	370	285	135			—	25 4 +	29 8 +	111 1	..	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Distribution by religions of 10,000 of the total urban and rural population by natural divisions.

Natural division	Number per 10,000 of the urban population whose religion is						Number per 10,000 of the rural population whose religion is					
	Muslim	Hindu	Tribal	Bud- dhist	Christ- ian	Others	Muslim	Hindu	Tribal	Bud- dhist	Christ- ian	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL	2,785	6,907	13	42	206	47	5,652	4,147	111	66	23	1
WEST BENGAL	1,782	8,022	18	2	152	24	1,376	8,313	302	..	8	1
(Burdwan Division)												
CENTRAL BENGAL	2,593	7,090	16	17	275	69	5,241	4,657	68	..	83	1
(Presidency Division)												
NORTH BENGAL	3,515	5,967	2	289	150	47	6,156	3,577	184	53	28	2
(Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar)												
EAST BENGAL	1,243	5,683	2	2	68	2	7,134	2,705	13	9	29	..
(Dacca Division, Chittagong Division and Tripura State)	4,810	4,900	1	180	105	4	7,176	2,461	18	348	7	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	4,287	2,453	3,225	25	..

APPENDIX I

1. Questionnaire for eliciting Hindu public opinion on present-day social problems.

- 1 In what district is your ancestral home ?
2. What is your—
 - (a) caste (*jati*) and
 - (b) sub-caste ?
3. Do you consider yourself to be—
 - (a) strictly orthodox, or
 - (b) latitudinarian in your beliefs and practice or
 - (c) do you belong to a definitely "protestant" and reforming sect ? (If you belong to a group which does not recognise caste please state so: in that case the words "caste" and "sub-caste" hereafter should be taken to mean "sect" or "group")
- 4 What essential beliefs or practices do you consider to distinguish your caste from other castes of the same *varna* and your sub-caste from others of the same caste ?
5. What is the attitude of—
 - (a) the conservative and
 - (b) the progressive or "liberal" sections of your own sub-caste as regards—
 - (I) the relaxation of caste restrictions in general and in particular such questions as—
 - (i) inter-marriages with—
 - (a) lower and
 - (b) higher castes :
 - (ii) inter-dining with other castes :
 - (iii) untouchability :
 - (iv) pollution by contact with unclean castes or by eating prohibited foods or foods prepared by improper persons .
 - (v) the necessity of performing *prayaschitta* for breaking caste, e.g., by going to Europe, etc ?
- (2) Social questions in general and in particular—
 - (i) purdah :
 - (ii) child marriage .
 - (iii) the " *pau* " system
 - (iv) widow re-marriage :
 - (v) female education :
 - (vi) the emancipation of women by the adoption of professional careers
 - (vii) increased participation by women in public life, e.g. as members of public bodies .

How far does any difference of opinion on these points in the sub-caste correspond to differences of education, i.e. are the educated or uneducated members of the sub-caste ordinarily more "liberal" or "conservative" ? Which group is the more influential in your sub-caste ? Are the views on these subjects held by the majority of your sub-caste the same as are held by the majority of the caste as a whole ? Have you noticed any general change in public opinion on these subjects during your lifetime and particularly during the last 10 years ? Have you in your personal experience come across any instances of widow re-marriage, inter-marriage with other castes, refusal to perform *prayaschitta* in conditions in which it is prescribed, and similar actions forbidden by caste rules: did such occurrences, if within your experience, lead to outcasting, social ostracism or a split in the group ?

6. Is the joint family system tending to die out in your—
 - (a) sub-caste or
 - (b) caste ? What effect if any is a tendency in this direction having upon—
 - (i) the economic condition of "non-earning members" and
 - (ii) the position of widows ?

2.—Extracts from replies.

The following are amongst the most interesting replies received to the above questionnaire to which the numerical references refer. They are both by Brahmins and represent respectively the completely progressive outlook and the reasoned view of those who desire to retain as much as possible characteristic of the old system whilst (rather reluctantly) making such concessions as are inevitable to changed times and circumstances. Neither must be taken as typical, for both reveal a more reasoned approach to the problems involved than is commonly made.

I

There is some hypocrisy amongst both classes unavoidable in transitional times. Those who are strictly orthodox, would not tolerate widow-marriage or inter-dine with lower castes, or touch the most degraded castes, e.g., sweepers, or eat prohibited food, but in travelling by rail or steamer they have perforce to ignore pollution by contact and in the matter of inter-dining or taking prohibited food at any rate, they have to tolerate heterodox members of their own family—A local pleader with a long topknot known to be the most orthodox member of the bar, sent his son for education in Scotland and he has returned with an engineering degree and is putting up with his father. I know of many such instances. At home the son does not partake of forbidden food, but he does so openly at hotels and restaurants and at the houses of friends, but the father is not socially ostracised on that account. If necessary, he says that his son never indulged in prohibited food even in foreign countries, but as a matter of fact society seldom displays such inquisitiveness and so long as the England-returned youth does not go violently against the orthodox practices at home, nobody asks him any inconvenient questions. In my part of the country, it has been resolved at meetings of orthodox pandits that pollution by contact, even within the domestic circle, should no longer be enforced. At these meetings it has also been held that no *praya-chitta* for admission into orthodox society is necessary for Europe-returned men. This resolution has been facilitated if not actually prompted by the refusal of such men to perform the penance. Hindu society felt that by excluding men with European qualifications it could not stop our young men from going to foreign countries for education, but was simply losing its best men. This suicidal policy led to a strong agitation and now the social ban never weighs with or stands in the way of any Bengali, whatever his caste, when he can scrape together the money for a journey across the seas. One of my brothers, a B. Sc. of London University, was in England for four years just before the war. At first we introduced him in our village home with some degree of hesitation, but gradually he openly dined with us and we were served by our menials without objection and even my cousin, the President of the Vikrampur Brahmin Sabha, had to wink at our lapses. On a recent ceremonial occasion I invited the Brahmin pandits of Vikrampur when my England-returned brother was at home. These pandits saw my brother living in the inner apartments but did not scruple to dine at my place, though they dined all by themselves, and after dinner they piled my brother with all sorts of intelligent questions about life in England, the manners and customs of the English people, and so on and parted with him on the best of terms. The Namasudras (Chaudhals) are among the most degraded communities, theoretically speaking, among the Bengalis, but on one occasion myself and my other colleagues, all high-caste Hindus, with one exception, dined with a Namasudra colleague at a farewell party, and the gentleman who formed the exception dined in the next room, and I know his son would be glad to go to England, and the father would be equally glad to send him, for finishing his education. Long experience of Hindu social life in various districts of Bengal has convinced me that owing to the absence of a definite creed and the ethnic character of the Hindu religion, the doctrine of *factum valet* obtains to a greater degree in Hindu society than in any other. "Whatever is, is for the best" seems to be the prevalent idea among Hindus, and if any change is introduced in current practices and observances, it has a tendency to persist of its own inertia, to put the matter in a slightly different form, nothing succeeds like success in the evolution of Hindu social rites and practices. Hence we find all sorts of practices, good, bad, and indifferent, jumbled up together, and the process is still going on. The heterodox or liberal Hindu sitting at a social dinner, e.g., a marriage among his caste fellows, has to confine himself to an orthodox *menu* and he has also to take his seat along with his caste fellows. The next day the same man may be seen taking a prominent place among the guests at the house of his Christian or Muhammadan friend. The conservative Hindu does not take him to task for it, nor does the liberal Hindu boast of his performances in an orthodox household. When the family preceptor or *guru* comes on his periodical rounds, he finds his disciple a genuine Hindu of the orthodox type, whatever the private laches of the latter may have been. This sort of camouflage is practised by the conservative and the liberal alike, in order to prevent social disruption, for the tendency is towards the breaking of caste rules in most directions and even the *guru* knows it, but like Nelson, he applies the telescope to his blind eye and professes to see nothing wrong, though he is supposed to be pre-eminently the conservator of domestic morals.

How far these liberalising influences have penetrated the zenana is a point deserving of consideration. It is obvious that you cannot change the manners and customs of one half of the population, leaving them intact in the case of the other half. Owing to the slower progress of education among women, and their essentially conservative instincts, the influences at work among them are necessarily slower in their operation, but this does not mean that the leaven is not leavening the whole mass of Hindu society. Among the higher castes of Hindus in Bengal, female education is going up by leaps and bounds, so much so that the difficulty is now more about schools than about pupils, and this has been accelerated by the passing of the Sarda Act raising the marriageable age for girls. That women have ceased to observe strict seclusion is manifest from the way in which they have openly joined the political movement. In the villages they have always been accustomed to a large measure of freedom, and in the mufassal towns also they are now to be seen freely walking in the streets. Of course large numbers, specially of those who may be said to belong to a past generation, still observe the purdah closely. But their daughters have taken their courage in both hands, and think nothing of going out in public. The extreme nervousness and self-consciousness which they betrayed when meeting a person of the opposite sex in the streets, is no longer very conspicuous showing that they are getting used to their newly-formed freedom. As for ancient domestic customs and practices, they too have given up some of them along with their brothers and husbands,

but in this respect the change has not been great, and what is given up in the heyday of youth is often resumed in old age. Ceremonial rites and practices form three-fourths of a Hindu's religion, and as one advances in age the need for some sort of religion is most keenly felt; and to return to what passed for religion amongst one's forefathers is not only to follow the line of least resistance but is the most natural thing for a man or woman to do under the circumstances, unless one is prepared to undergo the painful process of thinking for oneself, for which there can hardly be any enthusiasm in old age.

To come now to the points directly raised in the questionnaire Under question 5, the first sub-head (i) deals with inter-marriages with lower and higher castes. When I was an M. A. student, one of our professors, an inhabitant of my part of the district, returned from Scotland with a doctor's degree in Philosophy and married a Kayastha lady, though he himself was, like myself, a Kulin Brahmin. I vividly remember the disgust, if not horror, with which I looked upon the offspring of that "mixed" marriage. By and by, my attitude in regard to these matters changed so much that I began to look upon such marriages without any sort of repugnance, and thus, I know, is now the prevailing attitude of a very large section if not the majority of my educated co-religionists. I must say, however, that in practice such marriages have never been very frequent, though every sort of legal embargo has now been withdrawn. Where such marriages do take place, public opinion is not in any way affected by the fact of its being in the *Anulom* or *Pratilom* form.

5. (ii) Every Bengali Brahmin inter-dines with the other higher castes in the sense that except in purely social functions, they sit together in the same row and have dinner served to them by a Brahmin, at whose hands no member of any caste can refuse to take his food. At strictly ceremonial functions, the Brahmins sit in a separate row from the other castes. This custom is not however strictly observed in towns, where men of education, position and wealth, to whatever caste they may belong, often sit together at dinner even in ceremonial functions. Here in this town, for instance, Savarnabaniks form the most wealthy and influential community; many of them are men of light and leading and have been among the foremost in the learned professions. I have often found them invited at social parties on absolutely the same terms as the members of the higher castes. A few among the very orthodox may have refused to dine with them but their objection was met by seating them in a separate row, so it was practically the conservative section which was excluded from the common table. And I have heard these gentlemen lamenting the good old days and complaining that their own sons had no scruples about dining with the Savarnabaniks. All this is happening within view of the stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy—the village of Bhatpara, just across the river, which shared at one time, with Nadia and Vikrampur, the leadership in Shastric learning.

5. (iii) and (iv) Untouchability is the obverse of the custom of pollution by contact. Castes whose touch was contamination, and from whose hands the higher castes could not take water, were considered unclean and untouchable. I have seen a Namasudra being hounded out of a bridal assembly where, as a guest, I had asked for a drink and was given soda water, manufactured by a Muhammadan in the provincial town, in preference to the impure water of the village tank. I have also seen Namasudras and other low castes being employed as domestic servants in high caste household and coming into contact with the members of the family in that capacity, and entering the "outer" rooms of the house quite freely, the only exception being the service of cooked food and water, and even as to the latter the exception was not always strictly enforced. Separate pitchers were kept in mufassal Bar Library rooms for the use of Namasudra, Dhobi and other low caste pleaders, but the practice is being abandoned owing to the strong objection of the parties concerned. I have seen Bagdis, Buris, even Muhammadans being employed as maid servants by high caste families and cleansing clothes and utensils without objection from the neighbours. In fact, any innovation, however bold, may be introduced in the bosom of Hindu society provided it meets with a generally felt want. The time-spirit is also in favour of the unification of Hindu society by reducing caste jealousies to a minimum. At Madaripur, which is a strong Namasudra centre, the local high school had a boarding for high caste Hindus and another for Namasudras. When the Saraswati Pujah came on there was a strong movement for the amalgamation of the two Pujahs, but on the objection of some of the guardians of the high caste boys, it could not take place—I took my stand among the Namasudra boys, and offered flowers to their goddess to the chanting of *mantras* by their priest, and ended by taking sweets and, above all, water at their hands. As I was about to come away, the inmates of the other boarding came in a deputation and entreated me to partake of a dish of fruits and sweets at their hands. They were watching me drinking water at the Namasudra boarding, and I told them that they had seen me lose caste, and should think twice before inviting me. But they seemed ashamed of themselves and said that they would feel themselves humiliated if I were to come away without taking anything in their company. Next day I was invited at a social dinner by some leading pleaders, Kulin Kayasthas of the locality. I repeated to them my exploit of the previous day and warned them of the risk they ran in inviting me. They laughed at my warning, thought it a good joke, and the dinner passed off without a hitch. And yet such is the strong hold that caste has upon Hindu society, that I have seen Namasudra pleaders, the leaders of the Namasudra, revolt against the higher castes, isolating themselves from their caste fellows who are common cultivators and giving themselves a fictitious rank by virtue of their superior education and actually refusing to dine with their kith and kin.

In regard to prohibited food, and food prepared by improper persons, it may be said generally that most educated Hindus in Bengal have an aversion to beef and ham, but fowl is taken openly in restaurants and on board the inland steamers, where of course the cooking is done by Muhammadan *baburchis*. Orthodox Hindus travelling by the same steamer see the "Babus"

enjoying their fill of fowl-curry and cutlets, and bemoan the Kali age and predict that the end of the world cannot be far off, though they half suspect that their own sons are also guilty of the same offence.

(p) I have already said that the performance of *prayaschitta* is seldom considered essential nowadays. The psychological justification of ceremonial penance lay in the fact that by performing that solemn rite the penitent promised to abjure his foreign ways and manners, and was accepted in return as a member of brotherhood by his caste fellows. But the number of young men who have travelled in foreign countries is now so large and so few of them make a large income on their return, that they have perforce to abandon their superior airs and consequently are no longer kept at arm's length by their untravelling countrymen, specially as in their dress and food and conversation they are no longer fond of imitating the Europeans, partly because they are themselves thoroughly permeated by the Swadeshi spirits, and partly also because Europeans would not mix on equal terms with them. The purification ceremony, with all the attendant humiliation of swallowing the five products of the cow, has therefore practically fallen into desuetude.

(2) (i) I have already discussed purdah at some length. In rural areas, in places of pilgrimage like Benares and Puri, in health resorts like Madhupur and Deogarh, and in travelling in trains and steamers and also in motor cars and taxis in towns, very little purdah is observed. Even in small subdivisional towns the practice is growing up of ladies in groups of twos and threes, or single ladies with a boy escort, visiting friends all by themselves on foot. The sight of a mere man no longer gives a young lady the nervous shock which was painfully evident in our youthful days, and beves of young ladies in their teens flocking to school or college on foot or in buses are no longer a rare sight in the towns. In many advanced Hindu households, the men and women sit together to dinner, and the father-in-law treats the daughter-in-law as a daughter, and freely converses with her, which is totally against the practice which prevailed a generation ago. On the whole, the purdah system is on the wane, and the present national movement had further shortened its lease of life. The veil has been found to be an impediment to free movement, and in the hurry and bustle of town life it can be discarded without attracting notice; and the awakened curiosity of woman will not put up with total ignorance of the outer world around her.

(ii) Among the three higher castes of Bengal, e.g., Brahmin, Vaidya and Kayastha, especially among the latter two, child marriage was rapidly becoming a thing of the past, even before the passage of the Sarda Act. Time was when Kulin girls remained unmarried till a late age, but that was due to the prevalence of polygamy and the artificially high value put upon Kulinism, i.e., high birth, according to certain fixed eugenic standards which had very little to do with real worth in the bridegroom. Latterly the scales had turned in favour of youthful marriages, when there was partial reversion especially in the case of women, to the age prescribed by Manu in his Dharmasastra. When we married eleven to twelve used to be the marriageable age for girls among the higher castes. Among the lower castes, girls were married at a much lower age. The next swing of the pendulum raised the marriageable age for girls to 15, 16, and in some cases, especially among Kayasthas and Vaidyas, to 17 and even 18. This was due to the growing practice of educating girls in response to the growing demand, on the part of our educated young men, for educated wives and also to economic reasons, which made it necessary for our young men to defer marriage till they were able to earn their livelihood, and men between their twenty-fifth and thirtieth years were naturally averse to marrying very young girls. The Sarda Act has merely legalised the practice prevalent among the educated classes in Bengal, though as a matter of fact, if a suitable match is found, marriages do take place every now and then in contravention of the provisions of that Act. The lower castes have not yet taken the Sarda Act very seriously. As to the progressive increase of the age of marriage among men, I may cite the example of my own family. I married at the age of 13, while each of my brothers married at the age of 20 and upwards. My eldest son, aged 27, is yet unmarried, though he is a member of a learned profession. My first two daughters were married at the age of 13, my third daughter at the age of 15.

(iii) At one time bride-price used to be paid, as is still the case among some lower castes, where men outnumber women. Now it is the other way about, and bridegroom-price has become an oppressive taxation on the higher castes. It is sought to be justified by saying that a Hindu daughter inherits nothing from her father, and that an educated young man is entitled to some help from his father-in-law to give him a start in life. If the dowry had been settled on the daughter as some sort of provision for her, no objection could be taken to it. But most of it is frittered away in vain display and unmeaning pomp, and is of no good to anybody. Unfortunately in this matter the chivalry and idealism which we associate with our young men in other ways, e.g., famine-relief, rescue-work at bathing festivals and the like, is conspicuous by its absence. At the same time, it cannot be gainsaid that a daughter is entitled to a share in the patrimony and to the extent that the "pan" system helps to redress the inequality between brother and sister it is not without justification.

(iv) The necessity of widow-remarriage is now generally felt, especially by educated Hindus. Since the days of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and his Widow Remarriage Act the idea of widow-remarriage has gripped men's minds and from an abstract proposition it has now come down to the region of practical politics, but even now Hindus have not taken very kindly to the remarriage of any but virgin widows. In our childhood we have seen widows of the lowest classes living with men of the same caste as husband and wife without incurring any social opprobrium, but the practice died down in imitation of the custom prevailing among the higher castes. Latterly it has revived, as newspaper reports would go to show. The activities of the Arya Samaj and the Widow Remarriage Societies have contributed to some extent to this

result. I know of one such society founded by a very orthodox Brahmin, at whose instance some widow marriages have taken place in Tippera and Noakhali. At Noakhali I know a pleader who had married a widow, but the union was not happy. The brother-in-law of a relation of mine, an ex-District Judge, had married a widow, out of pity for her sad case. At first there was some opposition to her admission in the village society, but backed by the powerful support of the Union Board President, a man of strong personality, she succeeded in gaining an entrance within the folds of the *sumaj*. She and her husband now pass for ordinary Hindus, and no questions were asked. The abduction of Hindu widows in outlying tracts has also opened the eyes of a considerable section of Hindu society to the urgency of this reform. In spite, however, of frequent lapses from virtue and of repeated proofs that flesh is weak in the face of strong temptations especially when blood is young, Hindus as a whole are very loath to give up their high ideal of female chastity and no educated Hindu would prefer to enter into a matrimonial alliance with a widow, other things being equal, so long as an unmarried virgin is available, though the widow might herself be a virgin to all intents and purposes. At the same time, it must be admitted that widow remarriage would have been commoner had the widows themselves, and the other ladies of the family, not been averse to such remarriage.

(v) I have already referred to the great impetus which the movement for female education has received throughout Bengal, though it is keener in Eastern Bengal than in Central or Western Bengal. The economic and other causes of this movement have also been touched upon. Educated young men, who no longer marry before they are fit to earn a livelihood, naturally do not like an all but illiterate partner, and this is the main cause of the spread of female education. Girls at school cost more in dress and conveyance than boys, and owing to the paucity of outdoor games in girls' schools their health is apt to suffer and in the absence of any vocation except marriage and rearing up of children much of the education they receive in schools has no bearing on their future careers. So long as marriage continues to be the principal vocation of women, this state of things is bound to continue, but before the evolution of a new womanhood, the present transitional stage with all its drawbacks seems to be indispensable.

(vi) and (vii) The professional careers hitherto considered most suitable for women are teaching, nursing and medical practice, e.g., specialising in female diseases. Until a large body of female teachers is available, the teaching profession is not without its dangers, for in out of the way places women teachers cannot live without male protection. Trained nurses are in increasing demand, but though there are female doctors, their services are seldom requisitioned except as midwives; in all serious cases they act under the direction of some male expert. Typists, stenographers, clerks, are not yet recruited from Bengali women, and it does not seem as if Bengali girls would be able to earn their livelihood by following any other profession in the near future. The morals of office girls are suspected in Hindu society, which would not easily tolerate the practice of such professions by well-born Hindu girls, even though in indigent circumstances.

The way in which zenana women have participated in the national movement and gone to jail in large numbers, preached at public gatherings and led public processions in towns and villages and up and down the country side, has been an eye-opener to all of us. This movement has evidently come to stay and women can no longer be shut within the four walls of the zenana. Meetings of zenana ladies have become the fashion in many a mufassal town, and the topics discussed by the womenfolk within the precincts of the zenana, so long considered to be impervious to outside influence, show that it is no longer inviolable, and even the holy of holies has been invaded by the spirit of the age. The monthly journals and Bengali novels dealing with social and sex problem have largely contributed to this result. Woman is no longer content to be a mere understudy of man, and the theory of "*Pati-Devata*" (the godship of the husband) has received a rude check from the democratic doctrine of equality preached by the press and from the platform. It is impossible for society to resist the cumulative effect of all these liberalising influences, and even the most conservative household has to give in to some extent at any rate, to the prevailing ideas which have gained currency in the social sphere. The election of women as members of public bodies is therefore only a question of time, and their participation in such matters as the inspection of jails, and in local self-government and the management of educational and charitable institutions, as municipal councillors and members of the governing bodies of schools and dispensaries has already commenced under the fostering care of the Government.

As might be expected, educated members of the caste are more liberal than the uneducated section, though it is not always the case. There are many educated people, who are quite liberal in some respects and equally illiberal in others. With the majority of educated Hindus of all castes, liberalism in belief goes hand in hand with a strange conservatism in practice. The religious revival and political chauvinism have both contributed to strengthen the forces of reaction and a belief has gained ground that the wisdom of the ancients cannot be improved upon. It is forgotten that in the truest sense it is we who are the ancients of the earth and inheritors of the wisdom of the ages. The cry of "Back to the Vedas" has become the battle cry with a section of the neo-Hindus, and the solidarity derived by the followers of the Prophet from a fanatical adherence to the simple dogma and semi-military ritual of Islam inspires them with a desire to emulate the aggressiveness of the rival faith. Hinduism, as is well known, is perhaps the most tolerant of religions so far as beliefs are concerned, but in matters of practice it is more or less a close corporation. In order to conserve the social organization from further decay, some educated Hindus try to be as orthodox as possible in their religious practices. Not that they always believe wholeheartedly in the efficacy of these practices—their general culture, liberal education, and the deep-rooted toleration of Hinduism all combined make a sincere adherence to superstitious traditions and senseless practices extremely difficult—but sometimes for show and sometimes as a makeshift and to allay the qualms of conscience, they follow these

ritualistic observances for all they are worth. The truth is, in spite of our scientific education, the historical sense and the rationalistic attitude of mind all but ill-developed among us, I have been astounded to hear doctrines and beliefs propounded by educated Hindus which have wellnigh staggered me and which would have appeared childish to any European. But they were laid down with all solemnity by my co-religionists as if they were irrefutable. Liberal and conservative Hindus alike have to observe certain rituals on the occasions of births, marriages and deaths. The liberals may pay only a lip-homage to these observances, but none the less they cannot but perform them, for to ignore them would be to declare themselves beyond the pale of Hindu society. On these occasions, the influence of the conservative section is most felt, and we must include the ladies of the family in this section. In matters of comparatively minor importance, where the breach of social rules and Shastric injunctions is treated in the light of a venial offence, the liberals usually have their way. The views propounded above are held, not only by the educated members of my caste or sub-caste, but by educated members of all the three higher castes in Bengal, subject to the limitations set forth by me. I have seen a tremendous change in social beliefs and practices on the whole during my lifetime which may be said to be almost revolutionary in character. And yet, every now and then, an atavistic reaction takes place in some section or other of the higher castes. A Sannyasin or Sadhu suddenly emerges from obscurity and sweeps everything before him for a while. He propounds some new-fangled doctrine and counts his disciples by the thousand, a not insignificant portion of which is composed of members of the learned professions including men who have received a foreign education. The star sets as suddenly as it rose above the horizon as one of the first magnitude, to be followed by another which replaces it in no time. The metaphysical bent of the Hindu mind, its fascination for occultism and its want of intellectual backbone which makes it averse to free thinking, are among the causes which make the cult of the Sadhu so popular among us. To the same cause, as well as our economic distress and material wants which make us fond of indulging in dreams of future prosperity, may be attributed the growing belief in astrology which like gambling at the races, was not so marked a feature of educated mentality in our youthful days. But apart from these minor signs of the advance of the reign of superstition, the most marked change in the social outlook which I have noticed within the last ten years is in the region of female education and female emancipation. I do not speak of the growth of political consciousness, which is well known to all. There is the spirit of revolt openly manifesting itself among the lower classes for instance. Their placid content has vanished even in the social sphere, and they are no longer willing to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. The first sign of this upward movement is the adoption of the sacred thread, symbol of equality with the Brahmins. The second step, and sometimes the first, is to give themselves "brevet" rank, as Sir Herbert Risley has said, by taking a new caste-name. I have seen Namasudras of Faridpur calling themselves Banerjees and Mukherjees and the like in imitation of the family designation of high caste Kulin Brahmins. The third step is to select some one among themselves as their priest, and to refuse to take rice from any but Brahmins. Lastly, they refuse to do menial work for the other castes and try to establish their right to enter the Hindu temples without let or hindrance. One of the baneful effects of this social upheaval is that the lower castes consider manual labour undignified, and in imitation of the higher castes give up many of their wholesome practices. I have seen in my youth the hunting of boars and eating their flesh practised as a favourite pastime by low caste Hindus, but the same castes, e.g., Namasudras, now aspire to be gentlemen by abjuring these practices and claim equality with the higher castes without conceding the same right to those inferior to them in social status.

Cultivating Brahmins are common enough in Bihar and Upper India and Orissa, as the sacred thread on the person of many of our coolies would go to show. In Bengal, they are to be found within my knowledge in the Bankura district; and in the interior of Chittagong Brahmins are among the depressed communities, being attached to Vaidya and Kayastha families as priests, messengers and trusted escorts. They are known by the contemptuous epithet of *Sutakandas* (wearers of the thread). It is only during the last ten years that their social position has somewhat improved.

I have already mentioned some of the instances of widow marriage and inter-caste marriage within my experience. I have never seen the *prayaschitta* being performed or social ostracism being practised for its non-performance. I have seen splits in the group which were invariably made up in course of time.

Prior to the Great War, foreign travel, with its attendant connotation of eating forbidden food and food prepared by improper persons, was looked upon with disfavour by the orthodox section of Brahmins and gave rise to a movement for social ostracism which usually ended in a split in the group. Once there is a split, that is, one section takes up the cause of the Europe-returned youth, the battle of social reform in the matter of crossing the *Kala-pani* (black water) is half won, for the seceders cannot all be outcasted and have ultimately to be taken back, when the keenness of the controversy has died down. There was a *cause celebre* at Benares over this question in which the plaintiff was a rich and influential Vaishya, and pandits from far and near were examined by both sides, and the presiding judge was himself a learned Sanskrit scholar. The judgment which he delivered was printed and sold everywhere, and the sea voyage movement received a great impetus from Mr. Sris Chandra Vasu's judgment, supported as it was by Shastric texts and authorities. During the War, Bengalis in large numbers went to Persia and Mesopotamia, and some even went to the Western Front, and they were encouraged by the Government. On their return the question of sea-voyage was solved of itself and nowadays no one of any caste, high or low, is deterred from going to Europe or America by any consideration for the feelings of his caste fellows or his own position in society on his return.

II

5. (i) I do not believe that inter-marriage between different castes is necessary for many generations yet to come. I consider a system of promiscuous inter marriages to be positively inimical to the betterment of human types which must necessarily be the main objective of social laws. I am definitely against inter-racial marriages.

(ii) I believe inter-dining in modified forms should be accepted though personally I believe that those who can rigidly and rationally practise strict control in the matter are scientifically in a better position and are entitled to respect and not to ridicule. I believe that the principles on which these rules are based are fundamentally sound though in modern conditions some re-adjustment is called for.

(iii) I strongly feel and advocate that untouchability as a social system must go, though personal cleanliness must necessarily be the basis of social contacts.

(iv) As in (iii) for touchability there can be no pollution.

(v) I suggest *prayaschitta* (literally means "change of heart") to be willingly gone through—this is just to acknowledge the supremacy of the group ideas for social well-being. I should not, however, force it if any one is unwilling to perform the specific function but shows by other conduct that he acknowledges this supremacy.

(2) (i) I am definitely against promiscuous mixing of sexes. I would adopt the "not at home" label a little more liberally in Indian life. I am against woman going veiled. They must get about freely but social contacts should not be intimate between man as a class and woman as a class except in cases of relatives or friends of the families. The code very well known and accepted in village life with a little more liberalisation will do—or rather something approximating the early Victorian code of English life. I am of opinion that much that passes for freedom in the world to-day is abject slavery to conventions more tyrannical in insincerity and artificiality than the proclaimed preference for shelter and seclusion. The spiritual growth of man and woman is better ensured when both are permitted to grow in peace and quiet and not perpetually thrust into positions that call forth fresh strain on nerves to readjust oneself.

(ii) Girls normally should be married between the ages of 17 to 21 years. But no artificial age limit is necessary and it should be determined by various circumstances, financial and physical.

(iii) Definitely for prohibition if necessary by law. It is the result of poverty developing into a fetish. With men in their sixties it was almost unknown. In our generation it started vigorously and to-day it is one of the rankest of abuses.

(iv) I believe that widow remarriage should be a personal matter for the widows concerned to decide. A widow who considers marriage necessary should certainly marry without any social obloquy but the widow who prefers to remain under the idealism and does not re-marry is entitled to my utmost homage of respect. She is in the largest majority of cases I have known the finest expression of conjugal fidelity and the most unique product of a mental type almost incomprehensible to the vulgarised mind with extravagant ideas of sexes and senses. I would certainly disapprove any social ban against remarriage and that has been our attitude in those limited cases where so far re-marriage has taken place.

(v) "Education" needs to be defined. The woman 30 years ago might not have been largely "literate" but were certainly well-educated. Present-day literary education is a necessary evil. If India gets the freedom to plan out her own life the process of "education" must be radically changed. In the meantime the choice of evils decides literary education on boys' syllabus with as much of adjustment to girls' needs as practicable under the present conditions.

(vi) The question of "emancipation" is an absurd idea. There is no bondage save that which poverty imposes on every individual—man or woman. Up to recent times the man as a husband, as a brother, as a son thought it his duty to bear the more strenuous part of the human life securing for the women that rest, shelter and security against an undignified life which is labelled as "freedom" to-day. That rest and security given to the mothers of a race was held and rightly as a physiological and a psychological necessity if the race is to be preserved. With the women was left the definite culture of the race ideals and the traditions, the cultivation of those artistic and humanistic qualities which provided the necessary softening influences on life. Women were no more in bondage than the men. To-day, however, the impoverished homes have raised the question of supplementing the attenuated income of the family; the support so willingly borne by men with pleasure and as a duty is getting to be a burden. The economic independence of all individuals—men or women—is getting to be an imperative problem. I regret very much that a condition has been reached where women must have to be fitted up to earn their living. Professional careers, therefore, must be opened up to meet the situation as a choice of the lesser evil.

(vii) So far we have no public life worth mentioning as such. In my view a subject race can have no public life. The caricature of public life that we see about us is the inevitable consequence of the fundamental fact that a race which is not politically free to plan out its life must continue a maimed existence where every sign of life must be incomplete, imperfect and more a simulation than a reality. Hence women if they join up can hardly improve the situation.

But if India gets a substance of independence women should certainly take part as they do take almost in every sphere of social life (social in the largest sense and including political) in the past in rebuilding the life of the race.

6 (i) (ii) The effect on non-earning members and widow is disastrous specially when there is no "dole" system by the State, no insurance against unemployment, no old age pension and not even thoughts on offering avenues for honest economic life

The opinion that I have expressed is I think the opinion of the largest number of men in my society and caste. Yes, there have been cases where widow-remarriage was opposed but opposition was outvoted (we participated in the function of the re-marriage of Sir Ashutosh Mukharji's widowed daughter) there was opposition to the acceptance of a England-returned man but the opposition dwindled into a minority (there were two specific cases in my own village and several in town within our social guild) There has been no case of inter-marriage between castes in my society but the inter-marriage between sub-castes definitely opposed in the generation before me and disapproved in the generation when we (I am now 47 years old) were married has been common occurrence, has taken place in several families and even in my family which so far has represented the orthodox Kulinism of the Brahmin group.

CHAPTER XII

Caste, Tribe and Race

Part I—Introductory

438. The statistics shown.—The principal statistics discussed in this chapter are those presented in imperial table XVII showing details of race, tribe, caste, nationality or Muslim social group. Figures of variations for selected primitive tribes are also given in imperial table XVIII. Table XIX gives statistics for Europeans and persons of applied races distinguished by nationality as British subjects and others and also for Anglo-Indians. Caste also enters as a basis of classification into such tables as those already dealt with in connection with marital condition, literacy and occupation. At the end of this chapter subsidiary tables are printed showing :—

- I—the numerical and proportionate distribution of the population by districts on a social and religious classification, 1931 ;
- II—the numerical and proportionate strength of selected groups with variations at each census, 1901-1931 ;
- III—the proportions borne by selected castes and tribes (a) to the total population, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931 and (b) to the population in the areas in which they are principally found, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 ; and
- IV—a classification of the returns of Brahman sub-castes actually made, by natural divisions.

439. Origin of the figures.—The statistics of caste, tribe and race were obtained from the entries made in column 8 of the schedule. This column was headed "race, tribe or caste" and entering it up is perhaps the most unsatisfactory and troublesome of all the enquires undertaken during the census. It was presumably intended originally to secure a return of the different castes of Hindu society, and was thence extended to Muslim ethnic, social or functional groups and to the various aboriginal and primitive tribes found in the indigenous population. Its extension to others than Indians introduces immediately a very considerable indefiniteness. The very concept "race" is vague and it might almost be said that as many different racial classifications exist as there are writers on ethnographic subjects. The difficulty is not lessened by the fact that Bengali and the Indian languages current in Bengal have no separate terms for such distinct concepts as "race," "tribe," "nationality" and "caste" and that no terms exist which can be adapted for this purpose without risk of very considerable confusion. In practice the instructions given to the enumerators were made as specific as possible. They were directed to return for Hindus the caste such as Brahman, Kayastha, Shaha, Teli, etc.; for Aryas, Brahmos, Jains and Sikhs the caste of those who recognise caste and the tribe of those who do not; for Muslims the racial groups (Sayyad, Sekh, Moghul, Pathan) or functional groups (Behara, Jolaha, Kulu) which they profess; for aborigines the tribe as for instance Santal, Oraon, etc.; for Bhuddhists whether they are Burmese, Maghs, etc.; for Parsis and other Indians such as Christians who have no caste or tribe "Indian"; and for others than Indians race (*sic*), i.e., whether they are English, Canadian, Anglo-Indian, Goanese, etc. The supplementary instructions issued in explanation of these directions were mainly directed to obtaining an accurate return of Hindu castes and are reproduced below :—

Great care must be taken to see that the real caste name is recorded in column 8 and not terms which come under the following classes and are not true caste names :—

- (a) Mere titles, e.g., Das, Mallik, Pramanik, Mandal.
- (b) Terms indicating occupation only, e.g., Baniya (a functional term applicable to Shahas, Gandhabaniks, Subarnabaniks, etc.), Jaliya (applicable to fishermen who may be Namasudras, Kaibarttas, Malos, etc.), Mohtar (a generic term for several sweeper castes), Thakur.

- (c) Terms merely indicating locality of origin, e.g., Hindustani, Paharia, Nepali, Marwari.
- (d) Terms indicating religion or sect, e.g., Sikh. The Sikh religion is professed by persons of various castes, Rajputs, Jats, etc.
- (e) Other vague terms applicable to more than one caste, e.g., Buna (a designation given to a number of tribes including Bagdis, Bauris, Mundas, etc.), Jangli.
- (f) Names of sub-castes or exogamous and endogamous groups, such as the four groups of Dhoas in Chittagong between which commensality and inter-marriage are rigidly restricted. There are three principal exceptions to this rule: sub-castes of Brahmans should be recorded, Chasi Kaibarttas may be described as Mahishyas and Jaha Kaibarttas as Adi Kaibarttas, and those Rajbangsis who have taken the sacred thread may be shown, if they claim the title of Kshattriya, as Rajbangsi (Kshattriya) but not as Kshattriya. If any doubt arises in other cases it should be referred for orders to the charge superintendents.
- (g) Names taken from the classics which may have stood for classes as they existed centuries ago but are not in common use to-day, e.g., the name of the ancient varna, Vaishya.

The correct spelling of caste names and the care with which they are written are matters of importance owing to the similarity between certain caste names and others, e.g., Mal, Mali and Malo Chamar, Kamar and Kumar.

The instructions on the household schedules contained a direction for the entry of "race (*sic*), i.e., whether English, French, etc." and for naturalised British subjects of foreign birth the additional entry "British subject" after the entry of race thus interpreted.

440. Classification of blank entries.—During slip-copying and sorting where column 8 was found to contain no entry the caste of the head of the family or other occupants of the house was entered in the case of Indians and failing that the occupation was taken as a guide to the caste except where caste was stated to have been specifically repudiated.

441. Vagueness of the returns for non-Asiatics.—The unavoidable vagueness of the information which it is sought to obtain results in the case of non-Asiatics very frequently in obtaining from this column no definite information either of the nationality or of the racial affinity of the persons returned, and at the best no uniformity can be achieved.

442. Difficulty of obtaining accurate figures.—The return of caste, tribe or race excites the only interest aroused by the census in the general public, and two causes make it difficult to obtain exhaustive and accurate statistics. One is the opposition to the return of any distinctive entries. The other is the reluctance of many persons to give returns for their caste corresponding to the names in current use and familiar to the general public.

443. Opposition to the return of all caste and similar distinctions, amongst Muslims.—Opposition to the return of any sectional distinctions whatever was raised by the Muslims upon what were represented as being religious grounds. It was contended that distinctions of caste are repugnant to Islam as a universal and democratic faith. This of course is true. It is also true that such divisions as exist in Islam are largely artificial and they have been held up to ridicule popular in the couplet:

شیخ ہوم سال اول خان شدم سائ دگر * غلّہ گر ارزان شود امسال سبد می شوم

(Shekh bûdam Sâi-i-Awwâl, Khân Shâdam

Sâi-i-diggâr

Ghallah gar arzân shewad imsâl Sayyad

mi shawam.)

"In the first year I was a Shekh, in the next

I became a Khan;

If crops turn out cheap

this year, I shall become a Sayyad."

Muslim objections actually arise from the awkward poverty in the vernacular to which reference has already been made. The only current word which

can be used to describe the groups actually existing amongst Muslims is *jati* with its associations connoting the whole Hindu caste system and a gradation of religious privilege. It is these associations which offend the Muslim mind. It is not the existence of exclusive groups which is denied but any suggestion that true believers are by birth or social position denied full participation in the benefits of their faith here and hereafter. The Qur'an Sharif itself contains the text (XLIX, 13):

"O ye men ! verily I have created you male and female and have divided you into classes and communities so that you can distinguish one from another."

Even if this verse be interpreted as referring to the different religions or races of mankind and not to communities within the fold of Islam the Prophet himself seems to have recognised class distinctions. The **Hadis* records in the Bukhari Sharif and Muslim Sharif that a distinction was drawn between the Muhajerin who had accompanied the Prophet on his *hejira* and the Ansar who received and succoured him in Medina, as for instance in the allocation to the impoverished Muhajerin of the spoils taken from the Banu Nadir. The exclusiveness of existing distinctions was actually emphasised by the group now shown as "Mumin" who in a representation which reads very much like a memorial from one of the "depressed" classes of Hindus set forth the indignities imposed on them by the more elevated social groups owing to their lowly status in society. The frivolity of the religious argument was exposed when a *mullah* in one district was urging it but abruptly desisted upon the district census officer's shrewd suggestion that he would cancel the entries in the caste column of the schedule if the *mullah* would on his part issue a *fatwa* encouraging inter-marriage between Sayyads and Jolahas. If a word could be reserved for the description of such groups as exist amongst Muslims without carrying the associations of the Hindu caste system pretexts for Muslim opposition on religious grounds would disappear. Some of the groups actually found on the present occasion are shown below with brief notes : some are of doubtful orthodoxy and in some cases it is reported that other Muslims "refuse to acknowledge" them socially.

Name of group	Where reported	Remarks
Badiya or Abdal	Bogra	Circumcisers.
Bajadars	Jessore	Musicians.
Chunia	Bogra	...
Dai	Dacca, etc.	The women act as midwives.
Dhawa	Bogra and Rajshahi	Fishermen
Duffadi	Malda	Hooka sellers
Farudi	Jessore	Originally hawkers of glass beads and now cultivators.
Katibara	Bogra	Originally workers in lead foil used to decorate image of Durga : now gold and silver workers.
Kulu	Bogra and elsewhere	Oil pressers
Kutti	Dacca	Masons, hackney-carriage drivers, etc.
Mahlarah	Dacca	Fishermen.
Manjhi	Bogra	Fishermen and boatmen said to be a close group but turning to agriculture and claiming the name "Shekh Terail" on the analogy of the "Mumin" and on the ground that they are the Eam Terail
Mirshikari	Bogra and Dacca	Now goldsmiths
Naliya	Bogra	Weavers of reed mats
Pirkhodali	Malda	...
Punjura	Malda	...
Ranua	Jessore	Fish sellers
Sannadar	Dacca	Hawkers of glass ware.
Sandar	Bogra	Drummers
		Hawkers of glass bangles and tinsel.

444. **Hindu opposition to caste returns.**—Amongst Hindus there is in Bengal a branch of the All-India Varnasram Swaraj Sangha pledged to the maintenance of all caste distinctions including untouchability and therefore definitely against any restriction in the rigidity of caste distinctions. The most active and vocal agitation regarding caste, however, is that of those who desire its abolition. Some time before the census operations began a meeting of the Bengal Hindu Samaj Sammilani in Calcutta found itself considering a resolution that all Hindus should be called Brahmans and invested with the sacred thread ; and in spite of orthodox opposition the resolution was actually carried. Reforming and schismatic sects such as the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj, etc., have generally repudiated caste distinctions, and their ultimate abolition is a principle with such bodies as the Hindu Mission and the Hindu Sabha, to which reference has been made in the chapter on religion. The Hindu Sabha circularised its members calling

*I am indebted for these quotations to Mr. Iskander Ghuznavi.

upon them to withhold details of their caste when asked for it by the census staff; and the professed policy of the Hindu Mission is the same, though the propaganda issued by them suggested that the returns should comprise only the three twice-born *varna* names, any further details of caste being withheld and no person being returned as sudra or under a sudra caste. There is also an association known as the Jat Pat Torak Mandal whose professed object is the abolition of the caste system altogether and in deference to representations from this and similar bodies the instructions for the record of caste were so modified during enumeration as to permit the acceptance of a return of "no caste" from those who "have actively ceased to conform to the caste system and who have accordingly broken it in their marital and commensal relations, but who do not belong to reforming and schismatic communities such as the Arya Samaj, Sikhs, Jains, etc." Actually it is a little surprising to find that amongst 22,212,069 Hindus so few as 29,000 or little more than one in a thousand actually failed to give any return of caste at all, and amongst these a certain number at least must represent persons outcasted or for some reason not entitled to claim membership of any known caste at all.

445. **Inducements to an incorrect return of caste.**—The factors encouraging the submission of inaccurate returns are of various kinds. For political reasons and not necessarily as a matter of conscience an insistence upon communal solidarity often goes with a demand to abolish not indeed the fact but recognition or record of the fact that Hindu society contains within itself so many different groups of divergent interests. Such considerations readily ally themselves with similar convictions of a more religious or philanthropic kind which, while admitting the existence of different castes, lead those holding them to minimise the separatist tendencies of the caste system by inculcating an attitude of general benevolence to all fellow religionists irrespective of the boundaries of caste. It was presumably by a compromise between these considerations and a recognition of the great part played by caste in Hindu life that the Hindu Mission, in its agitations above referred to, after a certain amount of wavering arrived at the policy of urging first that only the *varna* names, Brahman and Kshattriya, should be recorded and that all persons should be recorded as without caste if they could not claim to belong to one of these *varnas*, and as a modification that, if the Vaisyas were also added they too were to be recorded only by their *varna* name. They called upon members of Hindu society not to return sudra castes, not to return themselves as untouchable or depressed and to employ caste names signifying an elevated status in Hindu society. In addition to this agitation not indeed for the complete abolition of returns of caste but for their distortion in a very marked degree there were the usual claims to a change of caste nomenclature such as have distinguished all previous operations.

446. **Claims to new nomenclature—Muslim groups.**—Amongst the Muslims these claims were made chiefly by Jolahas and Nagarchis. The Jolahas now appear as "Mumin" (believer), a name which it is hoped will avoid deterioration into a contemptuous term such as the one it is replacing. The history of the English word "silly", however, suggests that if sanctity itself is not free from misrepresentation mere belief may fare no better. In Tippera the Nagarchis, originally a functional group of drummers deriving their name from the word *nagqara*, agitated to be returned as Shekhs. There was indeed everywhere a vulgar misapprehension that any one who was not a Sayyad, Mogul or Pathan was *ipso facto* a Shekh, and the title was claimed by many who did not even pretend to claim Arab descent to which it should by rights be restricted. There was in some parts a reluctance to return "Bengali" which was authorised for cultivators who did not fall within either one of the four racial groups or some well defined occupational group such as Nikari, Kulu, etc. In any case, however, it is not possible to estimate the accuracy of the group returns of Muslims since the only groups separately recorded are Sayyads, whose returns must inevitably be swelled by persons having very little title to the name as descendants of the Prophet's family,

and "Mumins" whose numbers are likely to be reasonably accurate. It is doubtful whether any group distinctions amongst Muslims in Bengal will ever be of real value and accuracy.

447. **Hindu claims to caste nomenclature.**—Hindu caste claims provided as plentiful a crop as usual and amongst the perennial contentions there also appeared a number of new varieties not previously exhibited at any census. All were as usual to some name implying a superior position in the Hindu hierarchy of social groups. The method by which they were supported is commonly in every case alike. In some cases the *varna* claimed is alleged to be that of the caste concerned merely because in one of the *shastras* the name or function of the caste appears within that *varna*. In other cases a somewhat similar name is seized upon in the holy books and the existing name of the caste is derived by a fanciful etymology as a corruption of the original name, whilst a myth or theory, generally supported by no historical research or evidence, is put forward to explain the fact that the caste (given a respectable affiliation in the *shastras*) finds itself now struggling against a degraded position in the heretical and non-Aryan land of Bengal. In many cases *vyavasthas* are procured from colleges of pandits: but the nature of the reply received generally depends upon the skill with which the question is put. The reply often contrives to be an exercise in the best oracular tradition. The pandits do not profess in any case to go beyond the authoritative statement and exposition of the actual contents of the *shastras* and are prepared upon occasion to admonish the same rebuke as was given by them upon a representation of one caste which asked whether they were amongst the *vahya* class and received a reply giving the quotation relevant with the comment that the groups mentioned therein were the only *vahya* classes mentioned in the *shastras* and that as the name of the caste on behalf of which a reference was made did not occur at all in the holy books it was unprofitable to pursue any further enquiry. In some cases as amongst the Vaidyas and Kayasthas caste claims have been investigated by serious discussion of literary, epigraphic, historical and social evidence, but more commonly literary research fails to reveal any link by which the caste can be associated with the historical group from which it is sought to derive it. Finally claims are supported by allegations that the social customs of the higher castes are practised by those claiming allocation amongst them. The lowest groups and those recently recruited from tribal beliefs declare that they have renounced such practices as the eating of beef or meat and forbidden foods generally and the drinking of liquor; the claim is often made upon the ground that they have adopted social customs such as child instead of adult marriage and the prohibition of divorce and remarriage of widows which many of the progressive and enlightened Hindus are coming to regard as retrograde. Those ambitious to be included amongst the twice-born classes claim that their period of ceremonial uncleanness after bereavement and the ceremonies necessary to regularise marriage and adoption as well as the arrangements for preventing marriage within prohibited degrees are the same as are prescribed for the twice-born classes and that they also practise all the *samskars* proper to the *varna* claimed. It is this last aspect of the case which is evidently the hardest for castes to prove. They here encounter not only the observation of their neighbours but also the conservatism of their women folk who are reluctant to exchange customs which for generations have brought them religious comfort for new practices proper perhaps to the twice-born but probably sinful to others and in any case not sanctioned by tradition. Their priests also are hesitant to elevate their disciples by any change in the ritual at which they will assist: their own status in some cases must necessarily be improved if it can be proved that the castes to whom they minister are not degraded, but on the other hand the pioneers run the risk of being entirely discredited by the Brahman community at large for permitting their disciples to establish the claim to a superior position, and instances are recorded in which the Brahman investing with the sacred thread some initiate of the aboriginal classes has found it most comfortable for himself to disappear thereafter and make the best of the fees he has been able to realise for his services.

448. **Court rulings and the benefits of recognition as twice-born.**—It is at first sight surprising that claims at least to allocation in one or other of the two main groups of twice-born and sudra *varnas* should have been decided so infrequently in courts of law, but civil courts have no jurisdiction to try caste questions unless the suit is in respect of a right to property or to an office. Authoritative decisions in the Privy Council and the High Courts as regards the *varna* of specific castes in Bengal appear to be very rare indeed and I am not aware of any instances except in the case of Vaidyas, Kayasthas and Shahas in which an issue has been raised in Bengal and a decision given upon it that a caste belongs to the twice-born class or the Sudras. The question whether a person belongs to any particular one of the regenerate castes is for all legal purposes immaterial as "the *Shastras* were written for all and equally apply to all" (Gaur's *Hindu Code*, 2nd addition, page 198). But the difficulty of allocating a caste between the sudras and the regenerate castes is not made easier by the fact that it did not exist at all in earlier times when the caste rules were not rigid but arose only after a degree of exclusiveness had been introduced into the caste groups which was not contemplated in the scriptures themselves by reference to which it is now sought to reach a decision. In the absence of effective help from the text-books the courts have now cut what Gaur describes as the "gordian knot" by formulating for their own guidance a few working rules which though not inflexible have become invariable guides in the determination of such cases and to proceed according to (1) what the caste think of themselves and (2) what others think of them. Apart from the social esteem which it is sought to compel by claiming allocation to one of the regenerate *varnas* the advantages from such a description appear to the observer from without to be of doubtful value. There is indeed a certain convenience in the restriction of the period of ceremonial pollution to less than 30 days imposed upon the sudras. To the more devout of those claiming allocation to the Brahman *varna* it will also appear a very definite advantage to be able to approach the deity direct and without depending upon the intervention of a priest. In aspiring to twice-born status however castes are restricting the latitude of their practices in many ways. Ceremonies without which marriage and adoption are invalid in the case of the twice-born may be pretermitted in the case of sudras who have a wider latitude of choice in both these sacraments since the great rigidity of restriction by prohibited degrees according to *gotra* and *pravara* does not apply to them and they do not lie under any bar to the adoption of such relatives as a son of a sister or daughter or mother's sister or of any boy whose mother as a maiden the adoptive father could not marry. It would have seemed that the more elastic provisions applicable to sudras in these details as well as the express latitude still existing amongst them as regards inter-caste marriages, divorce and the remarriage of widows would have been considered to be advantageous. It is true that they might be proved as customs of the caste and validated even along with a claim to regenerate status. But it is more likely that such freedom as was previously enjoyed would be discountenanced and that there would be considerable reluctance to admit any customs suggesting a humbler origin.

449. **Method of dealing with claims to caste nomenclature.**—The principles on which caste claims were dealt with in 1911 were laid down by Mr. O'Malley in paragraphs 830 and 831 of his report (1911) and in general the same principles were followed on the present occasion. Changes of caste name were opposed on general grounds because they would conceal the identity of the caste concerned when comparisons were made with the returns obtained on previous occasions. A more serious objection arises from the fact that most of the claims are contentious and imply if they do not actually express a demand to be ranked with one or other of the twice-born *varnas* of Manu. Hindus in Bengal are reluctant to believe that the mantle of Ballala Sena has not descended upon Government or the Census Superintendent and they continue to cherish a touching faith in the power of the census department to give them like the ancient Hindu Kings or like the Maharaja of Nepal to-day an authoritative pronouncement upon claims to inclusion within the three classes of twice-born. Such a role was of course declined. There are

serious practical disadvantages in permitting any caste name to gain currency which is either identical with or includes as one of its members a name of any of the three superior *varnas* of Manu. Amongst the Brahmins, and also amongst such castes as are genuine Kshattriyas or Rajputs (none of which are native to Bengal), the use of one of the old *varna* names is inevitable, but their use alone or in combination with other terms inevitably leads to inaccuracy and confusion for several reasons. In the first place there is always a tendency for the person enumerated to slur over the distinctive part of his caste appellation and return only the more distinguished portion which is the name of one of the three *varnas*. Even if he makes a correct return however of both members of his composite name there is the danger first that the enumerator will either catch and record only the *varna* portion or in the restricted space allotted will be unable to write the distinctive portion at all or legibly, secondly that the copyist transferring to a slip the entry in the schedule will either by design or accident omit to enter the distinguishing portion and thirdly that even if it is entered on the slip the sorter may fail to notice the distinguishing portion and lump together in one indeterminate group all the persons returned as Kshattriya or Vaisya even if some other distinguishing name has been added. For this reason although the Census Commissioner and census officers in other provinces were prepared to admit the entry of names compounded with those of the *varnas* of Manu provided a distinguishing name is added, in Bengal an effort was made to prevent such returns. The only cases in which they were specifically permitted were few and in every case an attempt was made to get the distinctive portion of the name entered first and to show the portion combined with the *varna* name in brackets after it. In other cases however where the change did not involve a contentious claim to status as twice-born under the *varnasram dharma* the claims were allowed. In every case the table contains a reference to the claims to nomenclature made at the present census as well as to most of the various synonyms and alternative appellations returned at this or previous enumerations. Reference has been made already to the claims of Muslim groups. The details of the claims made in specific instances will be referred to in the case of Hindus when dealing with caste groups separately, and are summarised in the accompanying list; it includes mention of the Kurmis and Koiris who approached the Census Commissioner direct with their claim, although no claim was received in Bengal from the members of these castes living in the province:

Caste	Caste name claimed
1 Aguri	Ugrakshattriya, Kshattriya
2 Bagdi	Byagrakshattriya, Kshattriya
3 Baidya	Brahman, Baidya Brahman
4 Barui	Baruibi, Vaisya, abarujibi
5 Bhuinmali	Vaishyamali
6 Chamar	Satnam
7 Chashadhoba	Satchasi
8 Dhopa (Dhobi)	Vaishya
9 Gop	Yadava
10 Hadi	Hadhaya Kshattriya
11 Jhalakabartta	Mahishya, Raybangshi
12 Jhalo Malo	Malla Kshattriya, Jhalla Kshattriya
13 Jogis' Brahmins	Brahman only; Rarhi Brahman; Maulik Kshattriya Brahman
14 Kahar (Rawari)	Chandravang-hiya Kshattriya
15 Kahar	Hadhaya Kshattriya
16 Kami	Vaisya Brahman
17 Kandia	Kodma
18 Kapali	Baisyakapali
19 Karnakar	Vishwakarma Brahman, Karinar Kshattriya, Kshattriya-karnakar
20 Kayastha	Kshattriya
21 Khen, Kheyen, Kyen	Kayastha
22 Koiri	Koiri Kshattriya
23 Kurmi	Kurmi Kshattriya
24 Magh (Bengal speaking)	Maghadi Buddhist
25 Mahishya	(1) Kshattriya, Mahishya Kshattriya, (2) Devadas
26 Morangia	Chhatra, Morangia Chhetri
27 Namasudra	Namabrahma, Namabrahman
28 Napit	Nai Brahman, Sabitri Brahman
29 Nat	Bratya Kshattriya
30 Oraon	Kshattriya
31 Patikar	Kayastha
32 Patni	Lupta Mahishya, Mahishya

Caste.	Caste name claimed.
33 Pod	Paundra, Paundra Kshatriya, Padmaraj
34 Pundari	Pundra, Pundra Kshatriya.
35 Rajbangshi	Kshatriya.
36. Shaha	Bansya Shaha, Sadhubanik, Khandabanik, Baisya Khandabanik
37 Sankhari	Vaisya, Shenhabanik
38 Sauri	Kshatriya, Saundik-Kshatriya, Sondia-Kshatriya
39. Sutradhar	Viswakarma Brahmin
40 Swarnakar	Viswakarma Brahmin
41 Tanti ("Ganesh")	Tantubaja
42 Tiyar	Rajbangshi
43 Yugi	Yogi
44 Vaidik Balshnah	Satyata Brahman

450. **Importance of caste returns.**—The advantages of a return of caste are clear and incontestable. Caste exercises and will almost certainly continue for long to exercise perhaps the most important influence on the private life of the Hindu and it is obviously important in taking a census to obtain an accurate representation of the actual facts. To omit the record of castes or to give a general exemption from recording caste to all who felt disinclined to return it would enormously simplify and cheapen the census operations but would certainly detract from the value of the results. It would conceal the very serious disintegrative force present in Hindu society in the shape of the "depressed" classes and upon any view which seeks for the general amelioration of the community it is important to know as accurately as possible the numbers of separate groups and the stage of social and cultural development which they have reached so far as they can be ascertained from the census returns. Different castes display different standards in education and in such practices as the age at which their women are married or they may be in certain instances particularly liable to specific complaints. In all these cases it is important to have as accurate and detailed a record as possible in order that the improvement of the whole society may be facilitated by knowing at what point to start both in space and in society. Finally the point which tends to loom largest in Indian thought is the fact that different groups claim and are generally considered to be entitled to special representation in the body politic and if not for any other reason, it would still be necessary for purposes of representation to secure an accurate return of those castes entitled to special treatment. All these considerations refer with modification to Muslims, particularly as regards the differences in education, initiative and social practice between various groups of the community. On all these grounds therefore it is clearly important to have as accurate returns as possible.

451. **A proposed modification and restriction of caste returns.**—On the other hand to secure absolute accuracy would involve an expenditure of time and temper as well as of money entirely disproportionate with the results obtained; and as a matter of practical policy what is to be decided is the maximum degree of accuracy which is to be sought without an entirely disproportionate expenditure of time or money and without raising too much opposition and discontentment. It is time to abandon the hope of obtaining at the census absolutely accurate and exhaustive particulars. The agitations which were originally stimulated by the attention concentrated on caste in census returns are growing in volume and will make it increasingly difficult to obtain complete and accurate details. The enquiry however can by no means be abandoned altogether and in some directions it would be of advantage to extend it. There should, for instance, be a clear provision made for the return of race, tribe or nationality and it would be a convenience if the caste column in the schedule could be divided into two, one for tribe, race or nationality and the other for caste or other group. In the first column it is contemplated that all persons would enter both their race and their nationality, race being interpreted in the case of Europeans as nationality by descent, and in the case of Indians the province from which the family of the person enumerated descended. The second column would be reserved for caste proper. The Muslim opposition would be met by a clear heading to the effect that caste was for Hindus only and that for Muslims what was required was a return of racial or functional groups. In view of the very questionable value of any

figures for Muslim groups in Bengal however it is doubtful whether any separate classification would be useful for the purposes of the report unless some particular group actually desired during the census enumeration to have figures of its members separately collected and presented. As regards Hindus in view of the feeling aroused in support of the claim to record the *varna* name as well as or instead of the caste name provision could be made that the commonly accepted caste name should be entered first in the caste column and below it or after it in brackets the *varna* claimed if the *varna* was one of the twice-born groups. It could be clearly indicated that persons not wishing to return their caste at all would be permitted to make a nil return. But emphasis would be laid for administrative reasons upon a correct return of primitive tribes and of the groups treated as depressed classes or known under any other similar appellation for whom it might be officially considered that special political representation should be reserved. Returns of the *varna* name only such as Brahman, Kshattriya or Vaisya would be discouraged, but if they appeared with the caste name ordinarily used they would be accepted without questioning the title under which they were claimed and the prescription that the *varna* name should be recorded in every case would make it possible to get figures, if desired, of the extent to which claims to allocation with one of the twice-born *varnas* has gained currency amongst the castes themselves. This would involve the separate sorting of all castes to the end, and in the case of Brahmans and genuine Kshattriyas where the *varna* and *jati* names are the same there would undoubtedly be a number for whom a distinctive group name had not been returned. This, however, would introduce no very serious complication, since it is not likely that any Brahman would fail to return a sub-caste unless he were amongst the degraded or fallen Brahmans, whilst the Kshattriya caste is itself so vague and indeterminate in Bengal that it is probably hopeless to try to do anything with it. In compilation all the groups would be entered in the registers, but for the purposes of publication tabulation would be undertaken only for a restricted number of castes. It would be necessary for instance to show in full with the various sectional names returned, castes like the Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas, primitive tribes and depressed or scheduled classes; and it might be that other groups also would be considered as entitled to be shown on account either of their numbers or their importance; but it would be an advantage to announce publicly at an early stage of the census enumeration that, apart from the classes already mentioned (which would be specified by name), it was not proposed to tabulate and publish results for any other caste unless a responsible caste organisation applied for it on behalf of the community. In this case and also in the case of the Muslims it would perhaps be advantageous to lay down that for the satisfaction of getting its numbers published the caste would be charged a fee calculated upon its numbers at the last recorded census. The fact that a fee was charged would probably not only stimulate castes to apply for record in the tables but would also encourage the return of accurate figures since the caste organisations would see to it that the returns, if they were to pay for them, were as complete and accurate as possible. The table composed on these lines and obtained in this way would present details sufficiently complete for most important purposes, and its preparation would avoid the inconveniences attendant upon the present attempt to secure absolutely accurate and exhaustive information. It is clear that a number of groups would lay claim to caste nomenclature or caste affiliation superior to that generally conceded to them in society; but for practical purposes this would have no disadvantageous effect and the efforts of the census authorities could be concentrated upon obtaining accurate returns for backward or primitive groups without being compelled to dissipate their energies in dealing with a multitude of claims to new names and recognition of social status.

452. Methods adopted for ensuring as accurate as possible returns of caste.—On the present occasion every effort was made to secure as accurate a return as possible of caste and similar groups. Lists compiled and revised from census to census were brought up to date and distributed to the census agency; in them were separately shown a list of vague and indefinite or ambiguous terms which it was desired to exclude from the census schedules

and an index of the castes and tribes which had been returned in Bengal and neighbouring provinces at some census or other intended for reference in cases of doubtful or difficult entries. It was directed that where cases occurred which were not covered by this index or where petitions were received for change of caste nomenclature reference should be made to the Superintendent and that no orders should be passed in any case without such a reference. It was hoped that in this way full details of caste could be collected and that they would be as accurate as possible when they came to be copied and sorted.

453. Restrictions on sorting and tabulation, and accuracy of the statistics.—Actually during the post-enumeration process the need for strict economy became urgent and as a measure of economy it was decided not only to apply a process of selection to the castes to be shown in the report but also to restrict sorting to those castes chosen. It was determined to obtain particulars of Europeans and allied races and of Anglo-Indians ; but amongst Muslims no attempt was made to distinguish any other groups than the Sayyads and the “Mumins” (Jolahas) who had specifically agitated for separate returns. Amongst the Hindus those groups were selected in the first place which had or approached a membership constituting four per mille of the population in 1921, and to these were added all those groups which appeared to have a claim to special consideration on political grounds as being members of the depressed classes or primitive tribes. The list thus chosen included no fewer than 141 groups compared with a very much smaller number in 1921 ; and in order that imperfect, doubtful or indefinite returns might not result in the omission of any persons who ought to fall within the groups chosen, lists intended to be exhaustive were circulated showing no less than 212 synonyms for the chosen groups and over 640 doubtful or indefinite entries which had been recorded at some census or other by persons who upon enquiry had proved to belong to one or other of the groups chosen. In addition some of the groups actually chosen for presentation in the table were known correctly by names also applied to other castes which it was desired to omit or to show separately. Thus the Gains shown in the table are the Nepali caste of that name and directions were given for incorporating in their correct groups those persons returned under this name who were really the Doms or Bediyas. The word Kisan again is not only a general term for cultivators but is specifically used for Nagesias, Kalwars and Kharias and similar directions given to include in the group shown under this name in the table only Nepalis, viz., those born or enumerated in Nepal, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri or Sikkim. The word Kotal is not only the caste name of a small group described by Risley as “Dravidian” and found mainly in Burdwan and Murshidabad, but also a title of Bagdis, Namasudras, Hadis and other low castes employed as chaukidars and directions were issued for the separation where possible of these returns and their allocation to the correct group. The Manjhis form a true caste in Nepal and the figures given in the table are confined to Nepalis ; but provision was also made for allocating to the correct group those Santals, Bediyas and Bagdis who returned this name as a caste name. Naiya is the name of priests amongst Santals, Bhuiyas and other tribes but the returns included in the table purport to relate only to the iron-working caste found in the Santal Parganas and an endeavour was made to allocate persons so returned in other cases to their proper caste. The returns of Rai which is a title used by several castes were scrutinised and where possible were attributed to their correct caste group unless they belonged to the Nepali caste which is the one purporting to be represented by the figures in the table. Where Kaora was returned for Doms and Koras they were correctly ascribed, and the figures under this name refer to the caste of pig-keepers and labourers principally found in West and Central Bengal. Deputy superintendents at sorting offices collected together doubtful entries amongst the names for which their staff were directed to sort and an attempt was made to classify them to their correct caste. In many cases scrutiny of the other entries in the schedule referring to the persons thus returned such as the birth place, occupation, mother tongue, subsidiary language or other details offered a clue to the classification of the ambiguous entries ; but in some cases it was necessary to refer to the local officers and to obtain a classification based

upon local enquiry at their direction. In any case such a reference was not generally made where the number of doubtful entries under any one term in one district amounted to less than ten. In these cases in order to prevent harassment of the local officers as also for economy of time and expense the doubtful entry was allowed to remain unclassified. But whether an entry was referred to the local officers or not all the classifications actually adopted received my scrutiny and approval. In addition to the further details recorded by persons shown under ambiguous designations it was possible to consider also in many cases the classification made on previous occasions in the same district as a result of special enquiries. It cannot be contended that the classifications adopted were invariably correct. All that can be claimed for these classifications and consequently for the absolute accuracy of the caste figures is that such precautions were taken as were reasonably possible that the best has been made of the returns which could be made in the circumstances, that the numbers thus classified are in every caste very small indeed in comparison with its total strength, and that such errors as may have been thus introduced are entirely negligible when compared with the distortion resulting from deliberately false returns prompted by a claim to superior social position.

454. Restrictions on sorting were of doubtful economy.—It will be seen that the restriction of the table in the interest of economy introduced a very considerable amount of additional labour. The sorters instead of continuing their sorting to the end were expected to leave aside all except a certain specified number of entries; but the number of entries with which they had to deal in order to obtain a reasonable accuracy in the figures was over 1,270 in number and it is at least doubtful whether so large a number as this could be sorted any quicker than sorting to the end. On the other hand if the sort had been continued to the end and an attempt had been made to restrict compilation at a later date there would have been an increase in the difficulties of obtaining quickly additional information by which doubtful entries could be classified. The experience of the present census suggests, however, that if any record of caste is made which purports to be at all exhaustive with regard to the groups actually presented it is not only undesirable but probably also uneconomical to restrict sorting. The unfortunate results of such a restriction are clear when it is remembered that they effectively prevent the discovery of any new caste groups developed during the decade except such as have come to the notice of the local census officers and been commented upon by them during the process of enumeration, and as a result of the restricted scope of the caste table on the present occasion there are no details of freshly discovered groups to be presented in this report.

455. New details shown in the tables.—On the other hand such figures as are presented in the table can claim in one direction at least a greater accuracy and detail than on previous occasions. In every case details have been given under each caste for those who returned separate religions. Moreover the inclusion of all groups expected to have some importance either on account of their strength or from political considerations has resulted in the inclusion of full details for considerably more groups on the present occasion than in 1921.

456. Return of sub-castes of Brahmans.—An innovation of the present census which has also expanded the caste table was the record of sub-castes of Brahmans. The general intention of the Census Commissioner was to obtain sub-castes of the more widely extended groups throughout India, but in Bengal the provision for the record of sub-caste was confined to Brahmans and to the two classes of Kaibarttas now known as Mahishyas and Jalia or Adi Kaibarttas. It was originally also intended to make a distinction between those Rajbangshis who have adopted the sacred thread and those who have not, but at the instance of those who had been invested this distinction was abandoned during the process of enumeration. The provision for the return of sub-castes of Brahmans proved no small embarrassment. No sub-castes had been recorded at the previous census and no authoritative and up-to-date information was readily available from which clear lines of differentiation

could be laid down in Bengal. A list was circulated by the Census Commissioner and after comparison of this list with Risley's account of the Brahmans in his *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* and with Pandit J. N. Bhattacherjee's *Hindu Castes and Sects* suggestions were invited from all district officers for a simple scheme of classification which would secure the most exhaustive and the least misleading results. The replies received served only to reveal the difficulty of making out a satisfactory scheme. In the end the following instructions were issued on this point :—

The record of sub-castes of Brahmans will present some difficulty. It is possible that territorial subdivisions will be given. Such would be either the *pancha gauriya* or *pancha dravira* subdivisions (*sarasvat, kanyakubja* or *kanaujia, gaura, ukal, maithil* or *tirhutia, karnati, tailangi* or *andhra, gujrati, dravira* and *maharashtriya*) or other such as *nepali, kashmiri, kamrupi*. The record of such territorial divisions will be of great assistance particularly in the case of persons who are not Bengalis. For all but Bengalis, therefore, an attempt should be made to discover to which of the recognised territorial divisions the persons enumerated belong but in addition they should be asked to give also their sub-caste which may be recorded as they themselves describe it.

In the case of Bengalis the important distinction is between the "*sreni brahmans*" and others. The *sreni* brahmans will be differentiated by geographical distinctions only such as *rarhi, varendra* and *vaidik* : *pirati madhyasreni* and *saptasati* or *satsati* Brahmans however may also be recorded under these names, but such distinctions are not required as *kulin, bhanga kulin, srotriya, bansaja, kupa, Agradani, achariya* (*grahabipra, darvajna, grahachariya* or *ganaka*) and *marivora* brahmans should be separately recorded. The *varna* Brahmans should be recorded with the name of the caste to which they minister (e.g., "*namasudrer brahman*") unless they have a distinctive title such as *vyasoktas* who perform the *sraddha* of the *kaibarttas* of Midnapore.

In addition to the classes named above there will be a separate record of *bhuinhar* and *bhat* Brahmans and of *tirtha purohits* such as *gayawals, prayagwals, gangaputras, pandas*, etc.

In ascertaining the sub-caste care must be taken not to ask questions likely to give offence to high class Brahmans or to result in the record amongst the three Bengali *srenis* of *pati* or *varna* Brahmans. Probably the least objectionable course will be, when Brahman is returned as the caste, to ask "what is your class (*sreni*)?" *Varna* and *pati* Brahmans will probably then give the correct reply without attempting to claim that they are *rarhi, varendra* or *vaidik*.

The return of sub-castes was disappointing : scarcely more than one quarter of the Brahmans returned any sub-caste at all and a large number of returns actually received were indefinite. Further details of an attempted classification of such returns as were received are given later.

Part II.—Race in India and the origin and present position of caste.

457. **Introduction.**—In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to give as briefly as possible a summary of our existing knowledge as to the racial constitution of the Indian population. The account given has had the benefit of examination by Dr. J. H. Hutton, the Census Commissioner, and Dr. B. S. Guha, the Anthropological Officer to the Zoological Survey of India, and owes to them the foot-notes with their initials : but it is not to be taken that they endorse the summary given, and the reader is referred to the first volume of this series for Dr. Hutton's own opinions and to Dr. Guha's forthcoming analysis of his anthropometric survey for the resolution of difficulties and perplexities still unsolved when these notes were prepared for the press.

458. **Risley's Ethnic types.**—Risley¹ distinguished seven types in the population of India. In Madras, the Central Provinces, Central India and Chota Nagpur the population was taken to be the oldest in India and was termed "Dravidian". Its characteristics were a very dark to black complexion, dark eyes and plentiful hair tending to curl, medium to long heads and noses varying from very broad to fine, the finest being found in Madras. In the Himalayas, Assam, Nepal and Burma a Mongoloid type was distinguished having a dark complexion with yellowish tinge, scanty facial hair, eye-lids often oblique, broad heads (with marked divergences) and fine to medium noses. In the Punjabi Rajputs and the people of Kashmir he classified as Indo-Aryan the fair-complexioned dark-eyed people with plentiful facial hair, long heads and fine to medium noses. Further West he described as Turko-Iranian the strain typified by the Baluchis, Brahuists and Afghans

¹ H. H. Risley—*The people of India* (1908).

with broad heads, fine to medium noses of "portentous length," fair complexions, dark or grey eyes and plentiful facial hair. The remaining three types which he distinguished were regarded as intermixtures of the "Dravidians" with some other strain. In Western India he derived the prevailing type, termed by him Scytho-Dravidian, from intermixture between the "Dravidians" and Scythian invaders: it is fair-complexioned with scanty facial hair, medium to broad heads and noses of medium breadth and is typified by the Maratha Brahmans and Kunbis. He found in the Rajputs of the United Provinces and the population of Rajputana and Bihar a people with light brown to black complexions, a head-form varying from medium to broad with instances of long heads and noses varying from broad in the lower to medium in the higher castes with what he considered to be an intermediate gradation corresponding to social position. This type he derived by intermixture of his "Dravidians" with the Indo-Aryans and he called it Arya-Dravidian. Finally the type found in Bengal and Orissa was explained by an admixture of Mongoloid and "Dravidian" types. The complexion is dark and the facial hair plentiful, the head-form is broad with a tendency to medium length and the nose was described as fine in the higher and medium to broad in the lower castes. Some admixture of the Indo-Aryan type was postulated in the higher castes and the whole was described as Mongolo-Dravidian. It is this only of the seven types distinguished by Risley with which we are concerned in dealing with Bengal.

459. Criticism of Risley: the hypothesis of an "Aryan" element in Bengal.—Risley's classification has been subjected to criticism at all points and perhaps those elements from which he derived the population of Bengal have received the most serious and persistent criticism. Further examination has at least shaken the hypothesis that the population of Bengal contains any considerable admixture of the strain of the vedic Aryans. The *shastras* embody no such tradition and the origin claimed for such an element is in the legend of the importation of five families of Brahmans and five of Kayasthas brought to Bengal from Kanauj by Adisura Sena at a definite historical period. This importation has been challenged by Chanda² who has shown first that the genealogies of the Brahman immigrants account for 30-35 generations, but those of the Kayasthas which are all in general consistent with one another account for only 22-25 generations, a circumstance which cannot be reconciled with the two groups having come at the same time, and secondly that some of the earliest Brahman genealogies themselves show the families now alleged to have been introduced by Adisura Sena as actually originating from localities in Bengal before the earliest date at which he can have invited them. Finally on anthropometric analysis the physiological form of even the Radhi, Varendra and Vaidik Brahmans of Bengal shows on the one hand very wide divergence from that of the Brahmans of the United Provinces and Mithila, and on the other a very close resemblance to that of the other classes in Bengal, and Ghurye³ concludes that there is no ground for assuming an intermixture of Indo-Aryan blood such as was postulated by Risley in higher caste groups.

460. The Mongoloid element.—The Mongoloid influence also is now being minimised. An unpublished thesis by Prabashchandra Basu⁴ based on an examination of the craniometric and anthropometric data at present available embodies the conclusion that a Mongoloid influence is to be found in the population of India not only in the Chota Nagpur plateau but as far as the Cochin Hills of Southern India. The extent of its influence in Bengal, however, is doubtful. Chanda rejected it on grounds of physiognomy and the absence of legend or tradition from which it could be deduced or supported. The characteristic flat face and epicanthic fold of the Mongol as well as his scanty facial hair are not found in the Bengali. A Mongoloid influence was brought in to explain how the "Dravidian" long headedness became broad headedness in the "Mongolo-Dravidian" Bengali. But

² Ramaprasad Chanda—*Indo-Aryan Races* (1916).

³ G. S. Ghurye—*Caste and Race in India* (1932).

⁴ I am indebted to Dr. B. S. Guha for permission to consult and use this thesis.

Guha⁵ has shown that Mongoloid influence cannot account for this factor. The Mongolian tribes found in the Brahmaputra Valley are mainly long-headed. The only broad-headed Mongoloid tribes in Bengal are the Lepcha and Bhotia groups in the north and the Chakmas and allied tribes in the south-east on the outer fringes of the Chittagong division. The main concentration of broad-headedness in Bengal, however, is in the deltaic region, and it decreases towards the north and east as the broad-headed Mongolian tribes are approached. The Bengali broad-heads, again, are characterised by a long prominent nasal skeleton, but amongst the Lepchas and other tribes in the north the nose though long is depressed at the root and never rises high. Ghurye also, without implying that there is no Mongoloid admixture in this part of India, has pointed out that the hypothesis of a Mongoloid intermixture cannot explain the somatic characteristics of the Bengalis and that the published data give us no clue supporting the theory. The influence of the Mongoloid strain upon the population of Bengal must be considered at present to be at least of doubtful extent.

461. **The "Dravidian" element.**—It is however Risley's "Dravidian" type which has undergone the most persistent and disintegrating comment. It represented the "most primitive" element in the Indian population and displayed wide divergences of physical characteristics. Further research has emphasised these divergences and discovered strata not only with different somatic characteristics but also with different cultural affinities. It is now clear that Risley's "Dravidian" type includes more than one racial strain.

462. **A Negrito substratum in Risley's "Dravidians."**—The earliest element which can be traced is the negrito substratum discovered by Guha⁶ in the Anaimallai hills in southern India amongst the Kadirs and with instances amongst the Pulayans and Malsers. Hutton⁷ has given evidence from ethnical, cultural and traditional sources for at least "declining to assume that there is no negrito substratum in the population of Assam." Its existence in both Assam and southern India would be consistent with the conclusion of R. B. S. Sewell⁸ that, whether man originated in the Sahara or in Central Asia or in both places, his immediate ancestors could not have penetrated to India which was then an island with the "Tethys" sea on the north, and that the first human beings in India arrived after the rise of the Himalayas had established connection with Asia and were broad-headed immigrants of a negrito strain coming almost certainly from the north-east.

NOTE.—Giuffrida Ruggieri holds that this Negrito substratum has affected the population all along the south-west Asiatic coast, i.e., from India via the Persian Gulf and Arabia to Africa and this might afford support for a theory once enunciated by Keith that the Negroid strains all originated from Africa. I don't say that he still holds it. J. H. H.

463. **The "Munda" element in Risley's "Dravidians."**—Apart from this possible negrito substratum two other very early and one (or two) more recent strains have been distinguished in Risley's "Dravidian" type. One of the early types is that shown by the Mundas, Santals and Oraons and by the Musahar and Chamar of Bihar. Ghurye⁹ gives it the name "Munda" and locates it in Chota Nagpur, West Bengal and Bihar but not in the United Provinces. It is characterised by medium breadth of head and a broad nose and although some of the groups comprising it speak Dravidian and Aryan languages, the Munda group of languages itself is closely related to Mon-Khmer and the type shows cultural as well as linguistic affinities with Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. This element would be introduced by the second great invasion of India which Sewell considers to have taken place. He holds that it came from the north-east and was "in all probability part of a big movement that has left traces of itself in India, in the Naga Hills and as far afield as Melanesia."

⁵ B. S. Guha—*Man in India in the Modern Review*, November 1926.

⁶ B. S. Guha—*Negrito Racial Strain in India in Nature*, 19 May 1928 and 22 June 1929.

⁷ J. H. Hutton—*Man in India*, Vol. VII, 256 ff.

⁸ R. B. S. Sewell—*Proceedings of the Indian Science Conference*, 1929, page 337.

⁹ G. S. Ghurye, *loc. cit.*

464. A Proto-Australoid element.—The other early element in the "Dravidian" type of Risley is that described by Ghurye as (a) "Pre-Dravidian." It is located by Ghurye in the jungles of south India and also in western India, in the hilly country of Central India, in Rajputana and in the United Provinces, and is best represented by the Irula, Kadir, Kanikar and Paniyan in the south, by the Bhil and Katkari in the west, and by the Musahar, Pasi, Chamar and other low castes in the United Provinces. The head is long (with a cephalic index generally less than 75) and the nose broad (with a nasal index always greater than 80). Guha¹⁰ describes it as having also a short stature, wavy to curly hair, very dark complexion, round and open eye and orthognathic face. He finds it racially akin to the Veddas, Sakais and Toalas of Ceylon, Malay Peninsula and Celebes and also to the Australian aboriginals. Upon Sewell's hypothesis this very primitive element entered India from the north-west and was composed of the proto-Australoid descendants of Neanderthal man.

465. Alpine elements.—The two later elements are both held to have come from the north-west, viz., an invasion of Alpine man from the region of Central Asia and another of the Mediterranean race. Chanda calls the Alpine invaders "non-vedic Aryans" and brings them into India by land from the Takla Makan desert and the Pamirs. Ghurye describes them as Risley's Scytho-Dravidian renamed "Westerns," a mixed Alpine and Brown race with broad to medium head. He traces them on the western coast from Gujarat to South Kanara, thence inwards to Coorg, Mysore, the Southern Maratha country and through Orissa into Bengal, and since there is no broad-headedness on (b) Chanda's postulated route from Chinese Turkistan until Gujarat is reached he holds that they entered by sea. He cites the Sala, Bant, Vakkaliga, Coorge, Senvi, Prabhu, Nagar, Chitpavan, Mala, Madiga and Holwya as typical of the strain. Guha at one time appeared to doubt the presence of a Mediterranean racial strain and to incline to the view that the Mediterranean affinities of the Dravidian culture to which a brief reference is made below are culture-migrations and imply no racial intermixture. But he agrees with Chanda and Ghurye in finding in the infiltration of Alpine man an explanation of the broad heads and fine noses of the Bengalis. Reference is made elsewhere to the significant analogies between the Kayasthas of Bengal pointed out by Bhandarkar¹¹ and the Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat, Guha emphasises also the similarity of stature, cephalic index and nasal index: and Chanda suggests that in the *padavis* or family names common in Bengal to the Kayasthas, Baidyas, Baruis, Tilis, Tantis, Tambulis and Subarnabaniks and identical with those in use amongst the Nagar Brahmins may be found preserved names of the Alpine tribes which colonised the countries on the fringe of the vedic "midland" from Kathiawar to Kanara and across the Deccan into Bengal.

466. The Mediterranean strain.—Ghurye gives the name Dravida to the Mediterranean strain which however he introduces from Mesopotamia or Arabia. He describes it as having a long head (cephalic index less than 75) and medium-broad nose (nasal index less than 77) and finds its typical representatives in the Nayar, Tiyan, Badaga, Agamudaiyan and Vellala castes. Guha points out that broad-heads or fine noses or both are most prominent where the language spoken (as in the Telugu speaking regions) shows most

(a) I do not distinguish between the Munda and the South Indian so called "Pre-dravidian" type excepting the Negrito element that exists in some of them, e.g., the Kadars, etc. B. G.

(b) Chanda forgets Baluchistan. Baluchistan has once been Dravidian speaking and was almost certainly once long-headed, but has since been permeated with round-headedness to the extent of altering the Brahui type. Not a doubt but the Alpines came down the Indus Valley. All the way from Gujarat to Manchuria there is an uninterrupted extension of round-headedness, though I do not suggest it came from Manchuria. J. H. H.

¹⁰ B. S. Guha—*Presidential Address to the 15th Indian Science Congress.*

¹¹ D. R. Bhandarkar—*Nagar Brahmins and the Bengal Kayasthas in the Indian Antiquary*, March 1932, April 1932.

the influence of a Sanskritic speech, and that the Brahmans within each linguistic division, are gifted with finer noses than other castes; and he prefers to account, both for the extent to which Sanskritic influences have been at work and for the degree to which the pre-Dravidian long-headed and broad-nosed type has been modified, by a movement of Alpine man south and east from Gujarat gradually diminishing in strength as it progressed southwards. Slater¹², however, cites the opinion of H. J. Fleure and G. E. Smith by whom the pre-historic skull found at Adichanallur in the Tinevelly district (and described by Guha¹³ as long-headed with a broad depressed nose and prominent cheek-bones much resembling Veddah skulls) is declared to be practically indistinguishable from an early Egyptian type. He also points out significant cultural affinities with Egypt, and also with Minoan Crete in the gold fillets and the markings on pottery found at Hyderabad as well as the prevailing narrow-waisted type characteristic of the bull-leapers of Knossos.

467. Lines of further research.—The revision of Risley's classification which is briefly summarised above in so far as it concerns the population of Bengal calls for further research. The term "Dravidian" should be confined to language and not applied to race. The so-called "Dravidian" and the Alpine or western types require more precise definition; and there is room for further enquiry into the extent to which Sanskritic languages are indebted to Dravidian and Munda for their terms. A classified analysis of the words in classical Sanskrit which are not of Indo-European derivation would illuminate the question of cultural influences and assist in elucidating the position when the Vedic Aryans entered India. In Bengal several lines of extensive study suggest themselves. Scattered accounts exist of "aboriginal" elements in popular worship, of cults with non-Brahman priests and of popular superstitions and tabus; these should be made exhaustive and their affinities with similar practices analysed. The whole field of women's customs and usages (*Stri-achar*) has been scarcely touched; its value and interest under critical examination would probably be quite proportionate to the difficulty of obtaining complete particulars. Detailed and extensive anthropometric investigations are required, under trained workers and conducted uniformly both in Bengal amongst all social classes and in the rest of India from which racial coefficients calculated from as many factors as possible can be extracted and compared. All of these enquiries could be supplemented as Hutton suggests by "an exhaustive analysis of blood groups by castes in series of not less than 500 individuals of any caste analysed."

468. Provisional results of the criticism of Risley's classification.—Pending such further enquiries the racial constitution of India on the theories outlined above will contain the following elements. In the south before the arrival of Mediterranean colonists, the population was of Australoid type with a Negrito element. Upon it descended immigrants of the Mediterranean race and the divergent types found in South India and Madras are a result of varying degrees of intermixture between the pre-Dravidian tribes and their Dravidian invaders. The Negrito element present in the pre-Dravidian population would appear to have survived in parts of Assam and to have come from the north-east whereas both the Australoid and the later Dravidian immigrants came from the north-west. From the east (a) also will be assumed to have come, possibly second in period of time, the great wave of Munda peoples. At some later date Alpine invaders from Central Asia came from the north-west, spread down on the east coast of India and across (b) the Deccan into Bengal where their intermixture with the deposit of the earliest waves of colonists from the north-east and possibly with the "pre-Dravidian" or "Dravidised" peoples who entered India from the north-west can be made to explain the physical peculiarities of the Bengalis and the linguistic affinities

(a) If they did it is queer that they should have definitely left traces of their language in the Simla Hill States.

(b) Why not down the Ganges valley?

J. H. H.

J. H. H.

¹² G. Slater—*The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, 1923.

¹³ B. S. Guha—*Man in India*, in *The Modern Review*, November 1926.

between the languages of the outer band in Grierson's classification. It does not appear to be clear whether the Alpine peoples described by Chanda as non-Vedic Aryans and by Ghurye as the western type arrived (c) before or after the Dravidian or Mediterranean type. But although Chanda places their arrival after that of the Vedic Aryans it appears more likely (d) that all these peoples were in possession when the Vedic Aryans invaded India. Evidence moreover is accumulating to show both that the level of culture which the invading Aryans found was superior to their own and that this culture was widely extended and was shared by peoples whom it has previously been the custom to dismiss in discussing the Aryanisation of India as being mere savage barbarians. Lévi¹⁴ in 1923 examining the occurrence in early Indian literature of significant groups of ethnic names, viz., Pulinda—Kulinda, Mekala—Utkala (with the group Udra—Pundra—Munda), Kosala—Tosala, Anga—Vanga, Kalinga—Tilinga; remarked that these twin groups

"form the links of a long chain stretching from the eastern borders of Kashmir to the heart of the peninsula. The skeleton of this ethnic system is formed by the heights of the central plateau. It participates in the life of all the big rivers of India except the Indus to the west and the Kaveri to the south. Each of the groups makes a twin whole and is linked with another member of the system. In each pair of racial groups the twins have the same name distinguished only by the initial letter This formation is foreign to Indo-European, it is foreign to Dravidian, it is on the contrary characteristic of the great family of languages called Austro-Asiatic including in India the Munda languages often called Kolarian."

He suggested that these names preserve the memory of a great civilization widely extended in India before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans, and that it is time to recognise the existence and accomplishments of the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian population of India. In 1926 Przyluski¹⁵ discussing the tribe Udambara mentioned in the *Chandrarvriti*, showed reason to believe that these people though found so far west as the Punjab were representatives of a Munda race and he has more recently also¹⁶ shown reason to believe that the Salva mentioned in the same quotation and embracing as one constituent the Udambara already mentioned are a Munda people with an extended Empire in north-western India. The recent discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro reveal an advanced civilization analogous with that of Sumer and Akkad. Marshall¹⁷ indeed gives a warning against the too easy assumption that this civilization was the work of the "Dravidian" peoples. Guha also definitely states that it is incorrect to speak of the "Dravidian" origins of the north-western type of skull found at Mohenjo-daro, and he demonstrates that

"there is at present no (e) evidence, somatic or archaeological, for the view which has lately become fashionable in India and seeks to make the Dravidian man responsible for the Indus civilization as well as that of Sumer."

The suggestion may perhaps be allowed that the (f) peoples responsible for this civilization were the type described as Alpine by Chanda and western by Ghurye; and Sewell opines that one or other or both of the Alpine and Mediterranean strains seems to have been connected with it. The "examination by Sewell and Guha of the human remains at Mohenjo-daro shows four unmistakable types—Mediterranean, Alpine, Mongolian and Proto-Australoid and amongst the specimens preserved the greater number were Mediterranean. In the later period therefore the population of Mohenjo-daro was apparently scarcely less mixed than now.

(c) Certainly after

J. H. H.

(d) Personally I think the Alpines came in before the Rigvedic Aryans (J. H. H.). I agree (B. G.).

(e) But lots I think of cultural.

J. H. H.

(f) Except the Armenoids no Alpines had made any civilization other than agricultural. The Indus valley was a city type, and its prototype is to be sought in the cities of Mesopotamia when the early civilization was Mediterranean-Armenoid.

J. H. H.

¹⁴ Sylvain Lévi—*Pré-Aryan et pré-dravidian dans l'Inde* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1923.

¹⁵ J. Przyluski—in *Journal Asiatique*, March, 1926.

¹⁶ *Ibid*—*un ancien peuple du Penjab Les Salva*, in *Journal Asiatique*, April—June, 1929.

¹⁷ *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, 1931.

469. **"Pre-Aryan" influences on Hinduism.**—In any case it is clear that the old conception of the Indo-Aryan invaders bringing to an India, peopled exclusively by ignorant savages, the benefits of civilization and culture is entirely wrong. They resembled more a horde of barbarian invaders into a country where culture, trade and the arts of peace were all established, whether in the north-west or in the south of India, but where long continued prosperity and peace had rendered the bearers of that culture unable to resist them. The religious beliefs now characteristic of Hinduism, as well as its most typical social customs, cannot be traced to Vedic influence. Chanda showed from the text-books that Saktism and Vaishnavism are both non-Vedic in origin. The cult of the earth-mother from which Sakti worship may be derived has been found to exist in Mohenjo-daro (Marshall—*loc cit*). Both there and in Dravidian India the non-Vedic worship of the *phallus* can be traced to Mesopotomian or Egyptian and Mediterranean influences and serpent worship also is non-Vedic. Pargiter (*loc cit*, page 319) suggests that what the word *brahma* itself originally suggested was

"the magical power, whether incantation charm or what not, by which a man could exert influence over all natural and supernatural beings what anthropologists now call *mana*."

470. **The formation of castes and the origin of caste.**—It is unlikely that future researches will reveal any factors not already recognised which have been the immediate cause for the formation of a new caste; racial, tribal or national distinctions; differences of occupation leading on the one hand to the formation of separate castes amongst those of the same group who follow different occupations, and on the other hand to the inclusion within one caste of persons following the same occupation in several groups; impurity of descent; peculiarities of social custom or religious belief; and differences of habitat have all been shown to give rise to castes at different times. There is still, however, room for agreement to be reached as to the circumstances in which the fluid accommodating Vedic class system hardened into the rigid exclusion of the caste system as it now exists. Every variety of opinion has been expressed upon the caste system. At one end of the scale is the view that it is the root of nearly all evils in Hindu society, a machinery for exalting the privileges of a single caste and denying to a large number of their fellow men the bare rights of human beings. At the other end of the scale is (a) the astounding theory, perhaps most recently expressed by S. Charles Hill,¹⁸ that it represents an almost ideal organisation of society upon the only basis not involving force which has ever been successful, consciously devised by far-seeing if anonymous legislators possibly as a means of preserving society against some such calamity as drove them from their Aryan home to India. The *varna* class organisation has sometimes been represented as a caste system in itself. But it is generally held that no explanation can be found in the Vedas for the rigidity of the caste system as it now obtains, and it has even been recently said¹⁹ that the consensus of opinion is that the Hindu system of four "castes" (i.e., *varnas*) is not inherited from Indo-Iranian times. It is at least a significant fact that the caste system has been developed to its most logical and most merciless manifestations in Southern India which was never aryanised. Pargiter²⁰ propounded the theory that Brahmanism was a non-Aryan institution already established amongst the peoples in occupation before the Aryans arrived and Slater has more recently suggested that the caste system with its brahmanical hierarchy originated where it is now found in its most characteristic form, viz., in Dravidian India. This theory is still heresy to Indian scholars and is contested for instance by Dutt.²¹ He summarises the most important factors in the development

¹⁸ *Origin of the Caste System in India* in *Indian Antiquary*, 1930, Vol. LIX—51, etc.

(a) A most fantastic view. No legislator could ever enforce a caste system for which usage, belief and custom were not already prepared to the extent of having already developed all the necessary ingredients.
J. H. H.

¹⁹ Geo. Dumézil—*La préhistoire indo-iranienne des castes* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1930, p. 109.

²⁰ F. E. Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 1922.

²¹ N. K. Dutt—*The Aryanisation of India*, 1925, and *Origin and Growth of Caste*, Vol. I, 1930.

of the caste system as being (1) the racial struggle between the fair skinned Aryans and the dark skinned non-Aryans; (2) tribal differences specially amongst non-Aryans; (3) the division of labour with a natural tendency to hereditary occupation; and (4) the inherent disinclination to marry outside one's own folk especially when racial or tribal differences are involved. He considers that the "seeds of caste" were a common stock of the Aryan people in all countries and that they grew only in India owing to (1) the absence of a strong political power in Vedic and epic times which might have overruled tribal differences and established nationalism; (2) the cosmopolitanism of Indian religion which went with this; and (3) the spirit of resignation induced by the doctrine of *Karma*. The absence of a strong political power clearly cannot originate a caste system and the existence of similar conditions did not give rise to similar results in medieval Germany, but A. M. T. Jackson²² has shown that the development of the caste system as we know it owes much to the caste jurisdiction of tribal kings. Aryan practice was to establish a member of the royal house in authority over conquered tribes: and one of the tribal king's duties was to enforce caste customs and prevent *varnasankara* or confusion of castes. From as early as we know India was divided into numerous tribal kingdoms and a widely extended caste would thus come under the caste jurisdiction of numerous tribal kings whose rulings would suffer no breach of continuity or conquest and would gradually in different areas establish a body of different caste observances distinguishing what ultimately became different sub-castes or castes. Racial antipathies, however, with tribal differences and a tendency to adopt hereditary occupations or to marry within one's own class exist elsewhere but have created no caste system, and it is difficult to see how any or all of the factors suggested can be accepted as convincing causes. Dutt himself admits as a cause of the caste system the "superiority of *priests and witch doctors* in all primitive peoples" and the "abnormal development of brahmanical rituals ensuring the position of the Brahmins as the custodians of religion and culture." Though he claims that Vedic institutions were "Aryan in the main foundation" he states that they "absorbed more and more Dravidian ideas and practices" as the Aryans advanced further into India, and admits that "in the transformation of the Vedic religion into modern Hinduism the original Aryan basis has been largely buried under non-Aryan superstructure." What is perhaps the latest theory of the origin of caste is that of Stanley Rice²³ who looks for it in a development of totemism. This hypothesis is summarised in the following quotation:—

"In pre-Aryan times then, the Dravidians, having entered India in the time-honoured manner, found there an indigenous population. Possibly by amalgamation with the cults then existing, possibly by introducing one of their own invention, they succeeded in establishing a form of religion accompanied by social customs which were closely akin to totemism. Round this system, from which the conquered aborigines were excluded or into which they were only admitted for the purpose of certain menial services, there grew up exogamous and endogamous conventions based upon the totem clan, until by a natural extension of the idea the clan totem itself became a household god and in some instances the vehicle for the anthropomorphic gods, while the tribe which still preserved the customs relating to marriage, ceremonial purity, taboo, and the like now adopted the name and symbol of the totem. Then came the Aryan invasion, which drove the Dravidians to the south of the Vindhya and the Narbada, but much of the population remained behind and among these the Aryans settled. The notion of caste or of that system which preceded it was foreign to them, but they found it useful, and as usually happens when two civilizations of equal or similar grade meet, they adopted it, consciously or unconsciously, and modified it to suit their own ideas. But as civilization advanced life grew more complex and the needs of society compelled artisans and others to combine or congregate together for mutual convenience. These workers had probably appropriated certain trades according to the original totem clans, but the rules were not rigid and others were admitted. Gradually the rules became more complex; the totem idea disappeared completely; the Nature gods gave place to higher and more metaphysical conceptions. But though caste now became transformed upon occupational lines, the reservations already mentioned persisted and the casteless folk remained without the pale."

Such a theory admittedly leaves much unexplained but it accounts for the religious sanctions of the caste system which are found nowhere else amongst

²² A. M. T. Jackson—*Note on the History of the Caste System* in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1907, p. 509.

²³ Stanley Rice—*The Origin of Caste* in *The Asiatic Review*, 1929, pp. 147, 331.

the analogies with which aspects of the caste system have been compared. Przyluski's article on the Salva already cited offers some support for the theory. He there shows grounds for believing the pre-Aryan Salva to owe their name to a totem animal, and even contends that Shastric records (such as the legends of Rishyasringa) and some of the ceremonies of initiation show that totemistic elements can be traced in the Hindu faith.

471. Caste to-day : its influence and tendencies to amalgamation or fusion.—There is some evidence, summarily noted in chapter XI, of a tendency to relax caste restrictions but very little that caste as a social institution is in danger or is ceasing in essential matters to have the same influence as before in Hindu life. There appear to be some movements towards the amalgamation of sub-castes such as that noticed later amongst the Aguri or Ugra Kshattriyas; and amongst Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas instances have been recorded in which inter-marriage has taken place between two groups of the same caste. All the movements which might be interpreted as being in the direction of a fusion of separate castes however are not really of this nature at all. There is for instance no evidence to show that the Sutradhars and other castes claiming to be returned as Viswakarma Brahmans are so far amalgamating as to extend commensal and connubial relations to each of the castes claiming the same name under the same organisation; and it is yet to appear that the movement for calling the members of the milkmen castes by a single name "Yadava" has resulted in any case in the fusion of groups separately existing at the present time. On the contrary the recent separation of the Mahishyas from the Jalia Kaibartas, of the Tilis from the Telis and of the Rajbangshis from the Koches and Paliyas with whom they have affinities, have analogues in the present attempt of a section of Mahishyas in Noakhali to get themselves recorded as a separate caste under the name of "Deva Das" and the aspirations of one group of Shahas (until recently all regarded to be of the same group as the Sunris) who now desire to establish that the members of their sectional organisation alone shall bear the distinctive name "Sadhubanik" and shall be recognised as being distinct and superior to other members of the caste. Many progressive Hindus would be glad to see a very much greater relaxation of caste exclusiveness than is likely to be achieved in the near future and their opinions are probably expressed by the following extract from one reply to the enquiry dealt with in chapter XI:

"Personally I feel like cutting away from this caste bondage but I dare not as I have got to respect the feelings of my parents and others I love and marriage is a problem which we have not been able to solve without the help of social sanction."

There is indeed a possible danger that the recognition of separate interests and a claim to separate consideration by the depressed classes should actually tend to perpetuate caste differences unless the temporary nature of their recognition is emphasised. The attempt to elicit by the questionnaire shown as an appendix to chapter XI information which might throw light on the essential differences of belief and social practice between castes and between sub-castes of the same caste was unsuccessful. The question was perhaps not sufficiently clear: at any rate correspondents tended to emphasise not beliefs or practices distinguishing them from other castes, which indeed many stated that they were unable to define, but details of their social practice which they chose to regard as characteristic. "Faith in God and justice," "love and purity in action, words and thought," "erudition, purity and self-respect," "fear of litigation, fondness for peace, supreme belief in charity as a great virtue and fondness for plainly comfortable life," "plain living, high thinking, cleanliness, literary accomplishments, straightforwardness, moral courage, integrity of purpose, administrative capacity and an aristocratic view of life," "style of housing and dressing, aversion to agriculture, contempt of manual labour as degrading, education and the strict enforcement of moral discipline," "a sense of supremacy above all other castes"—these are amongst the answers received to question 4 of the questionnaire whilst one unorthodox Brahman professed himself unable to find any distinguishing mark "except the vanity of being a Brahman." The replies of course were not all along

these lines and in some cases differences of ritual practice as well as the restrictions upon marriage and an exclusive title by birth were mentioned. But it is clearly as embarrassing for a Hindu to be called upon to give a scientific account of the essential differences between his caste and others as it is for a Christian to be expected to explain similar differences between his sect and another.

Part III.—General consideration of caste and racial figures and of Muslim groups.

472. **A socio-religious distribution of the population.**—The considerations adduced in the preceding part of this chapter show how extremely difficult it would be to attempt a scientific classification of the population by race. An attempt has been made, however, to present a distribution in which the members of primitive tribes are separated from those of other races and the results are shown in subsidiary table I. The social map enclosed in the folder at the back of this volume illustrates this distribution of the population by districts. The primary classification is into Primitive peoples, Hindus, Muslims and Others: but in the case of primitive peoples the numbers professing each religion have been separately distinguished. In the case of Hindus Brahmins and members of the depressed classes are also separately indicated. Amongst the fourth class, Christians and Buddhists have been distinguished. This classification is liable to criticism. It does not profess to be a classification either by race or by religion but is in some measure a kind of combination of both. The only groups which it satisfactorily displays at a glance are Muslims and the total number of primitive peoples. But if the strength of Hindus or of the depressed classes within Hindus is in question it must be remembered that the numbers of primitive tribes returned as Hindus are to be added to those shown under the heading Hindu and a similar consideration applies in the case of Christians and Buddhists.

473. **Primitive peoples.**—The figures for primitive tribes include the groups given below in statement No. XII-1, but by an oversight which was not detected until it was too late to make any alteration in the

STATEMENT No. XII-1.

Principal Primitive Tribes.

1. Agaria	6. Birhor.	11. Kachari.	16. Korva.	21. Moch.	26. Rabha.
2. Avar	7. Bria.	12. Kaur.	17. Kukl.	22. Mro.	27. Santal.
3. Banjogi	8. Chakma.	13. Khani.	18. Lepcha.	23. Munda.	28. Tipara
4. Bhotia	9. Garo.	14. Khyang	19. Lodha	24. Nagesla.	29. Toto
5. Bhuijuj	10. Ho	15. Koda.	20. Lushai.	25. Oraon.	30. Turu.

statistics prepared, Binjhias, who appear separately as members of the depressed classes, should have been included as Brijias but were omitted. Their numbers are 502 only and have practically no effect upon the proportions. It will be seen that the Munda peoples from Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas together with Bhotia and Sikkimese groups and the hill tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are included amongst those for whom details are shown under this heading. In addition, Garos, Mechhs, Rabhas and Tiparas are also shown, but the tribes whose origin is in Nepal have not been included. The total number returning tribal religions, however, exceeds those members of the 30 groups shown above who were returned under these religions and evidently therefore includes some proportion of the Nepali tribes. The restricted sorting for caste has also introduced what is probably another error. As many as 21 per cent. of the total population of the Chittagong Hill Tracts appear as Buddhists but not under Primitive Tribes whereas it is pretty certain that most, if not the whole, of these persons should have been included amongst the primitive tribes, and the fact that they have been omitted is due to their being returned under names which had not been put on record at any previous census enumeration but which the restricted sort has not made it possible to discover on the present occasion. Such a restriction of sorting in tribal areas was a mistake

STATEMENT No. XII-2.

Excess of all persons returning tribal religions over the members of the principal primitive tribes returning tribal religions.

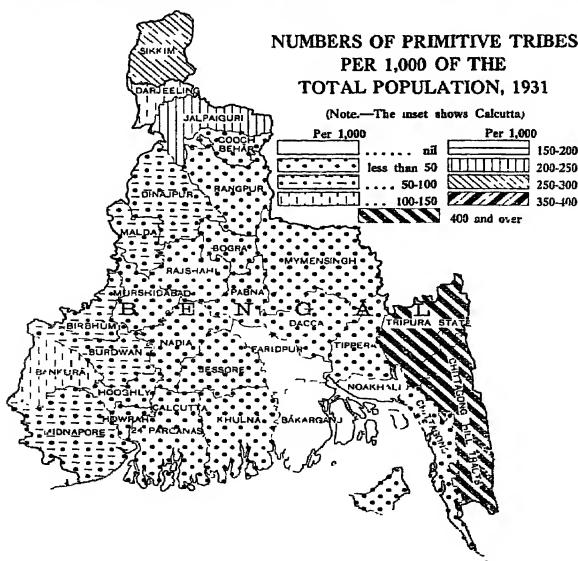
BENGAL	..	30,273
BRITISH TERRITORY	..	29,999
Burdwan Division	..	932
Burdwan	..	138
Birbhum	..	189
Bankura	..	305
Midnapore	..	271
Hooghly	..	28
Howrah	..	..
Presidency Division	..	808
24 Parganas	..	306
Calcutta	..	..
Nadia	..	..
Murshidabad	..	..
Jessore	..	..
Khulna	..	..
Rajshahi Division	..	9,423
Rajshahi	..	367
Dinajpur	..	695
Jaipur	..	7,577
Darjeeling	..	813
Rangpur	..	81
Bogra	..	137
Pabna	..	..
Malda	..	..
Dacca Division	..	17,842
Dacca	..	2
Mymensingh	..	17,894
Faridpur	..	444
Bakarganj	..	2
Chittagong Division	..	998
Tippera	..	..
Noakhali	..	..
Chittagong	..	85
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	911
BENGAL STATES	..	274
Cooch Behar	..	274
Tripura	..	..

and should not be repeated. The extent to which in each district the figures under tribal religions exceed the numbers of the 30 principal primitive tribes given is indicated in the marginal statement No. XII-2; and although it is not possible to give an accurate tribal distribution of the figures it may be taken that in the south-east of the province they are tribes indigenous to the Chittagong Hill Tracts or Assam and in the north they are peoples hailing from Nepal.

474. Proportionate distribution of the primitive tribes.—A map, diagram No. XII-1, illustrates the distribution per thousand of the total population of primitive tribes. The hatchings were actually entered on the map to represent the numbers returned under tribal religions amongst the 30 primitive tribes shown prepage. The addition of persons belonging to other groups and professing a tribal religion makes no difference to the hatchings except in the state of Sikkim and in the district of Hooghly. As a representation of the figures shown in the social map the hatching for Sikkim should resemble that of Tripura State and the hatching for Hooghly district should resemble that of the neighbouring districts, Burdwan and Midnapore. The hatchings adopted were chosen to be uniform with those elsewhere used in diagrams Nos. XII-4 and XII-11 showing the proportions of Brahmins, Baidyas and Kayasthas and of the depressed classes and they therefore do not permit the representation of such small differences as could have been shown if it had not been desired to make these three maps uniform for the purposes of comparison one with another. In the districts of Faridpur, Bakarganj and Noakhali the numbers of primitive tribes are less than 5 in 10,000;

DIAGRAM No. XII-1.

NOTE.—The hatching for Sikkim should be the same as for Tripura State and that for Hooghly district the same as for Burdwan.



and throughout the rest of the province with the exception of the extreme edges their numbers do not reach as many as 5 per cent. The regions in which

they are principally found from the outer edge of the province with a break between Cooch Behar and Tripura State. In Dinajpur, Malda, Birbhum, Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore their proportion is from 5 to 10 per cent. whilst Bankura forming a salient from Eastern Bihar has as many as 12 per cent. of primitive peoples in its population. At the north extremity of the province and in Sikkim the proportions are higher. There are 50 per cent. in Sikkim, 14 per cent. in Darjeeling and 22 per cent. in Jalpaiguri. Similarly at the extreme south-east of the province the proportions are 50 per cent. in Tripura State and as many as 74 per cent. in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This last figure actually is certainly an underestimate and the percentage rises to 95 if the Buddhists shown in the map as other than primitive tribes are included amongst primitive tribes, as there is every reason to believe that they should be.

475. Numerical strength of primitive tribes by divisions.—The Burdwan Division with nearly 629 thousand primitive peoples contains the greatest number of the five divisions and is followed by the Rajshahi Division with 611 thousand and the Chittagong Division with 188 thousand, which would rise to 232 thousand if the Buddhists not returned as primitive people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were included. The Presidency Division with 101 thousand and the Dacca Division with 57 thousand contain the least admixture of primitive peoples. The proportionate constitution of the population in each of these divisions is relatively the same as their actual numbers. Thus the Burdwan Division has as many as 7 per cent. primitive peoples in its population and the Rajshahi Division 6, but in the Chittagong Division the percentage is only 3 and it is only 1 in the Presidency Division and less than 1 in the Dacca Division. The total number shown as primitive tribes in British Territory and in Bengal States is nearly 1,782,000, the percentage in each of these cases being 3.

476. Religious distribution of primitive tribes.—The religious distribution of the primitive tribes is interesting. If the divisional areas are taken as the unit only in the Presidency Division are there more primitive peoples professing a tribal religion than those professing Hinduism. In this division there are six primitive people professing tribal religions for every four who are Hindus. But in Burdwan Division thirteen are Hindus for every eight who still profess a tribal religion; and in Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions respectively the Hindus outnumber those professing tribal religions by 9 to 5, 20 to 9 and 20 to 6 respectively. Taking the province as a whole there are two Hindus of primitive tribes for every one professing his original tribal beliefs. Figures for districts also similarly show that Hindu beliefs are superseding the original tribal beliefs particularly in Eastern Bengal. Amongst the primitive peoples shown Hindus are those still professing tribal religions 2 to 7 in Birbhum, 1 to 2 in Murshidabad and 24 Parganas, 6 to 8 in Rangpur and as few as 1 to 10 in Khulna. In all other districts, however, Hindu members of the tribe are more numerous than those professing tribal beliefs. In Cooch Behar their numbers are approximately equal; there are 2 to 1 in Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapore and Rajshahi; there are 5 to 4 in Dinajpur, 11 to 7 in Malda and 12 to 5 in Jalpaiguri. In Darjeeling Hindus outnumber those professing tribal religions by 5 to 2: in Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts there are 3 Hindus to every 1 professing tribal religions and there are 5 to 2 in Mymensingh, 9 to 2 in Hooghly, 11 to 2 in Pabna, 5 to 1 in Bogra, 7 to 1 in Jessore and as many as 13 to 1 in Howrah. In Faridpur and Tippera as well as in Tripura State all are Hindus. In Sikkim, however, none were returned Hindus, owing to the fact that the Bhotias and the Lepchas are principally Buddhists whilst any members of the Nepalese groups who returned Hinduism as their religion are included amongst the Hindus and it is only those Nepalis who returned a tribal religion who appear amongst the primitive peoples. Buddhists are found in any considerable numbers only in Darjeeling, Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Tripura State and Sikkim. Complete comparisons of the religious distribution of all primitive peoples in Bengal in previous years are impossible owing to the

absence of detailed statistics in previous reports. But in the case of the Mundas, Oraons and Santals some indication is given later in dealing with these tribes separately of the extent to which they are now exchanging their tribal beliefs for Hinduism. In some cases the relative proportions of the tribe who were returned as Hindus and under tribal beliefs in 1921 and 1931 are practically reversed.

477. Mundas, Oraons and Santals.—Amongst those who have been treated as primitive people the most considerable element is contributed by the peoples of Chota Nagpur, amongst whom the principal are Mundas, Oraons and Santals. Their numbers in each division are given in the accompanying statement No. XII-3 as a proportion of the total population in 1921 and

STATEMENT No. XII-3.

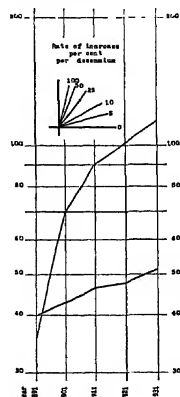
Division, etc	Aggregate number of Mundas, Oraons and Santals per 1,000 of the total population	
	1921	1931
BENGAL	21	22
BRITISH TERRITORY	22	23
Burdwan Division	55	58
Presidency Division	7	8
Rajshahi Division	45	50
Dacca Division	0 2	0 2
Chittagong Division	0 3	0 2
BENGAL STATES	3	5

1931. Not only have they increased in numbers, but they now form 1 per mille more of the total population of Bengal than they did in 1921 and the proportion has decreased only in the Chittagong Division where in any case it is inconsiderable. Of the population in the Rajshahi Division 5 per cent. and of the population of the Burdwan Division nearly 6 per cent. belong to these three groups, and their increase in successive years is illustrated by diagram No. XII-2 where the numbers are plotted for each census year from 1891 to 1931 and their rate of increase can be compared with that of the total population. They numbered 355,258 in 1891, 699,358 in 1901, 903,702 in 1911, 1,013,825 in 1921 and 1,133,503 on the present occasion. The figures here given differ from those of 1911 and 1901 and from those given in the report for 1921 at page 362 owing to the inclusion in the present figures of Christian members of these tribes excluded from the previous report. Their proportions in each district at the last two census counts are given in detail in statement No. XII-4 and illustrated in diagram No. XII-3. On each occasion they formed a larger proportion of the total population than elsewhere in a strip running along the west of the province extending all the way from Darjeeling in the north to Midnapore in the south. The proportions have remained so similar that no difference occurs in the hatchings used to display them in any district except Nadia, Tripura and the Chittagong Hill Tracts where they have increased and Faridpur where they have decreased. But their migration so far afield as the Tripura State and the Chittagong Hill Tracts is interesting. Mr. Thompson reported in 1921 that the Hindus amongst Mundas and Santals were about the same in number as on the three previous enumerations and had decreased in the case of the Oraons. This tendency has been reversed owing to missionary efforts and to the natural increase in the numbers of Hindus amongst these three tribes.

478. Hill Tribes.—There are two groups of hill tribes which present a problem of their own distinct from that of the welfare of primitive peoples in the plains of Bengal. Those practically confined in Bengal to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and neighbouring districts are included amongst the primitive peoples illustrated in the social and religious map. Those found in the north of the province include not only the Bhotias, Tharus and Totos there shown but also the tribes with an origin in Nepal. For each of these groups figures are given in the accompanying statements Nos. XII-5 and XII-6. Of

DIAGRAM No. XII-2.
Total population
(thicker line) and
aggregate of Mundas,
Oraons and Santals
(thinner line) at each
census, 1891 to 1931.

NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rate of increase by slope. (The scale shows millions for total population and tens of thousands for Mundas, etc.)



STATEMENT No. XII-5.

HILL Tribes.

Name of Tribe	All Tribes			Hindu			Tribal			Buddhist			Christian.		
	Both sexes.	Males	Females	Both sexes.	Males	Females	Both sexes.	Males	Females	Both sexes.	Males	Females	Both sexes.	Males	Females
ALL TRIBES	403,720	209,410	194,310	194,727	99,362	95,365	12,957	6,707	6,250	193,379	102,050	91,329	2,657	1,291	1,366
Tribes of the Himalayas.	217,431	111,107	106,324	155,664	78,174	76,490	1,392	771	621	58,393	30,217	28,176	1,982	945	1,037
Bhotia of Sikkim	875	161	514	19	13	6	..	..	..	856	448	508	..	..	..
Bhotia of Butan	2,843	1,124	1,719	309	254	55	3	3	..	2,531	1,180	1,351	..	..	..
Bhotia of Nepal	6,655	3,722	2,933	648	352	296	81	38	43	6,028	3,302	2,726	..	..	..
Bhotia of Tibet and unopened	4,193	2,432	1,761	470	297	173	..	..	..	3,633	2,235	1,398	..	..	..
Drabman (Nepal)	110	55	55	118	83	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dama	6,643	3,915	2,728	6,622	3,934	2,688	9	5	4	17	14	3	..	..	..
Omarti	2,197	1,275	922	2,164	1,239	925	16	11	5	7	5	2	..	..	..
Gurung	13,011	5,955	7,056	12,853	5,909	6,944	39	22	17	79	57	22	..	..	..
Jumla	11,144	1,118	2,006	11,122	3,138	8,008	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Karu	16,178	8,051	7,224	16,060	8,385	7,175	72	13	20	46	20	20	..	..	..
Khambu	32,601	17,498	15,103	32,504	17,445	15,059	..	..	..	87	83	44	..	..	..
Khas	225	111	114	161	57	104	27	17	10	37	37	..	..	..	..
Khasas	381	210	171	390	200	81	148	75	73	1	1	..	..	..	..
Kisan	2,593	1,436	1,157	2,454	1,384	1,071	129	67	61	4	1	..	..	..	..
Lepcha	12,719	6,412	6,307	213	245	8	456	242	214	10,100	6,030	5,061	1,850	929	1,021
Limbu	17,323	8,563	8,760	17,488	9,502	7,986	79	38	39	37	19	18	24	9	15
Magar	23,918	12,245	11,763	23,829	12,110	11,609	148	75	73	86	50	18	..	..	..
Majhi	449	294	155	389	263	136	37	34	3	13	7	..	..	..	..
Mura	34,911	17,440	17,471	389	174	206	33	18	15	34,498	17,654	16,844	..	..	..
Nepal	12,627	7,091	5,536	12,473	6,885	5,488	68	30	33	58	25	2	..	..	..
Rai	6,773	3,754	3,019	6,800	2,701	3,097	48	33	15	27	18	9	..	..	..
Sarki	3,423	1,919	1,504	3,387	1,774	1,613	43	27	16	19	18	..	..	..	..
Sunawari	4,427	2,111	2,316	4,370	2,119	2,252	48	27	21	5	4	1	..	..	..
Taru	402	234	168	425	230	80	87	28	29	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toto	334	189	144	330	126	204	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Yakha	673	316	357	867	352	515	..	..	..	6	3	3	..	..	..
Tribes of South-East Bengal.	136,289	68,303	67,986	39,063	20,188	18,875	11,565	5,936	5,629	134,986	71,833	63,153	675	346	329
Danjog	221	445	866	4	..	4	793	423	376	1	..	..	17	12	6
Chakma	126,752	67,709	59,050	42	80	13	..	..	..	126,854	67,006	59,189	1	100	56
Kachari	2,917	1,612	1,305	2,946	1,612	1,334	1,526	755	771	1	..	..	..	..	..
Khami	1,916	845	751	32	52	2	..	..	..	38	28	8	..	..	..
Kharang	1,002	514	488	31	24	7	..	..	..	194	194	468	..	..	..
Kulu	2,423	1,112	1,311	332	127	205	2,117	1,032	1,085	..	..	..	34	28	11
Lushai	1,203	571	632	711	350	361	25	11	14	..	..	..	484	210	274
Mra	7,431	3,914	3,470	88	43	23	8	3	5	7,328	3,861	3,467	..	..	..
Nipra	42,064	21,720	20,344	34,876	17,950	16,926	7,075	3,715	3,361	1,109	64	55	3	1	2

BENGAL STATES.

ALL TRIBES	189,876	97,130	89,746	175,751	91,413	84,338	..	..	..	8,756	4,520	4,236	2,369	1,197	1,172
Tribes of the Himalayas.	1,166	473	693	1,165	472	693	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Bhotia of Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhotia of Butan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhotia of Nepal	7	6	1	7	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhotia of Tibet and unopened	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Drabman (Nepal)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dama	17	17	..	17	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Omarti	155	112	112	164	112	112	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Gurung	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jumla	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khambu	40	30	20	40	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khas	25	23	2	25	23	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khasas	71	23	46	71	25	46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kisan	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lepcha	20	15	2	20	15	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Limbu	24	19	5	24	19	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Magar	473	262	211	473	262	211	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Majhi	313	2	311	313	2	311	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mura	13	13	13	13	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nepal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rai	4	3	1	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sarki	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunawari	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Taru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Toto	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Yakha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tribes of South-East Bengal.	189,710	96,657	89,053	174,886	90,941	83,645	..	..	..	8,755	4,519	4,236	2,369	1,197	1,172
Danjog	..	8,756	4,520	4,236	27	20	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chakma	..	4	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	8,729	4,494	4,285	..	..	..
Kachari	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khami	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kharang	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kulu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lushai	..	14,199	7,718	6,393	13,535	7,408	6,127	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mra	..	1,356	894	912	41	5	86	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nipra	..	161,063	83,623	77,482	160,976	83,498	77,461	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

STATEMENT No. XII-6.

Total number of Hill Tribes by religions in each district.

Division, district and state	All religions			Hindu.			Tribal			Buddhist			Christian		
	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
TRIBES OF THE HIMALAYAS.															
BENGAL	218,597	111,580	107,017	156,829	79,646	77,183	1,392	771	621	58,394	30,218	28,176	1,982	945	1,037
BRITISH TERRITORY	217,431	111,107	106,324	156,664	78,174	76,490	1,392	771	621	58,392	30,217	28,176	1,982	945	1,037
Burdwan Division	1,017	1,173	444	1,551	1,115	436	23	23	23	4	35	7	1	1	1
Burdwan	185	147	98	174	139	35				11					
Birbhum	7	7	3	3	3	1	4	4							
Bankura	14	14					14	14							
Midnapore	1,002	658	346	987	651	336	5	5							
Hoochly	220	192	28	220	192	28									
Howrah	189	167	32	157	130	27							1	1	1
Presidency Division	1,941	1,483	458	1,910	1,459	451				31	27	4			
24 Parganas	565	498	127	565	498	127									
Calcutta	1,192	522	270	1,191	522	269				31	27	4			
Nadia	25	7	18	25	7	18									
Mushidabad	108	78	34	108	78	34									
Jessore	2	2		2	2										
Khulna	51	42	9	51	42	9									
Rajshahi Division	213,227	108,621	105,306	151,564	76,177	75,387	1,369	748	621	58,313	30,151	28,162	1,981	945	1,036
Rajshahi	12	9	12	13	12										
Dumypur	451	353	93	428	340	88	10	11	1	7					
Jalpaiguri	27,130	10,898	10,732	21,889	12,916	9,074	963	626	437	4,175	2,956	1,222			
Darjeeling	185,875	91,043	94,327	128,577	62,705	66,172	380	211	179	54,157	27,147	26,911	1,981	945	1,026
Rangpur	191	152	39	191	152	39									
Dogra	1	1		1	1										
Patna	19	19		19	19										
Melita	46	46	8	46	46	8									
Dacca Division	482	294	188	482	294	188									
Dacca	387	240	148	387	240	148									
Myrmensingh	95	45	40	95	45	40									
Chittagong Division	164	136	28	157	129	28				7	7				
Tippera	1	1		1	1										
Chittagong	151	128	23	145	122	23				6	6				
Chittagong Hill Tracts	12	7	5	11	6	5				1	1				
BENGAL STATES	1,166	473	693	1,165	472	693				1	1				
Cooch Behar	401	72	329	400	71	329				1	1				
Tripara	765	401	364	765	401	364									
TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST BENGAL.															
BENGAL	371,999	194,960	177,039	213,649	111,129	102,520	11,565	5,936	5,629	143,741	76,352	67,389	3,044	1,543	1,501
BRITISH TERRITORY	188,239	98,303	87,998	39,053	20,188	18,675	11,565	5,936	5,629	134,860	71,832	63,183	675	348	329
Burdwan Division	72	57	15	64	57	7									
Burdwan	2	2		2	2										
Birbhum	2	2		2	2										
Midnapore	23	15	8	16	15	1									
Hoochly	45	38	7	43	38	5									
Presidency Division	548	472	70	548	472	76									
24 Parganas	312	271	41	312	271	41									
Calcutta	236	201	35	236	201	35									
Rajshahi Division	222	71	151	152	27	125				13	5	8	57	39	18
Jalpaiguri	13	5	8												
Dumypur	80	50	24	23	17	6				12	5				
Darjeeling	129	10	119	129	10	119									
Rangpur															
Dacca Division	1,002	531	471	1,002	531	471									
Dacca	143	97	46	143	97	46									
Myrmensingh	859	434	425	859	434	425									
Chittagong Division	184,445	97,172	87,273	37,297	19,101	15,186	11,567	5,936	5,621	134,873	71,828	63,145	618	307	311
Tippera	2,741	1,806	1,375	2,740	1,360	1,374									
Nonkhali	77	67	10	77	67	10									
Chittagong	28,104	14,278	11,826	1,839	880	809	748	383	364	23,719	12,066	10,653			
Chittagong Hill Tracts	155,823	81,461	74,062	32,841	16,888	16,008	10,811	5,554	5,257	111,254	57,768	52,482	617	307	310
BENGAL STATES	185,710	96,687	89,053	174,586	90,941	83,645				8,755	4,819	4,236	2,389	1,197	1,172
Tripara	185,710	96,687	89,053	174,586	90,941	83,645				8,755	4,819	4,236	2,389	1,197	1,172

in their results. These points are brought out in the notes forming appendix 2 to this chapter. It is out of consideration that, for some time to come, the areas principally occupied by these groups should come under the same form of administration as the rest of Bengal, but it would be a very great advantage if the peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were placed for administration under an area in which similar tribes exist, and when any redistribution of provincial boundaries is ever undertaken it would be desirable to place the Chittagong Hill Tracts with the neighbouring regions similarly peopled in Assam.

479. **Number of Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas.**—Amongst the Hindus the figures for Brahmans and for depressed classes are further discussed

and illustrated by diagrams in a later part of this chapter. Comment is also made later on the detailed figures for castes making up the total for Hindus so far as they have been extracted. In this

STATEMENT No. XII-7.

Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas.

Division	Number	Per mille of total population	Per mille of Hindu population
BENGAL	3,116,856	61	140
BRITISH TERRITORY.	3,093,219	62	143
Burdwan Division	746,553	86	104
Burduah Division	810,792	80	157
Rajshahi Division	207,941	19	55
Dacca Division	185,496	59	207
Chittagong Division	511,325	75	331
BENGAL STATES	23,637	24	37

place however it is of interest to consider two groups falling within the Hindu total, namely the Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas forming the upper class of Bengali society and the groups which were originally immigrant from Nepal and some of which are now adopting a permanent residence in the province. The marginal statement No. XII-7 shows the aggregate number of Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas in the whole province and in each individual division.

They number 3,116,856 and form more than 6 per cent. of the total population of Bengal. They are most numerous in Dacca and Presidency Divisions, but form a larger percentage of the population in Burdwan than elsewhere. Amongst their own community they are proportionately most numerous in Chittagong and Dacca Divisions. A further statement No. XII-8 attached shows the distribution by districts of the aggregate numbers of Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas and the proportions are illustrated in diagram No. XII-4. They contribute 28.2 per cent. to the total population in Calcutta where they form a larger proportion of the whole than elsewhere. In Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah and Chittagong they form as many as 10 to 15 per cent. of the total population and in the lower delta in the area comprising Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera, Noakhali, Bakarganj, Khulna, Jessore, 24-Parganas and Midnapore they are from 5 to 10 per cent. of the population. They are also 7 to 8 per cent. of the population in Sikkim; but elsewhere in Bengal the proportion is smaller and it is as low as from 1.3 to 1.5 per cent. only in the block formed by Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra and Malda. These figures however are based upon the total population of each district and it is perhaps more significant to consider the proportion of the Hindu population borne by these three groups. Amongst their own community they form nearly 58 per cent. in Chittagong and in the other districts of this division except the Chittagong Hill Tracts their numbers form 25 to 26 per cent. In Calcutta they are 41 per cent. of the Hindu population. Their proportion is consistently highest in the districts of Dacca Division where they number from 18.4 per cent. in Faridpur to 26.5 per cent. in Bakarganj. Except in Calcutta, outside East Bengal they do not form anywhere 20 per cent. of the Hindu population and are between 10 and 20 per cent. only in Pabna (17.4), Jessore (14.1), Howrah (13.4), Nadia, Burdwan, Bankura and Hooghly (between 12 and 13 per cent.) and Khulna (11.8 per cent.). Except in Pabna the smallness of their proportions is very well marked in North Bengal where a large proportion of the Hindus are aboriginals.

480. **Groups of Nepali origin.**—It is unfortunately impossible to obtain figures for the total number of persons of Nepali origin in the population of 1921, since figures for Nepalese groups were in general then given only for those districts in which they were principally found. Even on the present occasion also the difficulty of obtaining a complete estimate of their numbers is considerable. Apart from the probability that some groups have escaped

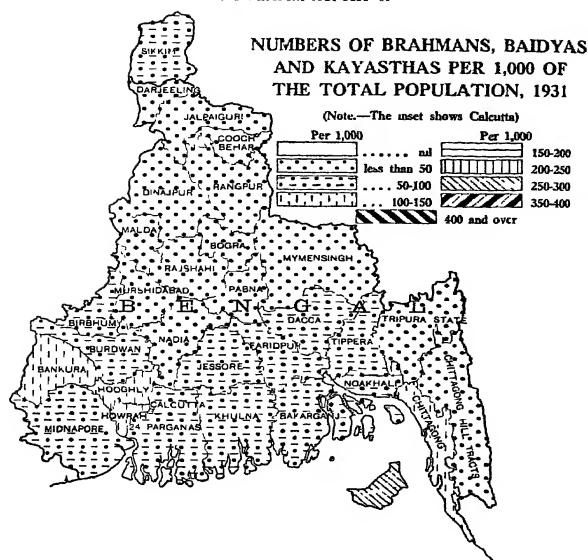
STATEMENT No. XII-8.

Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas.

District.	Number	Per mille of total population	Per mille of Hindu population
Burdwan	154,034	98	124
Bankura	60,370	64	124
Midnapore	125,200	113	124
Hooghly	170,511	64	71
Howrah	111,720	105	124
24-Parganas	113,711	105	144
Calcutta	162,818	40	93
Nadia	337,832	282	410
Murshidabad	75,053	18	127
Jessore	52,100	38	88
Khulna	80,731	54	141
Barisal	96,258	59	118
Dinajpur	30,472	98	98
Dumajpur	22,438	13	28
Malda	18,106	18	27
Darjeeling	10,052	31	42
Rangpur	98,155	15	61
Bogra	14,878	13	81
Pabna	57,767	40	174
Malda	14,568	14	38
Dacca	224,950	68	200
Mymensingh	228,162	43	190
Faridpur	155,530	90	184
Bakarganj	215,025	73	205
Tippera	185,804	60	247
Noakhali	96,904	57	264
Chittagong	226,648	126	577
Chittagong Hill Tracts	2,060	10	56
Cooch Behar	11,160	19	29
Tripara	12,477	33	48
Sikkim	8,540	78	182

figures for the total number of persons of Nepali origin in the population of 1921, since figures for Nepalese groups were in general then given only for those districts in which they were principally found. Even on the present occasion also the difficulty of obtaining a complete estimate of their numbers is considerable. Apart from the probability that some groups have escaped

DIAGRAM No. XII-4.



religions. Since 1891 their numbers have very nearly doubled but the rate of increase since 1911 has been retarded and the average during the past 20 years has been less than the average rate of increase for the total population. For Sikkim and for the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in which Nepali groups form more than 2 per mille of the total population the figures are given and illustrated in diagram No. XII-5 overleaf.

STATEMENT No. XII-9.

**Total strength of *selected Nepali groups,
1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931.**

1891	137,225
1901	106,673
1911	243,287
1931	255,303

*Damai, Gharti, Gurung, Jimdar, Kamel, Khambu, Khas, Khawas, Kisan, Limbu, Maungar, Manjhi, Murmi, Newar, Sarki, Sunuwar, Tharu, Yakka.

are the same as are given below statement No. XII-9 with the addition of Nepali Brahmans. In Sikkim their numbers declined from 59 thousand to 53 thousand between 1911 and 1921 but have now increased to 71 thousand. They now form 64.8 per cent. in the population of Sikkim compared with 64.5 in 1921 and 66.8 in 1911. A similar variation is shown by the figures for Darjeeling district. They declined between 1911 and 1921 from 151 thousand to 143 thousand but have now reached 158 thousand, a larger figure than in 1911. Here however the growth of the other elements in the population has resulted in a continuous decrease in the proportion borne by these Nepali groups. In every hundred it was 56.5 in 1911, 50.6 in 1921 and is now only 40.4. On the other hand in Jalpaiguri after falling from 32 thousand in 1911 to 19 thousand in 1921 these groups have made up a part of the way lost and now number 22 thousand forming 22 per cent. of the total population against 20 per cent. in 1921 and 35 per cent. in 1911. As far as Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri are concerned it must be borne in mind that, as has been noted in chapter III, the census was taken at a period when a number of inhabitants of Nepal are temporarily resident in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri who return on the approach of the rains to their own home districts.

detection at previous enumerations and therefore were not sorted for on the present occasion there is a tendency for the Khas and some other groups to return themselves as Chhettris and those who were so returned cannot be distinguished amongst the total claiming Kshatriya as their *varna* and returning it as a caste name. Statement No. XII-9 in the margin, however, illustrated by diagram No. XII-5 shows for the Nepali groups indicated below the statement their numbers and rate of growth from 1891 to 1931. It includes members of the groups shown professing all

For this diagram the groups chosen

DIAGRAM No. XII-5.

Total population (upper line) and Nepales of certain castes at the census of 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931.

NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figures, rate of increase by slope. (The scale shows millions for total population and tens of thousands for Nepales.)

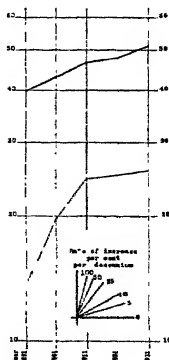
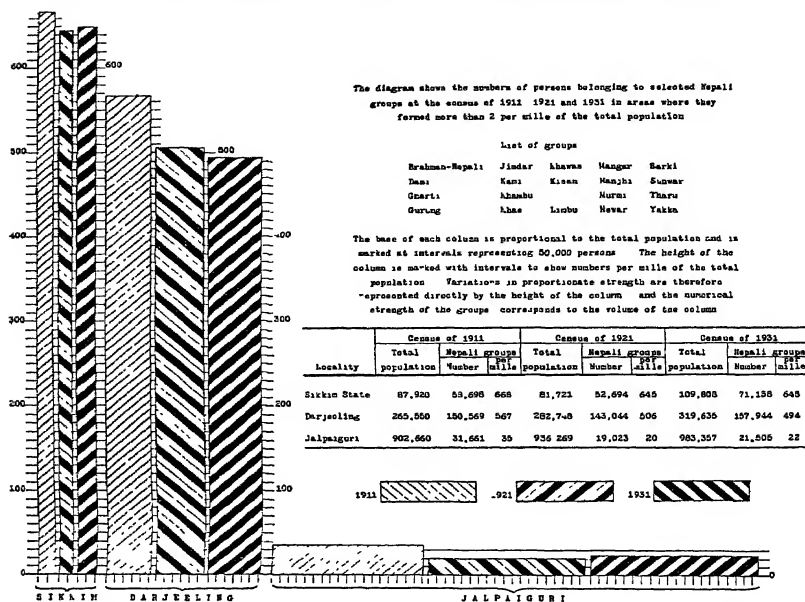


DIAGRAM No. XII-6.

Numbers at the census of 1911, 1921 and 1931 of selected Nepali groups in selected areas.

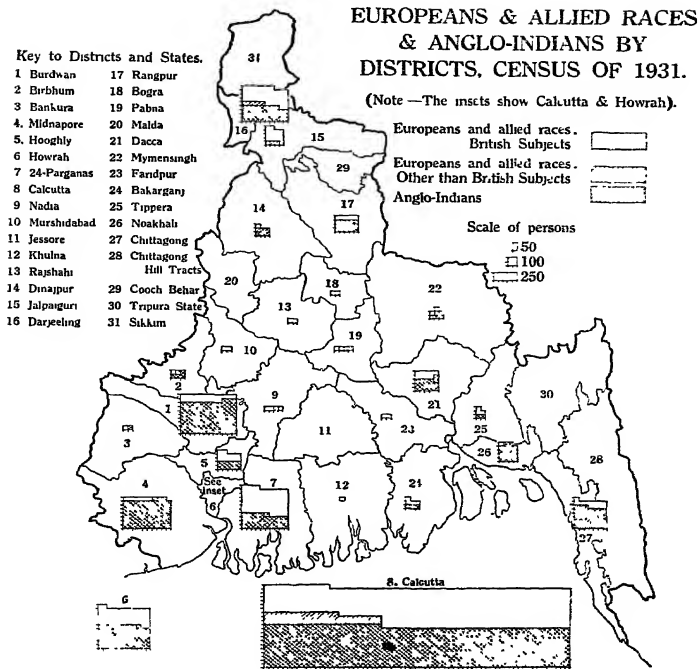
NOTE.—In the descriptive reference the hatchings are shown at right angles to their slope in the diagram.



481. **Muslim groups—Sayyad and “Mumin”.**—Comment upon the distribution of Muslims has already been made in chapter XI and would be redundant here. The only groups for which figures were compiled on the present occasion were Sayyad and “Mumin” (Jolaha). The figures for Sayyads in 1921 were 140,499 and they have risen to 162,905 on the present occasion, but it is very likely that in both years these returns include a number of persons whose Sayyad descent is a matter of considerable doubt, and who would find it difficult to substantiate a claim to be of the tribe of the Prophet. The figures for “Mumin” on the other hand which also show an increase from 255,164 to 270,292 are likely to be more accurate. This caste was anxious to have its figures separately recorded and the permission to return a new name free from the stigma attaching to that previously used may be reasonably expected to have resulted in obtaining on the present occasion more accurate figures than previously. The largest numbers in any district were returned in Pabna (86,102) where the figure amounted to no more than 11,426 in 1921. In Faridpur on the other hand the number returned was 34,383 as against 49,325 in 1921, whilst a decrease though much smaller in extent was also returned from the district having the third largest “Mumin” population, viz., Jessore where they now number 31,613 compared with 32,143 in 1921. These fluctuations, when it is considered that Pabna is the headquarters of the group organisation from which the principal agitation for a change of nomenclature came, may be taken to suggest that the increase in the numbers of this group returned at the present census would probably have been greater still if all the members of the group had returned themselves under its distinctive name.

482. **Europeans, British subjects and others.**—Details of the distribution of Christians by racial groups will be found in the supplement to imperial table XVI. A further analysis by tribal and similar groups is given for Indian Christians in imperial table VIII and in subsidiary table

DIAGRAM No. XII-7.

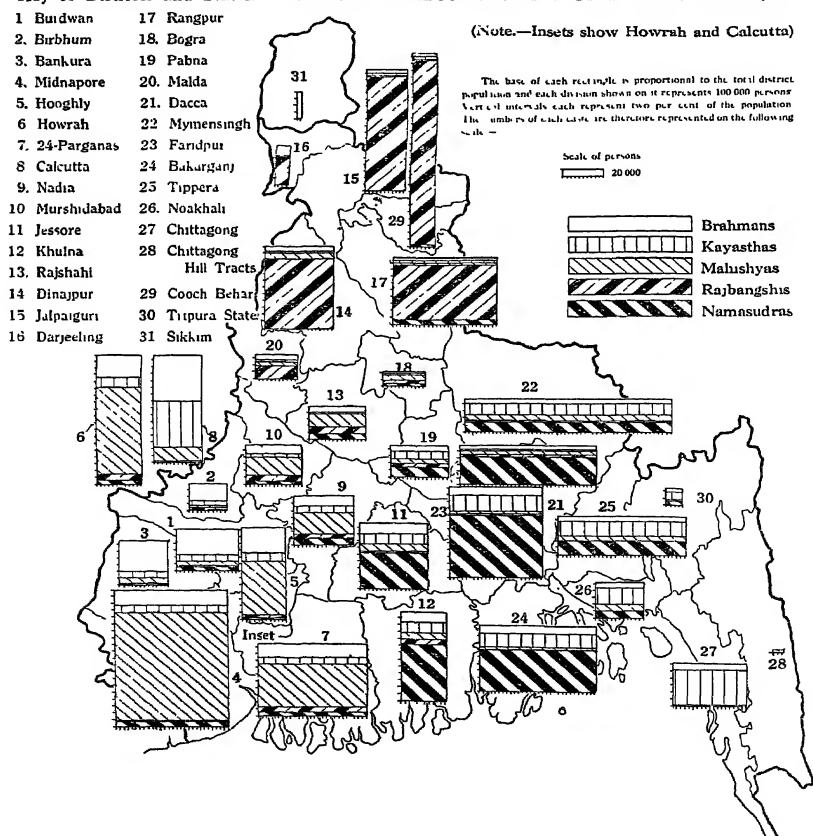


VII to chapter IX. Figures for Europeans and Anglo-Indians by nationality and age are given in imperial table XIX. A map forming diagram No. XII-7 illustrates by districts the distribution of Europeans and allied races and Anglo-Indians. The figures for Europeans probably include a number of Anglo-Indians, but during the enumeration their leading men urged upon them the advisability of making a correct return, and the desire to secure electoral advantages under the reformed constitution may be confidently held to have reduced the number of such erroneous returns in 1931. In the whole of Bengal there are 20,904 European British subjects including 9 in Cooch Behar and Tripura. Nearly three-fourths of them are concentrated in Calcutta and outside Calcutta they number as many as 1,000 only in the 24-Parganas (1,688), Howrah (1,204) and Darjeeling (1,089). Their numbers have actually increased during the decade for they numbered 20,016 in 1921 including 4 in Cooch Behar. But in Darjeeling there are now roughly only one-half as many as they were in 1921 and there are less than one-half as many as there then were in Burdwan. The number shown in the 24-Parganas is nearly a thousand less than in 1921 but this difference is due to redistribution of the suburbs about Calcutta and the numbers in Calcutta have increased by 3,500. Outside Howrah in the Burdwan Division they are considerable in numbers only in Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore. In the Rajshahi Division the tea-planting industry accounts for the largest proportion of the Europeans recorded, but in Dacca and Chittagong Divisions they are found in very small numbers and in each case more than half the total number found in the division is concentrated in one district, namely Dacca and Chittagong. Europeans who are not British subjects number 2,126 only including 7 in Cooch Behar and their strength has declined from 2,714 since 1921. Less than 500 of them are found outside Calcutta and of these 124 were recorded in Darjeeling.

483. **Anglo-Indians.**—Anglo-Indians numbered 27,573. None were recorded in Bengal States and the figures represent an increase of over 5,000 from the total 22,250 returned in 1921. Their greatest concentration is in Calcutta where more than half of them are domiciled; and they are most numerous after Calcutta in Burdwan (2,476), Midnapore (1,810), and Howrah (1,581), where industries and the railways provide employment for them. They numbered nearly a thousand in Darjeeling and Chittagong and they are 863 strong in the 24-Parganas but their numbers are not considerable in any other district. One interesting figure is that for Noakhali where their numbers are now given as 441 though they were only 23 returned in 1921. The reason for this extraordinary increase is undoubtedly that many Indian Christians have secured their return as Anglo-Indians. The agitation was raised during the census enumeration and those agitating in many cases bear Portuguese surnames. This however is easily explained by the practice under which for instance slaves of the Portuguese pirates would take the name of their masters and converts the name of the missionary converting them, and whatever remote strain of European blood there may be in them from the Portuguese pirates who infested these parts three or four centuries ago, in dress, habits of life and language they are certainly Bengalis like the Feringhees of Dacca and Chittagong.

DIAGRAM No. XII-8.

Key to Districts and States. DISTRICT DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED HINDU CASTES, 1931



484. **General distribution of the five most numerous Hindu castes.**—

Before the statistics of each caste are discussed attention is invited to the map forming diagram No. XII-8 which illustrates the distribution by districts of the five most numerous castes in Bengal. The map is so constructed that the area representing each caste is proportionate to the total numbers and the height of the column represents the percentage which each constitutes in the total population of districts. Comment in detail upon the figures and distribution of each caste will be found later, but their general distribution is clearly brought out in the map. The Mahishyas who form the largest Hindu caste in the province are practically confined to the districts of Western Bengal, although a certain number are also found in Northern and Eastern Bengal. Their numbers are proportionately considerable in Pabna, Bogra, Rajshahi and Dinajpur and they are found also in the Mymensingh district and in Tippera and Noakhali. On the other hand the Namasudras who form the second largest Hindu caste in the province are principally numerous in the lower delta in districts like Mymensingh, Dacca, Tippera, Faridpur, Jessore, Khulna and Bakarganj, and they form a considerable proportion of the population outside this area only in Pabna, Nadia, Rajshahi and Midnapore. North Bengal is the area of the Rajbangshis and they form in no district outside North Bengal a proportion of the total population higher than 16 per mille, the figure in Howrah. The figures for this caste given in the tables make them the third most numerous group of Hindus but must be accepted with the

STATEMENT No. XII-10.

Proportions of Brahmans, Kayasthas, Namasudras, Mahishyas and Rajbangshis.

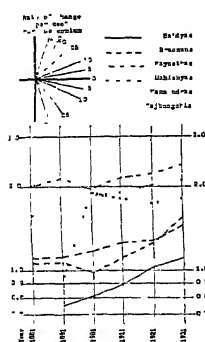
Division, district or state	No. per mille of total population					No. per mille of Hindu population				
	Brahman	Kayastha.	Nama-sudra	Mahis-ya	Raj-bangshi	Brah-man	Kayas-tha.	Nama-sudra	Mahis-ya	Raj-bangshu
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL	28	30	41	47	35	65	70	94	107	81
BRITISH TERRITORY										
Burdwan Division	64	21	9	159	6	77	25	10	192	7
Burdwan	75	21	9	13	2	95	27	12	16	3
Birbhum	49	13	2	6	5	73	20	3	8	7
Bankura	93	17	1	18	7	102	15	1	20	7
Midnapore	43	20	14	810	3	48	22	15	354	4
Hooghly	76	25	6	157	7	81	31	7	190	5
Howrah	73	31	12	249	16	93	40	15	318	20
Presidency Division	42	35	51	61	11	83	68	100	120	21
24-Parganas	40	19	12	122	15	62	30	15	149	23
Calcutta	133	134	3	39	2	193	195	5	50	2
Nadia	24	18	20	65	10	76	49	55	173	26
Murshidabad	26	11	8	35	14	60	25	19	127	41
Jessore	22	30	104	22	2	59	79	274	50	6
Khulna	28	29	163	20	15	57	58	124	10	99
Rajshahi Division	10	8	11	14	118	29	24	31	39	337
Rajshahi	14	6	15	37	10	63	25	64	162	81
Dinajpur	7	5	2	15	205	15	12	5	34	434
Jaipalguri	9	8	2	2	237	14	12	3	9	499
Darjeeling	28	8	-	1	84	37	5	0	2	114
Rangpur	7	7	14	7	172	24	23	49	24	590
Bogra	6	6	8	16	9	39	37	51	93	53
Pabna	16	23	30	12	9	70	90	132	52	39
Malda	10	4	1	9	40	23	0	3	22	95
Dacca Division	18	38	87	12	5	64	133	306	41	18
Dacca	20	42	83	9	8	68	126	254	29	24
Mymensingh	13	29	28	18	6	56	120	122	78	25
Faridpur	23	40	181	8	6	65	112	503	22	15
Bakarganj	21	47	121	7	..	77	169	438	24	1
Chittagong Division	14	58	24	11	1	63	256	108	48	2
Tippera	15	43	41	13	1	61	178	170	53	4
Noakhali	11	44	21	19	..	53	207	98	89	1
Chittagong	18	103	2	1	..	82	471	10	3	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	1	8	..	..	..	8	46	2	..	..
BENGAL STATES	10	13	9	3	328	15	20	14	5	497
Cooch Behar	9	9	6	3	540	14	15	10	5	899
Tripura	11	19	18	3	..	16	28	19	6	0.3

reservation indicated in a later paragraph in which their numbers are specifically discussed. Kayasthas, who are numerically fourth in order, are principally found in the two divisions of Eastern Bengal, in Jessore, Khulna and Calcutta, but the caste is widely spread and, except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the districts of the Rajshahi Division, at least 1 in every 100 persons in every district is a member of this caste. The general diffusion of the Brahmans is even more marked. They are principally found in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, but they also, except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and some four districts of the Rajshahi Division, constitute at least 1 per cent. of the total population in every district in the province. A statement, No. XII-10 prepage, shows the proportionate numbers of the members of these five castes throughout the province, both to the total population of all religions and to members of their own community. In the Dacca Division almost one person out of every three Hindus is a Namasudra, and the proportion is considerably greater in the districts of Faridpur and Bakarganj, where almost half the Hindu population belong to this caste. Such a high figure is not met in other districts except Jessore and Khulna. In Midnapore more than, and in Howrah almost one-third of the Hindu population are Mahishyas, and in these two districts together with Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad and Rajshahi, they form in no case less than 12 per cent. of the total Hindus. Of the total Hindu population more than half in Rangpur, and almost half in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur are Rajbangshis, but with the

DIAGRAM No. XII-9.

Numbers of Baidyas, Brahmans, Kayasthas, Mahishyas, Namasudras and Rajbangshis at each census, 1891 to 1931.

NOTE.—Numbers are shown by figure, rate of change by slope. The upward slope shows increase downward slope shows decrease. (The scale shows hundreds or thousands for Baidyas and millions for other castes.)



exception of the State of Cooch Behar where more than four-fifths of the Hindu population are of this caste, no other district except Darjeeling has as many as 10 per cent. Rajbangshis amongst the Hindu population. The Brahman preponderance is highest amongst Hindus in Calcutta and Bankura. In Chittagong almost one-half and in Noakhali nearly one-fifth of the total Hindu population are Kayasthas, and in every other district of East Bengal, except the Chittagong Hill Tracts, their numbers are at least 11 per cent. of the total Hindu population, a proportion not elsewhere reached except in Calcutta.

485. **Variations in numbers since 1881.**—The growth of these five castes and of the Baidyas whose numbers are too small to be shown in diagram No. XII-8 is illustrated for each census since 1881 in diagram No. XII-9 plotted from the accompanying statement No. XII-11. Some difference in the classification of Rajbangshis at different census enumerations contributes to the fluctuations in their numbers from year to year, but in general the six castes shown have occupied since 1901 the same relative position in order of numbers. Namasudras and Brahmans show the most regular rate of change during the period from 1881 and Kayasthas since 1901 the most rapid rate of increase, which has in 1931 made them for the first time more numerous than Brahmans.

STATEMENT No. XII-11.

	*1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
Baidya	..	†..	75,277	81,218	88,796	102,681
Brahman	..	†..	75,277	81,218	88,796	102,681
Kayastha	..	1,080,384	1,121,804	1,186,919	1,258,888	1,309,539
Mahishya	..	1,038,615	1,067,147	984,443	1,113,684	1,297,736
Namasudra	..	2,009,018	2,132,989	1,932,794	2,197,948	2,210,684
Rajbangshi	..	1,569,208	1,746,710	1,848,488	1,908,728	2,006,269
	..	†..	942,230	1,189,241	1,808,790	1,727,111

*The population of 1881 is exclusive of the figures for Tripura State for which no record is available.

†Not on record.

‡The figures are for Koch Rajbangshi.

Part IV—Details of Hindu castes.

Brief notes are given below on some of the castes found during the census. District officers were so much preoccupied with more immediate duties that it was not thought equitable to burden them with special enquiries, and such ethnographic details as were brought to light during the enumeration are not sufficient in extent to justify relegation to an appendix and have been included with the statistics. Such matter as is new was either reported by the district census officers or contributed by gentlemen my indebtedness to whom is indicated in the text. The details of caste claims have been given where they were made, but in conformity with the policy announced during the taking of the census no pronouncement is made as to the validity of claims put forward by various castes for inclusion in one of the three higher *varnas* of Manu. Those who desire to pursue further enquiries into these claims will welcome the inclusion of notes by Professor N. K. Dutt, who has already made valuable contributions to the History of Castes and of the Aryanisation of India. The opinions which he expresses are of course his own and are not to be taken as necessarily representing the official view because he has permitted them to appear in this report. References in brackets after the caste name are to Risley's *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* and to previous census reports : R stands for Risley and is followed by the volume and page number ; C. R. stands for Census Report and is followed by the year, volume, part and page number.

486. **Aguri (Ugra Kshattriya)** [R. I. 12 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 350].—The claim of this caste to the designation Ugra Kshattriya which appears in Manu is long-standing. In 1921 many of the caste failed to record themselves under the commonly accepted name, Aguri, and were merged with the indefinite group of Kshattriyas. On the present occasion also the term Aguri was objected to by the caste as a vulgarism or slang term but they agreed to return themselves as Ugra Kshattriya (Aguri). To the disappointment of the caste considerations of economy have prevented any special tabulation of their numbers which amounted in 1921 to no more than 68,816 in Burdwan, Bankura, Howrah and Calcutta where it is principally found. There are two sub-castes known as the *jana* and *suta* branches, the first of which adopts the sacred thread and observes ceremonial pollution (*asauch*) on the death of near relatives for twelve days, whilst the Suta Aguris do not adopt the sacred thread and observe a mourning period of 30 days. Efforts are being made for the amalgamation of the two sub-castes ; but such amalgamation as is conceded is only upon the terms dictated by the Jana Aguris, namely, that the investiture of the thread and the observation of the restricted period of pollution shall become accepted practices before any inter-marriage is allowed. It is reported that the majority of the Suta branch are conforming with these requirements, but although some of the more educated members of the two sub-castes dine together no instance is reported in which inter-marriage had taken place before the census was held, and in social gatherings the distinctions are observed between the two sects.

487. **Adi Kaibartta (Jalia Kaibartta)** [R. I. 340 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 391 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 498, 511 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 355, 365].—This is the caste shown in previous reports as Jalia Kaibartta. On the present occasion as previously they put forward a claim to be returned as Rajbangshis or Mahishyas and it appears that in one of the subdivisions of Dacca some Jalia Kaibarttas who have actually taken to cultivation were so returned in spite of orders to the contrary. Their numbers have declined from 384,049 in 1921 to 352,072 in 1931, a decrease of 8·3 per cent. They are most numerous in Mymensingh (53,093), Tippera (43,017), Midnapore (45,015), Dacca (31,928), Jessore (26,061), Howrah (19,197), Bakarganj (14,723), Chittagong (23,896) and Hooghly (13,740). Their decline is certainly due to the claim of many of the caste to be recorded as Mahishyas whose numbers have increased by over 170,000 and undoubtedly include a number of persons of the Jalia Kaibartta group who have taken to cultivation and for that or some other reason have secured their return as Mahishyas or Chasi Kaibarttas.

488. **Agarwalas** [R. I. 4].—Complete figures for Agarwalas were obtained only for Calcutta in 1921. They then numbered 6,826 and in Calcutta their numbers have declined to 4,752 at the present census. Throughout the whole of Bengal they number 19,347 and as many as 1,000 or more are found only in Malda (3,286), Jalpaiguri (1,329) and Rajshahi (1,239). In Calcutta some part of their decrease is probably due to the non-co-operation in parts of the city where they were particularly strong. The only district from which no returns at all were received was Dacca. In the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions they are few in numbers and they are chiefly found in Western, Northern and Central Bengal. Amongst those returned 18,128 were shown as Hindus and 1,188 as Jains.

489. **Bagdi** [R. I. 37 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 386 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 509 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 350, 365].—The Bagdis have increased from 895,397 in 1921 to 987,570 in 1931. The increase amounts to 10·3 per cent. compared with a decrease of 12 per cent. between 1911 and 1921 and a stationary population between 1901 and 1911. Their numbers are comparatively few in Northern and Eastern Bengal and they are principally found in Western Bengal where the largest number returned is from Burdwan (185,172). The claim was put forward without very great conviction that they should be returned as Byagra Kshatriya.

490. **Baheliya** [R. I. 145].—Statistics for the Bahelias do not appear to have been collected in 1921. Risley describes them in Bihar as a sub-caste of Dosadh with whom, however, they will not eat or drink and he records that there is a caste of the same name in Bengal who are professional hunters and thus allied to the Bediyas. The numbers returned were 4,449 of whom more than half (2,245) were returned from Mymensingh.

491. **Baidya** [R. I. 46 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 379 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 350].—Baidyas numbered 110,739, an increase of 7·6 per cent. over the figures (102,931) returned in 1921. The increase makes it reasonable to assume that no considerable number have actually been lost to the caste by their adoption to the claim to Brahman status and names including as a component the word Brahman. They are principally found in Calcutta, Bakarganj, Dacca and Chittagong. Probably the most interesting claim to a change of caste nomenclature was that put forward by this caste. In 1901 they had claimed to be returned as Ambastha and thus to secure recognition of their mythical derivation from a Brahman father and a Vaisya mother. Their position amongst the regenerate classes has probably never been contested, but in Eastern Bengal the existence of a custom of inter-marriage between them and the Kayasthas has been established in the Calcutta High Court in the judgment of which the Baidyas were referred to as of the *Vaisya varna*. The contention put forward on the present occasion was that they should be returned as Brahmans, and since the caste, though small, is the most literate and progressive of the Hindu castes with an unusually high standard of learning and culture, the claim was supported not only by distinguished and learned members of the caste but also by a great wealth of argument. It was contended that the members of the caste had been invited to the All-India Saraswat Brahman Conference held at Lahore and received on equal terms with the other delegates. It is certainly interesting that many of the characteristics distinctive of the Brahmans are shown by the Baidyas in their practices. The reading and teaching of the Vedas specifically confined in the Sastras to the Brahmans are allowed to the Baidyas also. They keep *tols* and receive *Brahmottar* gifts in the same way as the Brahmans ; Brahmans do not hesitate to become their students ; and the works of the learned Vaidyas are of the same authority as those of Brahmans. It is alleged that in Assam the caste even now inter-marries with Brahmans and that in parts of Bengal they receive Brahmanical fees, *vidaya*, and are eligible for titles conferred by Government or learned bodies and ordinarily reserved for Brahmans. It is contended that in certain places they act as priests and also as *gurus* or spiritual guides to persons of the respectable classes, and that they have the right of performing *jajna* and worshipping the gods without

the intermediary of Brahman priests. In short it is contended that all the six occupations of Brahmans, viz., reading and teaching the Vedas, giving and receiving alms, sacrificing and performing as priests at the sacrifices of others are all open to Vaidyas, as well as the additional profession of medicine which is their specialty; and it is pointed out that although the medicines prepared by them are technically "cooked" and could not therefore be accepted by high class Brahmans without pollution if offered by any other caste man than their own, no Brahman makes any objection in accepting without consideration of pollution the medicines prepared by physicians of the Baidya caste. The interesting suggestion has been put forward that they are remnants of the Buddhist clergy overthrown by Brahman immigrants in concert with the ruling power (M. M. Chattarji—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1930, page 215 ff.) Professor Dutt's notes printed at the end of this paragraph deal at some length with the status of this caste, and it is unnecessary to offer anything further in elaboration; but what is of interest is the considerations which induce members of the caste to press their claim for recognition as Brahmans. It is contended that all the *sanskars* incumbent upon Brahmans are performed by the Baidyas and that they have the privilege of conducting their own sacrifices and thus do not depend upon any intermediary in access to the diety: their caste being relatively homogeneous and containing no degraded elements such as are included in the general term Brahman is universally respected and would undoubtedly command a greater degree of respect throughout Bengal than the members of some of the sub-castes of Brahmans such for instance as those with whom their own disciples would refuse to eat together. In these circumstances it is difficult to understand what advantage the caste expects to obtain from a change in its appellation, since even the strongest psychological motive, viz., the desire for an enhancement of social position due to recognition in the first of the *varnas* of Manu (such as prompts most other classes to lay claim to such an affiliation) has no force in the case of the caste which already commands universal respect to the extent to which it is enjoyed by the Baidyas.

492. **Baishnab** [R. I. 51 : R. II. 339 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 386 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 509 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 350].—The numbers returned at the present census (337,771) show a decline of 10·7 per cent. from 378,107 given in 1921. A similar rate of decrease (10·8 per cent.) was recorded between 1911 and 1921. The caste is not a closed or determinate one and being referred also to the sect the name naturally includes also members of well-defined castes who as on previous occasions have no doubt returned their actual caste name. Amongst the Baishnabs although the impetus given to the sect by Sri Chaitanya was against the perpetuation of caste differences a group known as the Vaidik Vaishnavas, contending that they were the descendants of the original Brahmans of Bengal, desired to be returned as Satvata Brahmans. They based their claim upon the contention that they wear the sacred thread, practise the Vedic rites and have no marriage with other groups, have an uncontested right to worship in *maths* and temples, have been endowed with *vaishnabottar* lands analogous to the *brahmottar* lands given to Brahmans and have provided religious teachers and *gurus* to members of high caste Hindus. No prohibition for their return as Satvata Brahmans was issued, but the members of this group do not appear to have returned themselves under a distinctive name and presumably are included either amongst the Baishnabs or amongst the Brahmans for whom no special sect return was made.

493. **Barui** [R. I. 71 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 351].—The Baruis claim to belong to the regenerate classes and to be Vaisyas owing to their occupation but the claim put forward on the present occasion by the Sabha was the entirely reasonable and moderate one that the term ordinarily used should be replaced by the alternative *Barujibi*. They number 195,139, an increase of 5 per cent. over 185,870, the figure of 1921. The percentage increase is very similar to that (4·3 per cent.) during the years 1911 to 1921. As in 1921 the largest numbers are found in Dacca which contributed 42,864 or

well over one-fifth of the total : but more than 10,000 of the caste are found also in Jessore (13,373), Khulna (15,035), Faridpur (10,687), Bakarganj (18,983), Tippera (18,664) and Noakhali (12,747).

494. **Bauri** [R. I. 78 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 387 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 509 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 351, 365].—The numbers of this caste in 1921 were 303,054 and they have increased during the decade by 9·3 per cent. to 331,268 in 1931. More than a third of the caste is found in each of the districts of Burdwan (123,864) and Bankura (119,350) and nearly 76,000 are distributed between Birbhum, Midnapore and Hooghly. Their increase contrasts with the decrease (3·4 per cent.) during the decade 1911 to 1921.

495. **Bediya** [R. I. 83 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 443].—Figures for Bediyas were not given in 1921. Their name is given by Risley first to describe a small "Dravidian" tribe of agriculturists in Chota Nagpur surmised by him possibly to be a branch which broke off from the Santals and secondly as a generic name of a number of vagrant gipsy-like groups of whom Risley states that it is difficult to say "whether they can properly be described as castes". It is the second of these which purports to be shown in the figures for 1931. Their numbers were recorded on the present occasion as no more than 7,263 and of these 1,012 were recorded in the 24-Parganas and Bogra, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Pabna each returned a larger number than any other district.

496. **Beldar** [R. I. 86 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 443].—For this group also no figures were compiled in 1921. The term is used as a generic title common to low castes of Hindus employed on earth-work, but an endeavour was made to restrict it to the group described by Risley as a "Dravidian" caste of earth-workers and navvies in Bihar and Western Bengal. Contrary to expectation the greatest number was not found in the coal-mining districts, perhaps owing to a more accurate enumeration of castes to whom the name is loosely applied. Malda with 1,322 and Dinajpur with 1,175 contained between them nearly 80 per cent. of the total.

497. **Berua** [R. I. 89].—Beras form the small cultivating and fishing caste of Eastern Bengal described by Risley as being principally an offshoot of the Chandal tribe. Of the total of 3,135 returned no less than 2,643 come from Chittagong, whilst as many as 2,768 were returned as Buddhists, which suggests that there has been some confusion between the name of this caste and the word Barua used by the Chittagonian "Bhuiya" Maghs as a title or name.

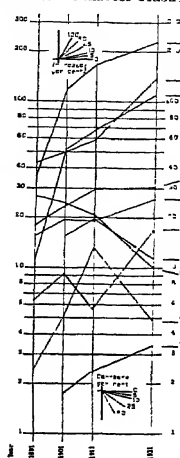
498. **Bhatiya** [R. I. 103].—The Bhatiyas are described by Risley as a low mendicant caste in Bengal who live by dancing, juggling and singing. No more than 322 were returned and of these no less than 243 were found in Calcutta.

499. **Bhotia of Bhutan (Drukpa, Dukpa)** [C. R. 1901, VI(i), 404 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 510 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 362].—**Bhotia of Nepal (Sharpa, Kham, Nag Chhang, Salakha, Shakzang)** [R. I. 459 : R. App. 128 : R. II, 217].—**Bhotia of Sikkim (Dejong-Lhori, Denjongpa, Lhopa Bhotia)** [R. App. I, 38].—**Bhotia of Tibet and unspecified.**—In 1921 no separate details were printed for Bhotias either for the whole province and Sikkim or for the Bhotias originating in different places though some figures were given in subsidiary table III appended to the chapter on Language. On the present occasion figures have been separately shown for the Bhotias of Bhutan, Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet and the corresponding figures for these four groups have been worked out afresh from the unpublished records of 1921 and shown in imperial table XVIII. The Bhotias of Sikkim and Nepal contribute the main portion of the total number of Bhotias recorded, though the greatest portion of the Bhotias of Sikkim were naturally recorded in Sikkim itself and the majority of the Bhotias in British Territory hail from Nepal. Figures for 1921 are available only for the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and the State Sikkim, but those given in part B to imperial table XVIII are for all Bengal

and Sikkim. In the Bengal districts for which figures were available in 1921 the Bhotia population has increased from 27,287 to 29,404; but detailed analysis of the changes in the numbers of each group distinguished are rendered unproductive by the fact that the figures for 1921 clearly include amongst the Bhotias of Tibet a greater number whose origin was unspecified than on the present occasion. As might be expected Bhotias of all kinds are principally confined to Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in British Bengal. The accompanying diagram No. XII-10 shows the variations in their aggregate numbers at successive census counts.

DIAGRAM No. XII-10.
Numbers of selected groups at the census of 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931.

Note.—Numbers are shown by figures, rate of change per decennium by slope. (The scale shows hundreds for Tharus and Tokos and thousands for other groups. The curve without a reference is that for Oraons.)



500. **Bhuinmali** [R. I. 105 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 437 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 351, 365].—The Bhuinmalis claimed to be recorded as Vaisya Mali and alleged that they were of the same extraction or derivation as the Malis or Malakars. The contention put forward was that their original habitation was Mallabhum or Malbhum and that they had migrated to Eastern Bengal in order to escape the Mogal invasion. The derivation of their caste name was alleged to be (*Malla*—) *bhuinmali* and they accounted for their degeneration from their previous condition by alleging that economic stress compelled them to adopt whatever professions they could. They laid claim to having the same *gotras* as the Malis and to being served by Srotriya Brahmans, but neither of the rather fanciful name of their caste nor of the accuracy of these last two statements was any evidence adduced and the application was rejected. The figures returned for the caste amount to 72,804 compared with 81,952 in 1921 showing a decrease of 11.2 per cent. But as in 1921 on the present occasion also the figures are misleading owing to the fact that members of this group, which is one of the sweeper and scavenging castes, have contrived to return themselves as Malis under the name claimed by them and have probably been included amongst them. The Malis show an increase of something approaching 50 per cent. over the figures of 1921 and this rate of increase is clearly not an accurate representation of the facts. Bhuinmalis were recorded principally in Eastern Bengal.

501. **Bhuiya** [R. I. 108 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 387 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 510 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—The number of Bhuiyas returned as Hindus has decreased from 59,388 in 1921 to 49,370 on the present occasion, but those returned under tribal religions have remained the same to within one per cent. as were recorded in 1921. The total number of the caste (50,405) therefore shows a decrease of 16.6 per cent. The greatest proportion is contributed by Midnapore (14,726) and Burdwan (9,908) and more than two-thirds of the total number are concentrated in Western Bengal.

502. **Bhumij**. [R.I. 116 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 510 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—The total number of this caste has increased from 79,196 in 1921 to 85,161 in 1931, an increase of 7.5 per cent. And on the present occasion figures have also been distinguished for those who are Hindus and those who follow tribal religions, the latter numbering 690 persons. Like the Bhuiyas they are found principally in Midnapore (45,077—or more than 50 per cent). There are 18,106 in Bankura, but with the exception of the 24 Parganas with 9,899, their numbers are not considerable in any district outside Western Bengal except Jessore, Rajshahi and Pabna in each of which districts they number more than 1,000.

503. **Bind**. [R.I.130].—The figures of Binds were tabulated in 1921 only for the district of Malda where they amounted to 10,437. On the present occasion also their numbers in Malda comprise well over one-half

of the total returns in the whole province and amount to 10,960. The total number in the whole province is 19,518 and there are few districts in which some members of the caste are not found, but in addition to Malda their numbers reach 1,000 or over only in the districts of Hooghly (1,002) and Nadia (1,824). They are a "non-Aryan" caste originating in Bihar and upper India and said by Risley to be employed in agriculture, earth-work, fishing, hunting, making saltpetre and collecting indigenous drugs.

504. **Binjhia** [R. I. 134 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 404].—No figures for this group were recorded in 1921, and they number only 502 in the whole province being found only in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and the Tripura State.

505. **Brahman** [R. I. 141 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 369, 373, 375, 388 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 478, 510 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 351].—The Brahmans numbered in 1921 1,309,339 and during the decade have increased by 10·6 per cent. so that they now number 1,447,691. They form 6·5 per cent. of the total Hindu population and are the fifth largest Hindu caste in the province. They are amongst the castes illustrated in diagrams Nos. XII-8 and XII-9, and they are also distinguished on the social map in a pocket at the end of this volume. Comment has already been made upon the difficulties attendant on the attempt to obtain returns of sub-castes of Brahmans. The actual returns given are shown in alphabetical order in a supplement to table XVII and an attempt has been made in subsidiary table IV attached to this chapter to classify the actual returns made under some scheme. The scheme adopted does not pretend to be an exhaustive or satisfactory classification of the actual castes of Brahmans found at the present day, but it is put forward as the best which can be done with the imperfect returns actually received. The classification adopted was submitted to a number of learned Hindus for whose criticism I have to acknowledge myself indebted. But, as is natural, what struck them and will strike the reader of this report is the unsatisfactory nature of a classification inevitably incomplete owing to the vagueness or ambiguity of many of the returns received. The principle underlying the classification was to make it possible to allocate all the returns given to one or other of the ten groups classified between the *pancha Gauda* and the *pancha Dravida* classes and to relegate such as could not be so classified to a third class giving, if possible, territorial divisions analogous to the main distinctions amongst the Gauda and Dravida classes. The difficulties of classification are evident from consideration of such returns as Marwari, Madrasi, Khandelwala, Kshattriya, Nanakpanthi, etc., some of which are allocated to recognised divisions with considerable diffidence. Similarly returns like Adhikari, Maulik, Misra, Sarma and Srotiya, representing either names or titles borne by members of more than one group or by divisions within more than one sub-caste also defy confident classification. The return Behari has been included amongst Maithila Brahmans merely because Bihar corresponds nearly to the ancient Mithila. Similarly the entry Yajurveda may apply to either Desasthas or white Yajurvedis but appears in its actual position because both these groups are of the Maharashtra. The return of Telingi has been included under Telegu for the same reason that Biharis are shown under Maithila, and similar reasoning has resulted in the allocation of the Saurindhi returns to the territorial division Gaurjara ; but such a return as Madrasi clearly may include both Andhra and Dravida Brahmans and consequently could not be allocated to either. The third division presents a number of problems. It has been suggested that the Acharjya Brahmans should be included amongst the Sakadwipis, and amongst the other entries in this group where it is not doubtful that they may have been wrongly returned or recorded it is possible that some, had enquiry been feasible, would have been found to fall within one or other of the groups given in class one and two. The figures in the subsidiary table are given by natural divisions, but as almost two-thirds of the Brahmans in Bengal returned no sub-caste or made a return which is not sufficiently specific to be of any use, comment upon their distribution by sub-castes would be unprofitable on the information available.

506. **“Gaudadya Vaidik” Brahmins.**—The most vigorous agitation in connection with the entry of caste was provoked by the determination to record sub-castes of Brahmins. An indication is given elsewhere of the difficulties experienced in devising a simple classification for use by the enumerators which would ensure amongst the confusing variety of subdivisions in the Brahman *varna* the return of those descriptions which would yield the most informative results when compiled. The instructions endeavoured to account for all the classes in Bengal which were likely to have any considerable number of members. Both in *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* by H. H. Risley and in Pandit J. N. Bhattacharjee's *Hindu Castes and Sects* there is mention of the Brahmins of the Kaibarttas of Midnapore who appear in both these books under the title “*vyasokta*”; and it was accordingly laid down that this return, if given, might be accepted. This provision raised a storm of protest from the Brahmins principally settled in Midnapore from amongst whom the priests of the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas are provided. They contended with what appears to be some truth that they represent the Brahmins who were in occupation before the introduction of the Kanauria Brahmins by Adisura Sena. The sub-caste numbers amongst its members persons of very considerable erudition and much learning has lately been devoted to cultural and historical or pseudo-historical researches with a view to establishing the actual superiority of the sub-caste. There is, for instance, a “Gauda Research Society” the object of which is to establish the claim of this caste to a pre-eminent social position amongst the Brahmins of Bengal. The myth regarding the caste which has been evolved as a result of these researches is that they were the original Brahman immigrants into Bengal under the five mythical princes Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha, that they remained in Bengal in enjoyment of a pre-eminent social position until, on the revolt of Adisura Sena, they remained loyal to the representatives of the old Pala dynasty and were consequently degraded by Adisura and subsequently persecuted by Ballala Sena. Failure to mention this sub-caste in what is claimed to be its rightful position in such books as Risley's *Tribes and Castes*, Bhattacharjee's *Hindu Castes and Sects* and other books of Brahman castes is put down to partiality and prejudice on the part of the Kanyakubja Brahmins imported by Adisura and their descendants; and their claims went so far finally as to allege that they should be given the first rank amongst the Brahmins of Bengal and that the Kanyakubja and other Brahmins should follow *longo intervallo*. The claim is of course bound up with the social aspirations of the Mahishyas since it is evident that the status of this sub-caste which supplies priests for the Mahishyas and that of the Mahishyas who are their disciples must depend each on the other. The claim to a superior position amongst the twice-born classes clearly cannot be put forward by any caste whose Brahmins are not considered to be “good”, whilst admitted service as priests to the members of a class not admitted to be superior in the Hindu hierarchy at once discredits the claim to any superiority amongst their fellow Brahmins. The arguments upon which superiority is claimed for the Gaudadya Brahmins are not entirely consistent since it is equally argued that since the Rarhi, Varendra and Vaidik Brahmins act as priests for some castes included in Bengal amongst the *navasakha*, namely, such groups as the Kamar, Kumhar, Napit, Tanti, etc., which in the Punjab are looked upon as menial and “depressed” classes and cannot obtain the service of Brahmins, it follows that the Rarhi, Varendra and Vaidic Brahmins cannot be of superior social position; but at the same time the respectability of the Gaudadya Brahmins is deduced from the contention that Brahmins of these classes associate with Gaudadya Brahmins in the performance of *yajna*, *vrishotsarga*, *tulapurusha*, *mahadan* and “other vedic rites” and by inference the Gaudadya Brahman must be equal in status to these three classes. Upon a question of social superiority this report makes no pronouncement, but it may be recorded that since 1930 the Gaudadya Brahmins who have been recorded under this name and under the Gauda class of Brahmins in the classified list given in this chapter have received acknowledgment of affiliation to the All-India Gauda Brahman Mahasabha with headquarters in the United Provinces and the Census Superintendent of the United Provinces reports that there is (theoretical) *connubium*

and commensality between the Gaudadya Brahmins of Bengal and the Gauda Brahmins of the United Provinces : I am not aware however of any instance of inter-marriage. The Gaudadya Brahmins now claim to have 31 gotras and a list was furnished giving 58 titles or surnames said to be current amongst the members of the caste in Bengal and the United Provinces. These lists are reproduced below. The sub-caste is said to be divided into two further subdivisions, namely, *vyasa* whose veda is related to be the *Sama Veda*, Kautuma branch, and *parashara* who follow the *Kanva* and *Madhyamdi* branches of the *White Yajurveda*. The *parashara* branch is said to be found chiefly in north and east Bengal and in Assam whilst the *vyasa* section is found in western and central Bengal. A discussion of this sub-caste will be found in Professor Dutt's note printed in the appendix to the chapter. The returns given as Gaudiya are almost certainly all of this sub-caste.

Gotras of the " Gaudadya Vaidik Brahmins."

- (1) Shandilya (2) Gautama. (3) Ghritakaushik. (4) Hamsha. (5) Kanva (6) Raghu. (7) Dalva (8) Pundarik. (9) Katyayan. (10) Alamyayan (11) Maudgalya. (12) Sabarna. (13) Bharadwaja (14) Kashyapa (15) Batsya (16) Parashara. (17) Basista. (18) Kanchana (19) Bishnu. (20) Krishnatreya (21) Agniras (22) Shaktri (23) Kaundinya (24) Saupayana (25) Paidava (26) Shaunaka. (27) Harita (28) Kautsya. (29) Gargya. (30) Agnibesma. (31) Louhitya

Titles or surnames of the " Gaudadya Vaidik Brahmins."

- (1) Chakrabarty (2) Mishra Chakravarty (3) Mishra (4) Authasanik (5) Sandhi-
bighrahi (6) Sandhaki. (7) Bajpayee. (8) Agnihotri. (9) Chandogi (10) Bhattacharya
(11) Brahmachari. (12) Danda Pathak. (13) Goswami (14) Adhikari (15) Bhatta.
(16) Panda. (17) Sauhnik. (18) Acharya (19) Purohit (20) Upadhyaya (21) Pattak.
(22) Bedanta (23) Ghatak (24) Raj-Raj (25) Rajpandit. (26) Pandit (27) Prakarani.
(28) Vyasa (29) Shastri (30) Gaura (31) Sagnik (32) Roy. (33) Halder.
(34) Chowdhury. (35) Samaddar (36) Tarafdar (37) Kara (38) Nandi (39) Munsu
(40) Mazumdar. (41) Kanthavarani. (42) Bhowmick. (43) Saranga. (44) Pati.
(45) Datta (in U P) (46) Sidhanta. (47) Talapatra. (48) Tripati. (49) Sarbeswara.
(50) Sanabighna. (51) Trevedi (52) Ukil. (53) Seemander. (54) Dandapati. (55) Bhuri-
Shrestha (56) Roy Chowdhury. (57) Basista. (58) Patra and others.

507. **Chakma** [R. I. 168 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 362].—Figures for Chakmas were collected in 1921 only for the districts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State and out of 135,508 recorded on the present occasion 111,858 were recorded in these two areas and all but 6 of the remainder (found in the 24-Parganas) were recorded in Chittagong. Their numbers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura show an increase of 44 per cent. from 77,590 recorded in 1921, and they are between two and three times as numerous in the whole of Bengal as they were in 1911. Figures by religions are shown on the present occasion and all with the exception of 225 were returned as Buddhists, Hindus numbering 70 and Christians 155. They are amongst the groups for whom variations in numbers at successive census enumerations are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

508. **Damai** [C. R. 1921, VI (i), 363].—The Damais are the tailor caste of Nepal. Figures were recorded in 1921 only for Darjeeling and Sikkim where they then numbered 7,052 and now number 7,417 ; the total number throughout the province, including Sikkim which contributes 1,866, was 7,931.

509. **Dhoba (Dhobi)** [R. I. 229 & 233 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 390 ; 446 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 497 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 353].—The Dhobas numbered 229,672 representing a small increase on their numbers (227,469) of that of 1921. Their greatest numbers are found in Midnapore where they amount to 32,961 but more than 20,000 are provided also by Bakarganj, Tippera and Noakhali and more than 10,000 by 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong. The Dhobas of Noakhali laid claim to being Vaisyas and without putting forward any new caste name they desired to be returned under the *varna* name to which they laid claim.

510. **Doai** [R. I. 238].—The Doais are said by Risley to be a tribe probably allied to the Hajangs and Garos of Mymensingh. On the present occasion all except 39 of the 1,960 returned were recorded from Rangpur (1,034) and Cooch Behar (887), and the remainder were found in Bogra and Mymensingh. Their predominance in Rangpur and Cooch Behar suggests that this group is probably allied to or a division of the Koch.

511. **Dom** [R. I. 240 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 437 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 353, 365].—A decrease of 24 thousand was returned in 1921 in the numbers of this caste and a further decrease of some 10 thousand is again recorded during the present decade, their numbers in 1931 amounting to 140,067. They are principally concentrated in the Burdwan division which provides more than two-thirds of the total numbers of the caste and outside the Burdwan division they are found in considerable numbers only in Murshidabad, Chittagong, Calcutta and the 24-Parganas. Some part of the decline in numbers may be due to the return of members of this caste under the generic term Mehtar, but the total so returned is comparatively small (23,281) and it is more likely that on this as on previous occasions the true caste has been concealed.

512. **Dosadh** [R. I. 252 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 390].—Dosadhs numbered 40,121 in 1921 but are only 36,420 strong at the present census. They are shown by Risley as a cultivating caste of Bihar and Chota Nagpur and numbers of them are employed in Bengal as servants and *syces*. Their distribution is irregular. More than 2 thousand of the caste are found in Burdwan, Hooghly, Howrah, Rangpur, Malda and Mymensingh as well as in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas, and their numbers in the last two districts are more than 6 thousand.

513. **Gareri** [R. I. 271].—The Gareri are a caste of shepherds, goatherds and blanket weavers from Bihar. Figures for them were not collected in 1921, but they number 3,624 on the present occasion, principally distributed in Western Bengal and particularly in Burdwan (772), Bankura (510) and Murshidabad (346).

514. **Garos, Hadis and Hajangs**.—Of these three groups the second only, viz., the Hadis, laid claim on the present occasion to any different nomenclature. The claim of the Hadis is to be returned as Haihaya Kshattriyas and it is unfortunate that they have hit upon the same description as has been arrogated to themselves elsewhere by the Kalwars. The Haihayas mentioned in the scriptures were clearly an historical people and it appears that they lived at some time in the Deccan. They were amongst the tribes subdued between 692 and 694 A. D. by king Vinaditya of the Chalukya dynasty and were mentioned by Kalidasa as ruling in southern India. It is even reported that their descendants are still found in the Central Provinces. It is from these people that the Hadis are alleged to have descended. The story put forward is that they were driven east by King Sagara and the fanciful derivation of their name is given as *haihaya* plus *adi* contracted into Hadi. Of the connection of the Hadis with Haihayas in the Deccan there is of course no historical evidence whilst the derivation of their name is credibly reported to be phonetically impossible since the diphthong *ai* should be changed into either *e* or *i*. Mr. Stapleton, Director of Public Instruction, considers that the name is derived from the Arabic *hoda* a border, and means Men of the Marches and that it was given to them by Muslim invaders on arrival in Eastern Bengal.

In a communication regarding the Garos, Hadis and Hajangs the Rev. Victor J. White of Mymensingh reports as follows :—

The order of social standing according to Hindu standards would be :—

1. Garo or Mandais (lowest) ;
2. Dalus : closely connected with Garos ;
3. Koch : called sometimes *gupta kshattriya* ;
4. Banais : superior sort of Koch ;
5. Hadis or Hotris ;
6. Hajangs with 3 sub-castes ;
7. Rabhas with 7 sub-tribes ;
8. Mechas : like Rabhas possess brahmins, washermen and barbers ; and
9. Rajbansis : first among all the broken hill tribes of N. S. Mymensingh.

In all probability the order would be reversed if priority was decided by some other standard than that set by the Hindu social and religious system. No race or tribe of those mentioned above has made the same progress in education and independence as the Garos. The percentage of literacy among the other tribes would be very low compared with the percentage of literacy found among the Garos. Most likely for this reason the Garos have not been so open to the proselytising influence of educated Hindus.

The traditional history of the Garos breathes a fine spirit of adventure, pioneering, war and independence. Some of them were one time reduced to slavery on the plains, and as a protest life was made very uncomfortable for the Bengali inhabitants by the head-hunting expeditions which descended from the hills. Under wise administration these former head-hunters have become more or less law-abiding citizens and are settling down to the more fixed occupations of agriculture. At one time they were undisputed holders of the land over which they roamed, and gradually on this side of the Assam border their legal rights to the land have been reduced by expropriation when rents are in arrear, and under the recent Bengal Tenancy Act by pre-emption when the tenant arranges a transfer of his land rights to another tenant. Added to this is the heavy pressure set up by immigration after lands have been cleared and brought under cultivation by the pioneer Garo farmer.

The Hadis and Hajongs would boast of their social status, but at the same time they are very conscious that their uplift and education has in no way kept pace with that of the Garos.

There is a close racial relationship between the Garos, Hadis and Hajongs. They were all originally animists in religion. The process of proselytising by educated Hindus has made most head-way among the Hadis. An attempt has been made at proselytising among the Hajongs, and a certain stage has been reached in the process. The proselytising effort among the Garos is of a much more recent date and has been accompanied with very little success.

We may state two systems of classification to understand the relative social status of these three races and so estimate the extent to which they have been absorbed into the Hindu system.

A. The extent to which the individual races have been able to acquire the three essential servants, Brahmins, Washermen and Barbers : and

B. The order of acceptance of water by individual races from the hands of other races.

(I) In 1900 the Hadis obtained fallen brahmins as their priests, but they had no washerman or barbers up to 1908. In the year 1908 Hadi leaders in the vicinity of Sherpur are said to have approached certain zemindars who provided them with washermen and barbers on the receipt of a large sum of money. The process of absorption was carried a stage further when the name of Hahaya Kshatriya was recognised in 1921 when the subdivisional officer of Jamalpur ordered that their names might be entered in census papers with the new title. Under a movement sponsored by the President of the Sanatan Hindu Samity in 1922, an attempt was made to invest the Hadis with the sacred thread at Jamalpur. This attempt was frustrated by litigation, but later in the same year an investiture ceremony was held in the Mymensingh Town Hall and the Hadis or "Hahaya Kshatriyas" became possessed of the sacred thread. At the investiture ceremony each Hadi had to pay Rs. 6-8-0 for securing a *paita* at the hands of a Sylheti Brahmin, and Rs. 1-4-0 was paid for having the head shaved. In order to test the fact that a rise in social status had been gained, it is said that a Brahman Purohit (priest) accepted a *poshapolu* (sweat) and water from the hand of a Hadi. This Brahmin had to proceed to Benares to do *prayaschitta* (purification) and never came back.

Since the success of proselytising efforts among the Hadis by educated Hindus, there has been a more distinct cleavage between them and the Hajongs and Garos to whom they are racially related. Prior to 1912 they accepted water from the hand of Hajongs but since they obtained Brahmins they have ceased to do so.

There is an inferior sub-caste of the Hadis called Bitals. They are the descendants either of Hadi men and women of lower hill tribes or of children of Hadi women by Mohammedans.

A class of Koch or Banai allege they were granted Assamese brahmins, washermen and barbers in 1905. These Brahmins were claimed by the Hajongs but soon left because they were not recognised by the Barendra Brahmins. They also failed to persuade the Hajongs to give up eating pork. The Hajongs have washermen and barbers but no priests recognised by the higher class brahmins.

A further attempt has been made to provide brahmins for the Hajongs, but it is said that of the Rs. 22,000 required, only some Rs. 10,000 has been raised and this stands in the way of the Hajongs being elevated in the social scale.

A good deal of racial rivalry has sprung up between the Hajongs and Garos since the proselytising efforts of the Hindus. The Hajongs disdain to own relationship with the Garos, but on the other hand there is fairly strong traditional evidence that the Hajongs were at one time a subject race to the Garos.

There have been more recent attempts by Hindus to proselytise the Garos, but their efforts have been attended with little success. A few Garos have professed to be Hindus but they revert to their old habits and merely adopt the name of some spirit which is tacked on to their animistic worship.

The Garos have no recognised brahmins, washermen or barbers. Even Christian Missionaries who are working among the Garos in the northern portion of Mymensingh district are not allowed to call the Hindu barber because of the close contact they have with the Garo people. By being cut off from the Hindu religious system, the Garo has developed more resourcefulness and adaptability. He can and will set his hand to any type of work and so is able to retain his independence.

A similar proselytising movement has taken place in the neighbourhood of Rangpur among the Polis. The same story has been told to the Polis as has been told to the Hadis. They were supposed to be Kshatriyas originally who fled from Parasuram and threw away their sacred threads. About 17 years ago an Assamese Brahmin reconferred on them the sacred thread and a considerable charge was made for those attending the ceremony, in order to secure the *paita* and have the head shaven.

The Hadis have lost their independence and the race has been weakened by the adoption of social customs such as the Purdah system (though less strictly enforced), child marriage and degradation of widows. As a class they are mostly agriculturists, and the caste mould is gradually hardening around them preventing them from taking up a wider range of handicrafts and trades.

In religion there has been little advance. The old animistic doubts and fears dominate their religious life. They are still bent on propitiating evil spirits though their pantheon has been added to as followers of Hinduism.

The Hajongs have not changed their social customs a great deal. The women still work in the fields and live a more healthy life in general than the Hadis. Their worship remains much about the same. The old shrines set under the Banyan tree are the scenes of sacrifice and pilgrimage. The totens have been replaced by the *devatas* of the Hindu system.

The non-Christian Garos follow the traditional worship of their forefathers. The social sanctions are still maintained and the law of inheritance is through the women and not through the men. In all probability the stories concerning the *machongs* or motherhood through which descent runs give a clue to the migration of the Garos, and if the stories were sorted out and arranged an interesting account of the Garo race could be given.

As an example the *machongs* with the prefix *chi* such as *chisik*, *chisim*, *chibok*, *chicham*, etc., are related to migrations along some water way. *Chi* means water. One of the *machongs* arose when the Garos were settled at a spring; *sik* meaning spring. Having migrated from there they came to the clear water, *chibok*, and a party branching off met disaster at the black water *chisim*. The *chicham machong* arose owing to scattering by flood.

The matriarchal system dominates Garo history and was no doubt the most providential system for preserving the home and producing a hardy, pioneering and persevering race. The value of the matriarchal system may be called into question now that the plains Garos no longer have forest areas over which to roam and make their own selection and home.

The Garo continues to be dominated by the fear of the unseen and the primitive superstitions still persist. It is not easy to discover just what the Garo does believe concerning the traditional worship. The most popular ceremonies centre round ancestor worship and the liberating of the spirits of the dead about September to October. These ceremonies are attended by a great deal of feasting, drunkenness, dancing and professional wailing. Apart from the Kamal or priest these ceremonies cannot be performed. Sacrifice of fowls also takes a prominent place in their worship and the selecting of auspicious occasions. The sacrifice of cattle has largely been replaced by the sacrifice of fowls.

One interesting feature of their worship of Rishi in the month of Baishak is the almost identical relationship between this worship and that of the Rabhas of the Jalpaiguri district. They split the end of the bamboo and plait it and then place it in the centre of the courtyard. In Jalpaiguri this plaited bamboo is called *serjak* and among the Garos it is called *srifa*. Sacrifice is made before the *srifa* and plantain leaves are placed in the house to guide the priest as he enters to propitiate the evil spirit within. Rice and liquor is set out on the plantain leaf and put before the *srifa* as food for the spirits.

Should the proselytising efforts of the Hindus succeed among the Garos one can readily see a further disintegration among these primitive people. Conversion to Hinduism has gradually led to caste isolation and the barriers set up do not cease as between tribe and tribe, but within the tribes disintegration takes place and further minor divisions are set up which destroy independence and inhibit any concerted action for social, religious and educational and economic uplift. One can well imagine the Garos being divided up into as many castes as they have *machongs* or motherhoods. It is certain the major divisions of *machi*, *abeng*, *awe*, *chibok*, *dual*, *aton*, *megam*, etc., would become fixed and moulded into separated castes.

Mr. Stapleton states that the only animals which Garos will not eat are cats and huluk monkeys, but that they will eat ordinary monkeys and that there is no penalty for killing a cat or a huluk monkey. Like the Nagas they keep cattle only for meat and do not drink the milk or even the eggs of fowls which they regard as excrement.

515. **Garos** [C. R. 1921, V (i), 362, 365].—Figures for Garos were collected in 1921 only for Mymensingh district where they numbered 39,581. In the same district their numbers have now fallen to 34,286. Their total number in the whole province is 38,228 but they occur in other districts than Mymensingh in considerable numbers only in Tripura State (2,143) and Jalpaiguri (1,280). Of the total number 301 were returned under tribal religions and 18 as Christians.

516. **Hadi** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 413; C. R. 1921, V (i), 362, 365].—The Hadis numbered 14,334 all but 22 of whom are found in the Mymensingh

district in which they numbered 19,016 in 1921. The decrease in numbers is perhaps partly accounted for by the claim of the caste to be returned as Hajhaiya Kshattriyas and the fact that it has been impossible to allocate any so returned to their correct caste owing to the fact that same name is also claimed by the Kalwars.

517. **Hajang** [R. I. 238 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 413 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 362, 365].—The Hajangs are another caste principally found in Mymensingh where they number 19,623 out of a total of 19,694 in the whole of Bengal. Their numbers were given in 1921 only for Mymensingh where they amounted to 23,121.

518. **Gharti** (R. I. 277).—The Ghartis are the manumitted slaves of the Nepalese freed before the edict of the Government of Nepal promulgated in November 1924 when slavery was abolished in Nepal. Figures for them were not shown in 1921 and they number on the present occasion 2,188. Slaves freed under the edict of 1924 were officially formed into a caste with the name of Siva Bhaktis and it was decreed that they might marry only amongst themselves or with the Ghartis: but there is no indication whether any of these recently liberated slaves, were recorded in Bengal. It is doubtful to what extent it will be possible to confine them within the limits of an artificially created caste, and it is thought that they will possibly be ultimately absorbed amongst the Ghartis. Of the total number of Ghartis recorded at the present census nearly all (2,053) were found in Darjeeling.

519. **Ghasi** [R. I. 277 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 437].—This is given by Risley as a fishing and cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur and Central India who attend as musicians at weddings and festivals and also perform menial offices of all kinds, the women acting as midwives and nurses. No figures were given for them in 1921 and the number recorded on the present occasion was no more than 5,640, more than half of whom (2,378) are found in Jalpaiguri whilst another 1,217 were recorded in the 24 Parganas. Of the total number, 328 returned themselves under the tribal religion and the remainder as Hindus.

520. **Goala (Gopa)** [R. I. 282 : C. R. 1901, VI (i) 385 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 511 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 354].—An interesting claim was put forward by the milkmen castes to be returned as Yadava. This is the name hit upon by an all-India association founded in 1924 with a view to encouraging a sense of social solidarity between all castes of milkmen by insistence upon a claim of common origin. The association also proposes to encourage the education of its members and their social welfare. By choosing the family name of Sri Krishna it puts forward an implied claim to kshattriya status which is also urged in agitations for further recruitment of the caste to the army in India. It is unlikely that any effective breaking down of barriers has yet resulted between different milkman castes as a consequence of the institution of this association, but it is interesting as an instance of a movement for the unifying of scattered groups and their elevation by insistence on a common Kshattriya origin in place of the usual procedure which is to claim Kshattriya or other twice-born origin and with it a clear distinction from other sub-castes or parts of the caste. The name chosen is itself unexceptionable because it introduces no possibility of confusion: its only disadvantage is its unfamiliarity in Bengal, and on that ground the members of the community were advised and agreed not to return it without adding the current name of the caste. The Goalas numbered 583,970 in 1921 and in that year they had lost 9·7 per cent. of the figure recorded in 1911 which again was 8·5 per cent. less than that of 1901. On the present occasion their numbers have increased by 2·6 per cent. to 599,283. They are most numerous in the districts of Western and Central Bengal but there are more than 31,000 in Dacca and more than 21,000 in Mymensingh and as many as 14,325 in Malda. The increase suggests that the recent adoption of the name Jadab or Yadava has checked the tendency of the well-to-do members of the caste to return themselves as Sadgops.

521. **Gonrhi** [R. I. 294 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 391].—This is a fishing and cultivating caste of Bihar for which details were not given in 1921. They number 5,149 of whom no less than 3,323 are concentrated in Murshidabad and a further 947 and 393 respectively in the adjoining districts of Malda and Rajshahi.

522. **Gurung** [R. I. 304 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 456 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—Figures for Gurungs amounted in Darjeeling and Sikkim to 14,793 in 1921 and are now 18,460 in the same areas. In Bengal their numbers now are 13,166 and of these 11,154 are contributed by Darjeeling. They number 7,306 in Sikkim. Of the total number in Bengal and Sikkim 937 were returned as following tribal religions and 80 as Buddhists.

523. **Halalkhor** [R. I. 310 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 436].—This is a class of sweepers and musicians. Their numbers are small and were not shown in 1921. They amount on the present occasion to no more than 876 principally found in Calcutta (302) and Rangpur (163).

524. **Hari** [R. I. 314 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 391 ; 436 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 354, 365].—The figures for Haris are 132,401 showing a decrease of 11 per cent. from the figure for 1921, 148,847. The decrease has been continuous for several decades and as in 1921 is no doubt attributable to the fact that like other sweeper castes many have concealed their true caste whilst some few have possibly been returned under the generic name Mehtar. They are found principally in Western Bengal and in Dinajpur district.

525. **Ho** [R. I. 319 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 391 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 470, 511].—Only 26 persons returned themselves under this name. They are a "non-Aryan" tribe of the district of Singhbhum and have affinities with the Mundas : their language is classed as a dialect of Mundari.

526. **Jhalos and Malos** [R. II. 64 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 394 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357, 365].—The claim previously advanced that the Jhalos and Malos should be considered to be Kshattriyas and returned as Jhalla Malla Kshattriyas was again put forward. The geographical origin invented for these castes is in Jalwar and Mallagarh. The actual existence of Kshattriya classes in these two localities in Rajputana has evidently suggested the claim but no evidence whatever is adduced that the actual Jhalos and Malos of Bengal had any historical connection with these regions. The claim was of course disallowed. It was contended on their behalf that they practise kulinism and are able to secure the services of Brahmans and barbers, whilst they also claim to have a system of *gotras*. The caste numbers 198,099 and shows a decrease of 10·4 per cent. from 221,198, the figure returned in 1921, due probably to some extent to the claim to a fresh nomenclature which has possibly resulted in some of them being lost in the ranks of undifferentiated Kshattriyas. They are most numerous in Mymensingh, Pabna, Dacca and Jessore. Their name is liable to be confused both with the Mals and with the Malis, but although up to 1921 the aggregate of Mals and Malos had remained fairly constant since 1901, on the present occasion both groups show a decline and it is unlikely that there has been any extensive confusion between the various names.

527. **Jimdar** [R. I. 347 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 457 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 512].—Figures for Jimdars were not separately shown in 1921. They number on the present occasion 11,144 of whom no less than 10,449 are found in Darjeeling. They belong to the Kiranti or "Eastland" group of Nepali tribes together with the Khambus and Limbus, all three of which are becoming rapidly assimilated together, so that the separate figures given for this group are of comparatively little importance. In imperial table XVIII they have been combined together with Khambus as on the previous occasion.

528. **Jogi and Jugi** [R. I. 355 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 381 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 354].—The caste numbered 365,910 in 1921 and have increased by 5·1 per cent. to 384,634. They are found principally in East Bengal and particularly in Tippera (84,895), Noakhali (65,779) and Mymensingh (45,488) which three

districts between them contribute more than one-half of the total number. The caste has been described in previous census reports as a sectarian caste. In Rangpur (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1910, Vol. VI, page 131) they are described as :

“ a class of indigenous bard, mostly illiterate who supplement their earnings by singing the epic (of Gopichandra) and dancing to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music. They are believed to be the degraded descendants of a class of Buddhist ascetics—followers of Gorakhnath: and many of their local customs,—their divergence from Brahmanical rites, their adoption of priests from their own caste, their worship of the Buddhist deity Dharma—confirm this view ”

In 1921 their Brahmans wished to have separate returns as Brahmans of Jogs but on the present occasion by an unusual *volte face* they protested against the record of sub-castes of Brahmans which was refused to them in 1921 and desired to be recorded merely as Brahmans. It was claimed that in Chittagong and Sylhet the Brahmans of this caste had a double origin, namely, first by the degradation of *maulik srotriya* Brahmans of the Rarhi group and secondly by advancement of ordinary members of the caste. Of these two groups the first is stated to possess the original *gotra* system of the Rarhi Brahmans and to practise cremation in the disposal of their dead bodies and the second to have only a single *gotra* (*Sib*). It was clear, however, that the claim to be recorded as Rarhi Brahmans could not be granted, but it does not appear that any of the Brahmans of this caste returned themselves under a correct appellation; and it is significant of the uncertainty amongst themselves that the caste society of the same group in Sylhet applied for a separate record of Jugs' Brahmans which of course was unexceptionable.

529. **Kachari**.—Figures for Kacharis were not given in 1921. They number 2,951, almost half of whom are found in Tippera with a fair number also recorded in Mymensingh. Their numbers were 1,810 in 1911 and they have therefore increased by 63 per cent. since that date. All were returned as Hindus with the exception of one shown as Buddhist.

530. **Kahar** [R. I. 370: C. R. 1901, VI (i), 374: C. R. 1921, V(i), 354].—The Rawani Kahars, through an association known as the all-India Chandravangshiya Kshattriya Mahasabha claimed to be recorded as Chandravangshiya Kshattriyas. No local claims to this effect were received. The claim is not new but is clearly one which cannot be admitted with confidence. There are many groups whose claim to be “ Kshattriyas of the lunar race ” are much older and more familiar and the use of this appellation would introduce confusion into the returns. The Census Commissioner permitted the return provided that the distinctive word Rawani was added also. But as particulars were compiled in Bengal as a whole neither for Kahars nor for Kshattriyas the effect of this agitation upon the caste figures cannot be ascertained.

531. **Kalu and Teli** [R. I. 384: R. II. 305: C. R. 1901, VI (i), 400, 415: C. R. 1921, V (i), 360].—On the present occasion figures for Kalus and Telis have been combined together. Mr. Thompson recorded in 1921 that the figures for Telis and Tilis who were then shown together included a number who should correctly have been returned as Kalus. Separate figures for Kalus have been retained in imperial table XIV for purposes of comparison with those of 1921, but no justification any longer exists for showing Telis and Tilis together and they have accordingly been shown separately in the returns on the present occasion. The total of all the three groups Kalu, Teli and Tili amounts to 503,189 compared with 491,832 in 1921, an increase of 2·3 per cent. during the decade. The distinction between the two groups which has justified the separate returns from Tilis is that the Tilis, whether they were originally the same as the Telis or not, have now renounced all connection with the profession of oil-pressing and oil-selling and claim trade and in particular the sale of betel-nut as their traditional occupation. They are said to be *jalachuraniya* whilst the Telis and Kalus are *jalavavaharya*. They are principally found in Western and Central Bengal, but they are also more than 10,000 in each of the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and Faridpur.

532. **Kalwar** [R. I. 385].—Figures for Kalwar were not shown in 1921. They are given by Risley as a caste of Bihar occupied in distilling and selling liquor and in trade and as being probably a degraded offshoot of one of the numerous branches of the Banias. Their numbers were returned as 13,540 at the present census of whom 3,683 were found in Calcutta, 2,577 in the 24-Parganas and more than 1,000 each only in the districts of Hooghly and Howrah.

533. **Kamar or Karmakar** [R. I. 388 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 499, 500].—As in 1921 Kamars and Lohars have been separately shown, but the Bengal Kamars or Karmakars and the Kamars of Bihar who are immigrants cannot strictly be distinguished from each other and it is difficult to distinguish either of them from the Lohars; the two words being almost synonymous terms in Bengal. Taking the two groups shown together their numbers are 315,713 compared with 325,005 in 1921. The Kamars have shown an increase from 256,887 to 265,531 and the decrease is therefore entirely contributed by the Lohars whose numbers were 68,118 in 1921, but only 50,182 in 1931. Like the Kamis of Nepal the caste has not yet decided which of the two *varnas* graced by Viswakarma from whom they claim descent shall be claimed by the caste at present. There is an All-India Viswakarma Brahman Society as well as two Bengal societies, viz., the Bangiya Kshattriya Karmakar Sabha and the Bangiya Karmakar Sammilani, and almost every variety of opinion was represented in the petitions received which ranged from a claim to be called Viswakarma Brahman similar to that received also from the Sutradhars and the Swarnakars to the more modest claim to be recorded as Karmakar Kshattriya and even to a protest from other groups against either of these two appellations and the very modest request that for Karmakars not of aboriginal derivation the term Lohar or Kamar should not be used and only Karmakar should be used. It has been pointed out in previous census reports that it is impossible to distinguish between the Kamars who are and those who are not aboriginals and the only guide to the difference which is available is the record of certain Kamars as professing tribal religions. The census returns show Kamars and Lohars separately and it was intended that Lohar should be kept for the group of aboriginal derivation but only 14 of these were returned under tribal religions. This number does not represent all the aboriginal Lohars for there can be no doubt that a number of the tribal blacksmiths returned themselves as Hindus whilst the distinction between Kamar and Lohar must have been fortuitous in most cases. The Census Commissioner permitted the return of Viswakarma Brahman provided the distinctive name Karmakar was also added.

534. **Kami** [R. I. 393].—The Kamis are the artisan and blacksmith caste of Nepal and their claim on the present occasion was to be recorded as Viswa Brahman. During the last decade they had secured a recognition by the All-India Mairh Rajput Conference held at Muttra, but like the corresponding caste in Bengal they do not seem to have made up their mind whether to aspire to Kshattriya or Brahman status, an uncertainty which is perhaps not inexplicable in view of the descent claimed from Viswamitra who was first a Kshattriya and later a Brahman himself. Perhaps the most astonishing contention of this caste was that put forward by the Financial Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, himself a member of this caste, to the effect that Kami shown by Sir George Grierson as a separate language was in fact no language at all and that the mother tongue of the Kamis in Nepal, Sikkim and neighbouring parts was Khaskura pure and simple, a claim which is of course a corollary of the claim to Brahmanical status and Aryan descent, and is analogous to a similar claim made by the Newars. Figures were given in 1921 for this group only in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim State and of the total recorded on the present occasion all except 715 were recorded in these three places. The total numbers are 16,180 in Bengal and 4,817 in Sikkim. In 1921 in the three areas mentioned their numbers were 18,113 compared with 20,282 on the present occasion showing an increase of 12 per cent. Of the total number returned all were Hindus with the exception of 72 professing tribal religions in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and 46 in the same districts returned as Buddhists.

535. **Kan** [R. I. 396].—No figures were given for this group in 1921 and they total only 66 on the present occasion. They are shown by Risley as a very low caste of musicians akin to the Dom.

536. **Kandh or Khond** [R. I. 397 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 472, 511].—The Kandhs or Khonds amounted on the present occasion to 1,525 but no figures were given for them in 1921. They originated in Orissa and are described by Risley as a “Dravidian” tribe living by hunting and rude agriculture. The return of more than one-third of the total number in Tripura State is unexpected.

537. **Kandra** [R. I. 414 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 416 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—Figures were given for Kandra only for Midnapore in 1921. They then amounted to 26,389 but their numbers on the present occasion were returned as only 4,729 and there can be no doubt that the figure for either 1921 or 1931 is inaccurate. They are chiefly found in Contai and Tamluk subdivisions of Midnapore. They claimed to be recorded as Kodmas, possibly because of the fact that the caste at one time got itself into bad odour as a criminal tribe and is the subject of the Bengali gibe (চোরকে চোর চিনে, কাছারকে পুরাতন চোর চিনে—one thief recognises another, and an old thief recognises a Kandra). The local officers reported that the two castes were identical and they were allowed to return themselves as Kodma, but their number did not justify any extraction of the figures for this caste. Both Kandra and Kodmas are now reported to have the same endogamous groups (Kalindi, Vaishnava, Mechhua, Chandali, Madalbaja and Sankhabaja)—the last two of which were not existent amongst the Kandra in 1901—and they use the same names (Das, Dolai, Jana, Bhuiya, Patra). They live by catching and selling fish, carrying lights in marriage processions and performing dances known as *paikan nach* (derived from *Paik*, the name for a militiaman of the zemindars, a post which they used to fill) at Hindu festivals. Widow re-marriage and divorce are practised : both cremation and burial are in use for dead bodies : and they are served by a class of degraded Brahman priests, though they had none in 1901.

538. **Kaora** [R. I. 420 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 417 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—This caste numbered 107,908 showing a decrease of 2·5 per cent. on the figure (110,652) recorded in 1921. They are principally found in the 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly where almost 90 per cent. of their numbers are concentrated.

539. **Kapali** [R. I. 421 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 355].—The Kapalis who number 165,589 show a slight increase over the figure 158,864 of 1921. They are principally found in the 24-Parganas, Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, Tippera, Dacca and Mymensingh. The claim advanced by the community to be returned as Vaisya Kapali was new. There is an association with the rather lengthy title of the All-Bengal Vaisya Kapali and their Brahman Mahasabha, but in lieu of adducing any evidence in favour of their claim in the memorial demanding a change of nomenclature, the association merely stated that “after long and deliberate discussion and research from the Shastras, Puranas and other authorities we have come to the conclusion that we are of the Vaisya origin,” and the claim for a change in nomenclature was disallowed.

540. **Kapuria** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 417].—This is a wandering group originating in the Central Provinces who are ostensibly horse dealers. Figures for them were not obtained in 1921 and they number only 170 on the present occasion of whom exactly one-half are found in Midnapore and the remainder (with the exception of 4 in Burdwan) in the 24-Parganas and Calcutta.

541. **Karenga** [R. I. 426].—No figures for the Karengas were compiled in 1921. They are a small caste of Western Bengal described by Risley as “Dravidian,” who make baskets, work as carpenters and do earth work,

and whose special business is the making of cart wheels and wooden articles : the men also castrate goats and bullocks. There were 9,855 returned at the present census of whom nearly half were found in Midnapore and the majority of the remainder in Howrah district.

542. **Kaur** [R. I. 435].—This is another group for which figures were not obtained in 1921. Their numbers on the present occasion are 1,801, and it was expected that the majority of them would be found employed in the tea gardens, etc. They originate in Chota Nagpur and Risley holds the opinion that they are what he calls of "Dravidian" origin. Actually out of 1,801 returned at the present census, 20 of whom were returned under tribal religions, more than two-thirds were found in Mymensingh, where their numbers were 1,229, the next largest number being found in Dinajpur where, however, they did not amount to more than 136.

543. **Kayastha** [R. I. 438 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 381, 392 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 356].—The Kayasthas have increased from 1,297,736 in 1921 by 20·1 per cent. to 1,558,475 in 1931. With the Baidyas and the Brahmans the Kayasthas form the upper class of Bengali Hindu society, and they are the most numerous caste in Bengal. Their greatest numbers are found in Chittagong (184,735), Calcutta (160,630), Mymensingh (151,116), Dacca (144,193), Bakarganj (137,310) and Tippera (133,741). The rate of increase is high but is less than the increase (16·5 per cent.) recorded in 1921. Even so, however, it is probably exaggerated by an increasing number of other castes claiming to be Kayasthas and recording themselves as such. Although no figures are available at the present census for Sudras and Khens, it is probable that increasing numbers of these groups have returned themselves as Kayasthas. Khasthas and Sagirdpeshas as well as a group known as Badal in Murshidabad also claim the name; on the other hand, Mr. Thomson's assumption that Baruis had also included themselves does not seem to apply on the present occasion since Baruis have themselves increased by a very reasonable figure of 5 per cent. The Kayasthas are amongst the castes illustrated in diagrams Nos. XII-8 and XII-9.

The claim of the Kayastha caste on the present occasion was to be recorded as Kshattriya. In Bengal in the courts the Kayasthas have invariably been held to be Sudras. Thus the courts have (a) declared valid a marriage between Kayasthas and Tantis on the ground that it was merely between two groups of the Sudra *varna* and (b) found that there is a custom of inter-marriage between Vaidyas (described as Vaishyas) and Kayasthas (described as Sudras). In *Ishwariprasad vs. Raihari Prasadlal* (1926, I. L. R. VI, Patna, 506) the Bengal decisions were discussed and dissented from : but the question affected Kayasthas of Bihar who were differentiated from the Kayasthas of Bengal :—

"The social position, religious observances, customs and manners of the Kayasthas of Bihar are the same as those of the United Provinces and Oudh. Their marriages take place in the Kayastha families of the United Provinces and they dine with each other. They do not marry in the Kayastha families of Bengal and in fact have no concern with the Kayasthas of Bengal in matters social or religious. The Kayasthas of Bihar like those of the United Provinces are governed by the same school of Hindu Law, namely the Mitakshara Law of Benares as distinguished from the Dayabhaga which governs the Bengali Kayasthas."

The judgment established that the Kayasthas of Bihar were (a) Kshattriyas by *varna* and (b) entirely distinct from the Kayasthas of Bengal. The question arose again in a case before the Patna High Court (*Rajendra Prasad Bose vs. Gopal Prasad Sen*—1927, I. L. R., VII, 245). The parties were Bengal Kayasthas governed by the Dayabhaga school and the court held that they were not Sudras. This judgment came up before the Privy Council (*Rajendra Prasad Bose vs. Gopal Prasad Sen*—1930, C.W.N. XXXIV, 1161). The Patna Court had held that in virtue of the parties being of the regenerate castes there was an objection to the adoption of the step-brother of the testator whom the widow was directed to adopt if there were no objection : if there were any objection according to the *Shastras* she had power to adopt with the permission of the testator's father. As regards the objection of the adoption of the step-brother the Privy Council agreed with the Patna High

Court, and although the case in the Privy Council was decided on another point, viz., that the power to adopt ceased with the death of the testator's father, this decision apparently implies a ruling of the Privy Council that the Bengal Kayasthas are not Sudras. The legal position is at least obscure.

The claim to Kshattiriya status was not pressed by the Kasyastha community and there are differences of opinion within the caste itself as to both the expediency and the desirability of making the claim. The Kayasthas of western India include a branch of Prabhu or Brahma Kayasthas and recent investigations suggest that the Kayasthas have at least as good a claim to inclusion within the Brahman *varna* as is generally sufficient to support these agitations. D. R. Bhandarkar many years ago pointed out that the Naga Brahmins of western India at an early period had names (*sarmans* or *amushyayanas*) identical with the names or titles (*padavis*) now borne by the Kayasthas of Bengal. This suggested a hypothesis of ethnic identity and he has recently developed (1) the hypothesis by an examination of their origin, showing first from epigraphic evidence that Brahmins existed in Bihar and Orissa as early as the fifth century A.D. bearing names now characteristic of the Kayasthas of Bengal, and secondly that there are indications that these Brahmins were of the same stock or migrated from the same region as produced the Nagar Brahmins of western India. It is now generally admitted that the Kayasthas as a caste did not come into existence until a comparatively late period and that the word previously indicated an executive, administrative, judicial or clerical officer of government and there seems also to be a fair measure of agreement that the Brahmins, as was natural, contributed a high proportion to the class of Kayasthas and consequently to the various groups from which the caste was formed. Ghurye (2) has recently examined the existing anthropometric data and finds that the differential index calculated by cumulation of a series of factors indicating divergence in a number of specific characteristics suggests a high degree of racial likeness between the Kayasthas and the Brahmins of Bengal and the Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat.

544. **Khambu** [R. I. 459 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 457 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 512 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—Figures for Khambus were compiled only for Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim in 1921. They then numbered 58,572 as against 42,310 on the present occasion. These figures include the figures for Jimdars in both years. The total number in Sikkim is 18,565 compared with 15,667 in 1921 and of the total number there returned 16,061 were shown under tribal religions, 97 under Buddhists and 10 under Christians and the remainder in Sikkim and Bengal were shown as Hindus.

545. **Khami**.—This is a tribe of the Chittagong Hill Tracts where 1,549 of the total 1,616 enumerated were found.

546. **Khas** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 456 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—The Khas numbered 7,236 in the district of Darjeeling and Sikkim in 1921. For the same areas on the present occasion their numbers are 11,142. Their number in 1911 in the whole of Bengal and Sikkim was 19,471 which has been reduced during the last two decades to 11,309, the explanation undoubtedly being that the majority of the tribe now return themselves as Chhattri and have consequently not been included in the returns under this group. In Sikkim 13 of the tribe were returned as Christian and in Jalpaiguri there were 27 returned under tribal religions and 37 as Buddhists; Sikkim contributing another 4 shown as Buddhists. This is one of the castes whose figures in various census years are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

547. **Khatik** [R. I. 477].—This is a caste of vegetable sellers originating in Bihar for which no figures were prepared in 1921. They number on the

(1) *Nagar Brahmins and Bengal Kayasthas—The Indian Antiquary*, March 1932 April 1932.

(2) G. S. Ghurye—*Caste and Race in India*, 1932.

present occasion no more than 1,157, more than half of whom are found in the 24-Parganas (320) and Calcutta (299), the remainder being concentrated almost exclusively in western Bengal.

548. **Khawas** [R. I. 485].—This is the slave caste of Nepal. It is difficult to distinguish them from the Gharti previously mentioned of which caste Risley gives this name as a sub-caste. Only 416 were recorded of whom 387 were returned from Darjeeling. They have now been emancipated by a Nepalese decree of 1924 and the name will disappear either by absorption into the Gharti caste or their consolidation into a fresh caste of Siva Bhaktis which has been specifically invented for them. The new caste name, however, is said to be unpopular, and many of the freed slaves find their liberty irksome as they are now forced to shift for themselves whereas they could always rely before on food and clothing from their masters.

549. **Khen** [C. R. 1921, V(i), 365].—The Khens, principally found in the north of Bengal and Assam, claimed as on previous occasions to be Kayasthas and alleged that their name was really nothing more or less than the Assamese mispronunciation of Sen, the Kayastha name. The claim was disallowed although it is reported in northern Bengal that they are looked upon as Kayasthas of a low class.

550. **Khyang** [R. I. 489].—This is one of the peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Figures were not shown for them in 1921 but they numbered 831 in 1911. Their present numbers are 1,002 and all are found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts with the exception of 2 who have been returned in Burdwan and 29 in Hooghly. The majority of the caste was returned as Buddhists, but 14 were shown under tribal religions and those recorded elsewhere than in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were shown as Hindus.

551. **Kisan** [R. I. 490 : R. II. 122 : C.R. 1901, VI(i), 348].—Kisan is a generic term for cultivator but it was directed that its use should be restricted on the present occasion to persons born or enumerated in Nepal or Darjeeling. The name was given by Gait (1911) as a synonym of the Nagesia tribe and as a title of the Oraons whilst Risley gives it as a sub-caste of Kalwars in Bihar and as a title of the Kharias in Chota Nagpur. They were shown separately in the caste table of 1911 but it is doubtful whether they ought not to have been included amongst the Nagesias or amongst the Oraons or Kharias. Their numbers were returned as 2,659 of whom the greater part (2,124) were found in the Darjeeling district.

552. **Kochh, Paliya and Rajbangshi** [R. I. 491 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 483, 513 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 356, 365. R. II. 155 : R. II. 183 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 382, 397 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 513 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 358, 366].—As early as the beginning of the 19th century Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton whilst noting the contention that these three castes considered themselves distinct, recorded his opinion that they were all originally the same. The identity of their ethnic origin was asserted by Risley and has been accepted by the High Court of Calcutta. So far as I know it has not been contested by any reliable authority, and such differences as exist between them have (when urged) been represented as due to an affinity of the Rajbangshis rather with the peoples of south-west Bengal amongst whom the Kaibarttas are characteristic than with those of Assam and north-east Bengal. On the other hand the claim of the Rajbangshis to be Kshattriyas is very old and was noted by Buchanan Hamilton at the beginning of the 19th century. It has now advanced far beyond the stage at which any evidence in support of the claim is put forward when it is represented, and the caste can rely upon the concessions which it has extorted at successive enumerations in the matter of a record of its name. Like the Mahishyas in the south-west Bengal, however, the Rajbangshis are not yet in a sufficiently strong position to disregard claims made by other groups with whom they have an affinity to

the same dignity of position as they themselves have claimed, and the bitterness of the Mahishyas against the Jalia Kaibarttas is paralleled in northern Bengal by a similar determination on the part of the Rajbangshis that there shall be no admission that the Kochhes or Paliyas have any title to investiture with the sacred thread or inclusion within the Kshattriya *varna*. The more backward and illiterate members of the Rajbangshi caste still maintain practices inconsistent with orthodox Hindu belief and the position which they claim. Divorce is still practised amongst them as well as the system of "companionate marriage" known as *ga goch* in Rangpur or *pani sarpan* in the Terai of Darjeeling. By this practice a young man is received into a family and cohabits with a girl of the household with the view of being accepted as a husband if the arrangement is suitable, and in the meantime he works for his prospective father-in-law. The remarriage of widows is customary and attachments not amounting to formal marriage are also entered into by widows or divorced women. These are mainly of two kinds. In the *ghar dhoka* type the woman betakes herself to the man to whom she has taken a fancy and is accepted by him : in the *dangua* or *pashua* relationship a widow, particularly if she has property, will secure to herself a protector. It is said that this last form of relationship is often adopted with a view to preventing interference by the relatives of the deceased husband with the administration of his property and it is interesting to notice that during the last decade the Calcutta High Court has ruled that Rajbangshis, quite independently of any proof of a custom of remarriage, are governed by the ordinary terms of Hindu Law and consequently a woman upon remarriage loses all title in the estate of her husband and that this is not affected by any differences in the nature of the ceremony celebrated. Practices like this and others at variance with the tenets of Hindu orthodoxy such as the indulgence in prohibited foods and liquors are discarded by the progressive members of the society, and where they are reported the additional difficulty arises that Kochhes and Paliyas also claim to be Kshattriyas and to adopt the sacred thread and that it is increasingly difficult for the observer to distinguish between these and the Rajbangshis. The Rajbangshis have now to some extent regularised the anomalous position in which they found themselves until recently owing to the fact that upon assumption of Kshattriya status they had all adopted themselves into the same *gotra* (Kasyapa) with the result that all marriages amongst Rajbangshis as Kshattriyas would, upon a strict interpretation of Hindu Law, have been invalid owing to their being within the same *gotra*. They have now increased the number of their *gotras* to twelve having in addition to the Kasyapa *gotra*, Sandilya, Parashara, Bharadwaja, Gautama, Savarna, Kapila, Thandi, Batsya, Maudgalya, Atri and Kausika or Viswamitra ; but, even amongst those families which have been invested with the sacred thread, it is apparently only the literate section which claims to belong to any *gotra* and these, when it is necessary to declare a *gotra* at all, plump for the Kasyapa *gotra* as a matter of course.

In 1911 Paliyas were included amongst Rajbangshis, and the total of Kochhes, Paliyas and Rajbangshis was 1,933,836. In 1921 no record of Paliyas was kept and the total of Kochh and Rajbangshi was 1,858,384. All three castes now total together 1,930,852, almost 3,000 less than in 1911. The Kochhes have declined from 131,273 in 1921 to 81,299 on the present occasion, and as has been mentioned already there is little doubt that, in spite of differences of caste nomenclature, it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep returns of Kochhes, who also claim to be Kshattriyas, Kochh Kshattriyas or Patit Kshattriyas and in some cases actually adopt or claim the title of Rajbangshi, separate from those of Rajbangshis proper with whom both they and the Paliyas have ethnic affinities. The small numbers returned in Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Rangpur, and indeed in other districts of northern Bengal in general, where it would be expected to find them in strength and where their greatest numbers were returned in 1911 and 1921, lend support to this supposition. Five-eighths of the total number of Kochhes were recorded in the two districts of Mymensingh (30,792) and Bogra (20,864). In Bogra some of them returned themselves as Patit Kshattriyas and have consequently escaped compilation. More than one

district census officer commented upon the fact that the distinctions between Kochh, Paliya and Rajbangshi were disappearing and that the sub-castes within each group were no longer exclusive. The Paliyas number 43,163. There are no figures for them in 1921 but in 1911 they numbered 172,495.

553. Rajbangshi.—The returns under this name were intended to be confined to the Rajbangshis having or claiming to have the same origin as the tribe from which the ruling house of Cooch Behar descends ; but the name is a title claimed also by numerous other groups and it is evident from the returns that the directions issued for restricting the name Rajbangshi to this group were not effective. The true Rajbangshis are practically confined to the districts of Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Rajshahi and Bogra and the State of Cooch Behar ; but the numbers returned in Bogra were small and considerable numbers were also returned in Malda (42,009), 24-Parganas (40,047), Mymensingh (29,735), Darjeeling (26,969) and Dacca (26,947). In the districts of Western and Central Bengal the returns probably include a number who should rightly have been returned as Tiyaars, Kaibarttas and other fishing or boating castes, whilst the fact that as many as 2,019 were returned as Buddhists in Tippera, Noakhalia, Chittagong and Tripura demonstrates that the numbers in Eastern Bengal returned under this name were actually Bengali (i.e., Barua or Bhuiya) Maghs principally found in Chittagong for whom, on the present occasion, no statistics have been compiled. Even in the districts in which the caste is strong the Kochhes and Paliyas who are ethnically allied to the Rajbangshis claim the title Rajbangshi and have probably succeeded in getting themselves returned as such. On the other hand the caste organisation is responsible for what may have been a diminution of the numbers of true Rajbangshis actually returned owing to the fact that at every stage of enumeration, even after I had interviewed large numbers of the caste with their accredited leading men, who had admitted the importance of including the distinctive term Rajbangshi in their caste name, members of the caste were called upon by the caste association to return themselves as Kshattriya only and to refuse information unless this return were actually made. The Rajbangshis are amongst the castes illustrated in diagrams Nos. XII-8 and XII-9. Taking the figures as they stand the numbers are 1,806,390, and they are the 3rd largest caste in Bengal. They were returned as 1,727,111 in 1921. In 1911, excluding Paliyas (172,495) and Desi (78,091) included in their published numbers that caste was 1,554,204 strong. It is however beyond hope that completely satisfactory figures should be obtained for this caste and the allied groups of Kochh and Paliya.

554. Konai [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 420 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356].—Figures were returned for this group in 1921 only in Birbhum where they amounted to 15,300 but have now declined to 14,387. The total number returned was 41,058 to which number the largest contribution was made by Murshidabad with 18,755.

555. Koiris [R. I. 500 : C. R. 1901, VI (i) 393 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 512 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356, 365].—The claim of the Koiris to be recorded as Kuswaha Kshattriya was made to the Census Commissioner, but although there were members of this caste in Bengal no similar claim was received from any local body. Complete figures were not extracted for this caste but in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions they numbered 16,010. Figures were given for them in the 24-Parganas and Calcutta only in 1921 : they there numbered 5,739 males and 1,376 females against 5,801 males and 2,038 females in 1931.

556. Kora [R. I. 506 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356, 365].—The figures for Koras were given only for Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore in 1921 but their total number in 1911 in the whole province was 46,497. On the present occasion their numbers are 49,265, and in the four districts for which figures were given in 1921 they numbered in all 39,322 compared with 29,881 in 1921 and have therefore made good the decline recorded in those districts during the previous decade. Over 90 per cent. were returned as Hindus and 2,476 as following tribal religions.

557. **Kotal** [R. I. 514 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356].—Kotals were recorded only in Burdwan in 1921 when they numbered 4,930. On the present occasion their numbers have risen to 6,060 and the total number in the whole province is 7,651, the majority of the remainder being found in the adjacent district of Murshidabad where they number 1,253.

558. **Kuki** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 420].—The Kukis numbered in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State 6,133 in 1921 and their numbers in these two areas have now risen to 16,477 whilst their total number in the whole of Bengal is 16,592 compared with 5,563 in 1911. Tripura State contributes all but about 2,500 of the total number, and excluding 608 returned as Christians all were entered as Hindus with the exception of 2,117 returned in the Chittagong Hill Tracts under tribal religions. The large increase in Tripura State is probably due partly to immigration but also to the increased accuracy of the census figures. Figures for their numbers in successive census years are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

559. **Kumhar** [R. I. 517 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356].—The Kumhars have increased during the decade from 284,653 in 1921 to 289,810 in 1931, an increase of 1·8 per cent. compared with the decrease of 2·1 per cent. in the previous decade.

560. **Kurmi** [R. I. 528 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 382, 393 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 512 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 356, 365].—The returns under this head include both the Bihar cultivating caste and the aboriginal tribe whose name is spelt the same with the exception that the “r” is soft. No attempt was made to distinguish between the two groups. The total number is 194,652 compared with 181,447 in 1921. As in that year considerably over one-half of them are found in Western Bengal and Midnapore actually contributes 85,711 to the total. None appear to have been returned under their tribal religion, although a number belonging to the aboriginal tribe were reported from Rajshahi during enumeration. In Midnapore they are generally known as Mahato, but this is a title also of Koiris and Koehles and its use was discouraged. As with the Koiris the claim to be returned as Kurma Kshattriyas was received not from any local body claiming that appellation but from an all-India association.

561. **Lalbegi** [R. II. 3 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 436].—The Lalbegi are described by Risley as a class of Muhammadan sweepers and they are amongst the disputed groups claimed as Hindus by such bodies as the Hindu Mission and the Hindu Sabha. The number returned as Hindus on the present occasion amounted to 4,965 principally found in Calcutta (2,433) and the 24-Parganas (1,001).

562. **Lepcha** [R. II. 6 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 394 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 512].—Figures for Lepchas were given in 1921 only for Darjeeling and Sikkim where they numbered 18,690 compared with 25,161 on the present occasion. Their numbers have increased both in Sikkim and in Darjeeling, but outside these two areas on the present occasion also less than 650 were recorded in other districts. The total number now in Bengal amounts to 12,720 compared with 9,843 in 1911 whilst the figures for the two decades for Sikkim are 13,060 in 1931 and 9,031 in 1911. The bulk of the Lepchas are Buddhists but 456 in Jalpaiguri and 66 in Sikkim were returned as following tribal religions, 214 in Bengal as being Hindus and 1,950 as being Christians. Variations in their numbers are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

563. **Limbus** [R. II. 14 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 457 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—Figures for Limbus in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim in 1921 amounted to 22,721. In the same areas they now number 27,889. The contribution of Sikkim is 10,536 compared with 8,566 in 1911 and the number has risen also in the whole of Bengal from 16,878 in 1911 to 17,643. There is an increasing tendency for the Limbus and the Jimdars and Khambus to amalgamate.

564. **Lodha** [R. II. 21 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 422].—Figures for this group were not presented in 1921 but in 1911 they numbered 7,403 and have increased by 48·6 per cent. to 11,001 on the present occasion of whom no less than 9,820 were recorded in Midnapore.

565. **Luait**.—This name is not found in Risley or previous census reports but was reported to be the name of a caste found in the Bajitpur thana of Kishoreganj subdivision. They are reported by the local officers to be Hindus by religion following the ordinary Hindu rites and customs and having as their principal occupation the preparation of molasses and the sale of fried rice. They are said to be akin to the Modaks but to be untouchable whereas the Modaks are touchable, but further enquiries will be necessary before they can be pronounced to be a distinct caste.

566. **Lushai**.—No figures were given for Lushais in 1921. In 1911 more than 59 were recorded but the number on the present occasion is 3,036 almost entirely divided between Tripura (1,836) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (1,144). Surprisingly large numbers of Lushais were returned as Christians, the only other religion returned being 752 Hindus and 25 following tribal religions.

567. **Maghs** [R. II. 28 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 424 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 373].—The term Magh is ordinarily applied to two entirely distinct groups, viz., a Chittagonian Buddhist group and the Arakan Maghs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong. The Bengali-speaking Chittagonian Maghs petitioned for the use of a distinctive name. The claim of this caste is to Kshatriya status and they trace their descent from the Buddhists of Magadha who are by them alleged to have migrated from their old home on the revival of Brahmanism and the advent of the Mogals. Risley distinguished this group as "Marma-gri" Maghs and the Arakanese as "Jumiya, Roang and Rakhaing", but the group speak Bengali and a Burmese description of this kind is not used amongst themselves and suggests a Burmese source. They are Buddhists and repudiate caste, but their inheritance and to some extent their marriage ceremonies are governed by the Hindu Law (Dayabhaga or Mitakshara), though they permit marriage with a mother's brother's (but not a mother's sister's) child.

568. **Mahar** [R. II. 38].—The figures for this caste on the present occasion are 1,986. They are described as an Orissa tribe of basket makers : no figures were given for them in 1921 and in 1911 they numbered 738. Less than one-fifth of the total number were returned outside the district of Midnapore.

569. **Mahishya** [R. I. 375 : C. R. 1901, VI (i) 380 ; C. R. 1911, V (i), 498, 511 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 354, 355].—The Mahishyas are the most numerous caste in Bengal. They number 2,381,266 and have increased by 7·7 per cent. from 2,210,684 in 1921. They are most numerous in Midnapore (883,367) and the 24-Parganas (329,480), but they are found in every district except the Chittagong Hill Tracts and although their numbers have probably been swelled by the inclusion in some parts of Jalia Kaibarttas or possibly Patnis and other fishing castes claiming to have taken to agriculture and to be entitled to the use of this name, there is no reason to believe that the caste has not substantially increased during the last decade. Their distribution is illustrated in diagram No. XII-8 and their growth in diagram No. XII-9. The claim which appeared for the first time at the present census in the case of the Mahishyas was to be recorded as Kshatriyas or Mahishya Kshatriyas. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the history of this caste which is of the same origin and derivation as the Jalia Kaibarttas and was known as the Chasi Kaibartta on first differentiating itself from them. It is sufficient to state that they have succeeded in establishing themselves as a different caste from the Jalia Kaibarttas and that they have secured the official recognition by Government of the caste name by which they appear in the present reports. In 1921 Mr. Thompson included them amongst the depressed classes but they have strenuously protested against that inclusion not only to the Indian Statutory Commission but also subsequently. Their claim to Kshatriya

status rests upon the traditional derivation of their caste said to exist in sacred writings in which they are represented as the offspring of a Kshattriya father and a Vaisya mother. In 1901 and so far as I know until the present census they have claimed to be Vaisyas and this is the status which their priests the Gaudadya Brahmins also claim for them. The actual derivation of their original name Kaibartta is now represented as being different from the derivation of the same term applied to the Jalia Kaibarttas. In the case of the Jalia Kaibarttas it is alleged that it derives from the roots *ka* water and *vrit* exist (*ka+vritti+ach*) whereas it is contended for the Mahishyas that the derivation of the same word is from an original word *kim* cultivation and *vrit* exist (*kin+vritti+an*). The derivation seems to be clearly one which will not be favoured if a claim to Kshattriya status is persisted in. The movement is young and professes to find an identification of the Mahishyas with the *Mahesris* of Maharashtra and the *Maheswaris* of Rajputana. It is not an agitation which has received the considered opinion of the caste association although considerable numbers of printed applications were received from districts all emanating from the same press and evidently distributed to branches of the same organisation. In Noakhali district the claim of a branch of the Mahishya community which had been originally put forward in 1901 again came forward. A number of Mahishyas in this district claim to be recorded as Deva Das. They mainly relied upon the fact that they had succeeded in registering documents under that title and the contentions that there was no inter-marriage or commensality with the other Mahishyas of the locality and that they enjoyed the services of *srotiya* Nاپits on ceremonial occasions. These contentions were supported by a book entitled *Deva Das Kulachar* which, however, was not published until 1931 and which provides for this community a derivation similar to that alleged in the Shastras for the Brahmins and other *varnas*. It is contended that just as these groups came from different limbs of the Creator so the Deva Das came from His extreme eye-brow. The claim to be recorded as Deva Das was examined by the local officers and it was found that the evidence from registration of documents was inconclusive as the persons were indiscriminately described as Deva Das or Halia Das and similar other terms used by the Mahishyas whilst instances were found still to exist in which members of this community were married to Mahishyas.

570. **Mahli** [R. II. 40].—No figures for this caste were given in 1921. They are described by Risley as a "Dravidian" caste of labourers, paliki bearers and bamboo workers found in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal. They are now found in largest numbers in Jalpaiguri (7,171), Midnapore (3,678) and Dinajpur (3,153), these three districts between them accounting for over 70 per cent. of the total number in the whole province which is 19,106. Their numbers were returned as 15,965 in 1901 and the increase is clearly due to emigration into Jalpaiguri where they numbered in that year only 3,267 or less than half their present numbers. Of the total number 16,202 were returned as Hindus, 1,737 under tribal religions and 1,107 as Christians.

The district officer of Burdwan reported that the Mahlis, although almost completely bengalised, have still retained some of their original dialect terms as follows :—

- (1) Water : Dak দাক্ as well as জল ।
- (2) Rice : Daka দাক্ „ ভাত ।
- (3) Curry : Utu উত্ „ তরকারী ।
- (4) Salt : Gulun গুলুন „ নুন ।
- (5) Hut : Gura গুর „ ঘর ।
- (6) Cow : Dandry দান্দ্রী „ গরু ।

He cites also the following expressions used amongst themselves :—

- (1) Dela hijuk se (দেলা হিজুক ছে) meaning "come to me".
- (2) O kate chalaya (ওকাত্তে চালায়া) meaning "where do you go".
- (3) Orate chala kana (ওরাত্তে চালা কানা) meaning "go home".
- (4) Chit mandar (চিট মন্দার) meaning "what are you doing".

571. **Mal** [R. II. 45 : C. R. 1901, VI (i) 394 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357, 365].—The figures for Mals on the present occasion are 111,422, a decrease of 5·2 per cent. on the figures of 117,537 recorded in 1921. Two members of the caste were returned as Buddhists in Howrah and 253 under tribal religions but the remainder are Hindus. The figures on the present occasion are an increase over the numbers recorded in 1911, viz., 108,163, and it has already been stated that there is little reason to believe that there has been any considerable confusion between their name and the Malos included amongst Jhalo Malo. More than one-third of the total number were located in Birbhum (40,999), but there were more than 10,000 of them also in Bankura, Murshidabad and Mymensingh.

572. **Mali** [R. II. 45 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 394 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357, 365].—The number of this caste returned on the present occasion was 79,084 compared with 56,704 in 1921; but, as in 1921, the figures are misleading owing to the claim of the Bhuinmalis to be known by this name and the probability, supported by the decline in the figures of the Bhuinmalis, is that some of them have been returned as Malis. The claim of the Mali caste to Vaisya status was disallowed, but it is possible that some contrived to return Vaisya and thus to reduce the inflation of the numbers of the caste caused by the Bhuinmalis.

573. **Mallahs** [R. II. 63 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 394, 448].—Separate figures for Mallahs were not recorded in 1921 and they were possibly included in the figures for Malos. On the present occasion they number 26,254 compared with 27,142 in 1911. They are found in the greatest numbers in Mymensingh (7,246) and the 24-Parganas (4,035), but more than 1,000 were found in each of the districts of Calcutta, Dinajpur, Hooghly, Rangpur and Malda, and were recorded in every district except Bankura, Faridpur, Noakhali and the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

574. **Mal Pahariya** [R. II. 66 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 516].—Figures for Mal Pahariya were not given in 1921 but in 1911 they numbered 11,739. On the present occasion their numbers have increased to 13,521 and they are mainly found in Northern Bengal principally in the districts of Rajshahi (5,368), Jalpaiguri (2,735) and Dinajpur (1,592) which between them contribute 84 per cent. of the total recorded in the province. There were 469 returned as Christians, 1,270 under tribal religions and the remainder as Hindus.

575. **Mangar** [R. II. 74 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 456 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—Figures for Mangars were returned in 1921 only for Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim where they totalled 26,643. In these three areas they now amount to 27,840 of whom Sikkim contributes 4,194 compared with 3,655 in 1921. Their total number in Bengal has risen from 21,516 in 1911 to 24,042 on the present occasion. There were 68 returned in Bengal as Buddhists and 148 in Bengal and 2 in Sikkim under tribal religion, the remainder being returned as Hindus.

576. **Manjhis** [R. II. 77 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 458].—Manjhis amounted to 922 in Bengal and 338 in Sikkim. Comparison with previous years is made difficult by the fact that figures for them were compiled in 1911 only for Eastern Bengal. The figures shown should represent only the Nepalese caste, but "Manjhi" is very commonly used as a name or title by the Santals, Oraons and a number of other tribes as well as being a functional designation, and it is doubtful whether the returns, at least for Tripura, were confined to the Nepalese caste whilst the same may be said of the much smaller and less doubtful returns in Bankura and Midnapore.

577. **Mech** [R. II. 86 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 483 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363, 365].—Figures for Mechs were recorded in 1921 only for Jalpaiguri district where they numbered 10,777. In the same district their numbers are now 9,510 and their decline in the whole province has been very considerable since 1911 when they numbered 20,730, as they now total only 9,984. The advance of settled cultivation is driving these shy people from Bengal into the less developed parts across the border in Assam. Cultivation and the weaving of fabrics of *muga* and *endi* silk are their chief occupations. The variations in their numbers are illustrated by diagram No. XII-10.

578. **Mehtar** [R. II. 91].—Figures for Mehtars were recorded in 1911 in Eastern Bengal where they numbered 5,714. On the present occasion their numbers in the same area (Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions with the states of Cooch Behar and Tripura) are 6,676. Their total in the whole province is 23,281. The name is not strictly that of a caste but many of the sweeper castes were unable or professed to be unable to give their real caste name and the term had to be adopted during the course of enumeration *forte de micux*. Their numerical strength is 7,301 in Calcutta and 2,184 in the 24-Parganas and more than 1,000 of the caste are found in other districts, only in Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah, Dinajpur and Mymensingh.

579. **Morangia** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 424].—Details of this group have not been given in the tables. They were reported during enumeration only from the State of Cooch Behar where they are said to have been brought from the Morang in the eastern Terai of Nepal by one of the previous rulers of the state. They claimed to be returned as Kshattriyas, and as they had been previously returned as Morangia Kshattriyas they were permitted to use the same name in the schedules.

580. **Mru** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 424].—The total number of the caste returned is 7,404 of whom 7,328 are contributed by the Chittagong Hill Tracts compared with 8,281 returned as Mrung in 1921. The return of Mrung is misleading since it is actually the name of a group of Tiparas and should not be used at all for Mru, and it is possible that the decline on the present occasion is due to the exclusion from this group of the entry Mrung and its restriction to the Tiparas. The total number of Tiparas has indeed shown an astonishing increase in Tippera, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State from 153,921 in 1921 to 200,533 on the present occasion, and the two contributory causes which may very likely be responsible are first that as was actually reported for parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Mrung was written erroneously for Mru upon the belief that it was a bengalised form of the tribal name, and secondly that in 1921 all entries of Mru were included under Mrung and shown under that name and not as Mru although some portion at least thus shown should have been returned as Tiparas.

581. **Muchi** [R. II. 95 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 388, 449 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 353, 365].—This caste numbered 417,594 in 1921 and has decreased by 0·8 per cent. to 414,221 on the present occasion. The largest number was returned from Burdwan (63,885), Birbhum (45,395), Jessore (37,158), 24-Parganas (33,434), Nadia (30,561), Mymensingh (24,041), Dacca (23,674), Murshidabad (22,448) and Khulna (21,435). Except in Mymensingh and Dacca the numbers of the caste are comparatively small in all the districts of Northern and Eastern Bengal and nearly three-quarters of the total caste are found in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions.

582. **Mundas** [R. II. 101 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 395 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 471, 513 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—The Mundas now number 108,686 of whom 63,107 were returned as Hindus, and 42,321 as following tribal religions. They have increased by 9·4 per cent. from the figure of 1921 which was 99,343. Well over a third are found in Jalpaiguri where they work as tea garden labourers and another one-fifth in the 24-Parganas. The only other district in which they are present in comparatively large numbers is Rajshahi with 12,609. There were 40,574 Hindus and 58,769 professing tribal religions amongst the Mundas in 1921, but on the present occasion these numbers have been roughly reversed and there are 63,107 Hindus and 42,321 professing tribal religions. Their numbers from census to census are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

583. **Murmi** [R. II. 110 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—Figures for Murmis were compiled in 1921 only for the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and for Sikkim. In Darjeeling they numbered 30,450 compared with the present numbers of 33,481. In Jalpaiguri 3,086 were returned in 1921 but this number has now decreased to 1,360. These two districts, however, still contribute between them less than 400 short of the total number returned in Bengal and of the remainder 313 are found in Cooch Behar. In Sikkim the

numbers increased from 6,180 in 1921 to 7,017 on the present occasion. They majority of the group in Bengal (34,498) and in Sikkim (6,993) were returned as Buddhists and of the remainder a great majority were returned as Hindus.

584. **Musahar** [R. II. 113 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 395].—This caste of palki-bearers and field labourers totals 11,784 in Bengal against 11,874 in 1911, no figures being on record for 1921. As in 1911 the great majority of the caste is found in northern Bengal, which contains almost three-quarters of the total number found in the province and the greatest part of this is concentrated in Malda (3,175), Dinajpur (2,916) and Rangpur (1,207).

585. **Nagar** [R. II. 120 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357].—This is a small group of cultivators amounting to 16,164 of whom 14,356 are found in Malda. In 1921 the only figures given were of Malda district (14,714) and in 1911 figures were shown only for the districts in Eastern Bengal and the numbers in Malda amounted to 18,505.

586. **Nagesia** [R. II. 122].—For this group no figures were recorded in 1921. In 1911 they numbered 1,277 of which all except 2 were found in the two districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. On the present occasion their numbers are 2,291 and again they are practically confined to Jalpaiguri (1,641) and Darjeeling (358).

587. **Namasudra** [R. II. 123 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 395 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 445, 503, 513 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 357, 365].—The figures for Namasudras amount to 2,094,957 compared with 2,006,259 in 1921 showing an increase of 4·4 per cent. They are the second largest caste in Bengal and are amongst the groups illustrated in diagrams Nos. XII-8 and XII-9. They are most numerous in the Dacca and Presidency Divisions, particularly in the districts of Bakarganj, Faridpur, Jessore and Khulna, though they are present in considerable numbers also in the neighbouring districts of Tippera, Dacca and also Mymensingh.

The claim of the Namasudras to be Brahmans has been made from some time but has not been at all seriously contested until the present census. The claim to the name Namabrahma is apparently confined to a small section of the community located in Bakarganj. In Mymensingh the name claimed is Namabrahman and in Khulna the claim was to be recorded simply as Brahmans without distinction. The branch of the society claiming the name Namabrahma approached the Census Commissioner and apparently gave him to understand that they wished to be distinguished from other members of the caste who were not cultivators on the analogy of the Mahishyas in Western Bengal. No such contention was put forward in representations to me that it is in any case ridiculous in view of the fact that the Namasudras are a caste without any specific caste occupation and including groups following a very large number of different occupations. The claim of some groups of the caste to a change in name is viewed with alarm by other portions and a representation was received protesting against the disruptive effect which would be produced if the claim were granted. The more advanced leaders of the caste very rightly consider that claims to change of name are of very much less importance than an effective improvement in the educational and cultural level of the caste and in the development of initiative, self-reliance and a proper self-respect. In parts of the province the Namasudras far from being ashamed of their caste name are proud of it, but it was in Khulna where this characteristic has been reported of them and where they have distinguished themselves by sturdy independent activities for the social betterment of their caste that the claim to the simple name Brahman was encountered. In addition to the synonyms given the term Namasudra includes also the Karals who were discovered during the process of enumeration to be returned under this name in the Magura subdivision, Jessore.

588. **Napit** [R. II. 124 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 358].—The numbers of this caste have risen from 444,188 in 1921 to 451,068 on the present occasion after a slight decrease in the previous decade of 0·7 per cent. between 1911 and

1921. They are evenly distributed throughout the whole of Bengal as indeed is to be expected of a caste whose services are necessary at the *chaula*, *upanayana* and marriage ceremonies of Hindus of all castes when they will consent to serve.

In other parts of India the Napits claimed amongst other names the term *Nai Brahman* and early secured permission to use this name in returning their caste. Permission had necessarily to be extended also to Bengal for the use of this term, which however was entirely unheard of in most parts of Bengal and was not put forward as a claim by any group of the Napit community until the information had filtered through from the all-India association of the caste to the effect that the permission had been given. Such representations for the use of this name as were received all emanated in print from the same press in Dinajpur district. The claim to Brahmanical status is based apparently upon two contentions, first that they perform the functions performed for the gods by Savita and Adhvaryu, and secondly their presence is essential at the *upanayana* and marriage ceremonies even of Brahmins at which, as the representative of Savita Deva, they claim to receive a certain measure of "adoration." The term invented for themselves by the Napits of Eastern Bengal is *Sabitri* or *Savitri Brahman*, but the use of this term was forbidden. If the term *Napit* is disliked by the caste there is no reason why they should not adopt some such expression as *Narasundar*, a title which they assume in parts of Bengal and which so far as I know is not claimed by any other caste. I think it is certain that in Bengal, at least, the permission to this caste to return its members as *Nai Brahmins* has been regarded with ridicule by the majority of Hindu society, and that it has certainly made it more difficult to refuse similar concessions in the case of other castes.

589. **Nat** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 425, 443 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 459].—No figures were given for this caste in 1921. They numbered 9,774 in 1911 but their numbers are now returned only as 7,384 the majority of whom are found in the three districts of Bakarganj (2,620), Tippera (1,223) and Noakhali (1,272).

The name applies to two distinct groups, viz., the *Kharwar Nats* who are a proclaimed criminal tribe and a group found principally in Eastern Bengal and who are amongst the untouchables and claim to be recorded as *Bratya Kshattriya*.

590. **Newar** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 452 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 484 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 363].—The Newars have a very complete and complicated caste organisation but no attempt was made to record their separate groups and in Nepal to which they are indigenous the conquering Gorkhas discourage any distinction of caste groups amongst these people and regard them more as a national or tribal entity. They are the original inhabitants of the Nepal valley. Figures were given in 1921 only for Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim. In Darjeeling they then numbered 8,751 and in Jalpaiguri 2,226 ; their numbers for these two districts are now 10,235 and 2,254, respectively. Their total number in the whole province is very little more than the aggregate of these two districts and amounts to 12,640. In Sikkim their numbers were 2,516 in 1921 and are now 3,811. The great majority of the tribe are Hindus ; they returned "Buddhist" as their religion only in 83 cases in Bengal and 29 in Sikkim, and no more than 69 (all in Bengal) were returned under tribal religions.

591. **Oraons** [R. II. 138 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 397 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 472, 513 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 365].—The Oraons number 228,161 compared with 202,442 in 1921 thus showing an increase of 12·7 per cent. Like the Mundas they are most numerous in Jalpaiguri (127,530) where they are employed as tea garden labourers, but they are in considerable numbers also in Dinajpur (18,667), 24-Parganas (16,021), Rajshahi (15,091) and Darjeeling (12,412). In 1921, 64,677 were returned as Hindus, and 137,765 as following tribal religions, but on the present occasion these proportions have been almost reversed for 136,427 were returned as Hindus, and only 83,792 under tribal religions. In accordance with the practice of Hindu Missionaries converts are given titles implying a *Kshattriya* status and the claim was raised during

numeration that they should be returned as their caste name. It was represented that they could otherwise point to no distinction from their unconverted and now despised tribesmen and would be denied even the acknowledgment of superiority to them; and they did not seem to be impressed by the argument that if their tribal name were suppressed they would not know even how strong the regenerated members of the tribe are. The line shown in diagram No. XII-10 without an indication of the caste actually represents Oraons.

592. **Pan** [R. II. 155].—Figures for this caste were not obtained in 1921 but they numbered 1,943 in 1911 and their numbers have now declined to 1,855 of whom no fewer than 1,064 are found in Tripura where only 212 were recorded in 1911. In British districts the largest numbers are found in 24-Parganas (312) and Midnapore (270). They are described by Risley as a "Dravidian" tribe and their occupations are weaving, basket making and menial service.

593. **Pasi** [R. II. 166].—For this caste also no figures were obtained in 1921. They numbered 15,043 in 1911 and their numbers have increased on the present occasion to 18,925 more than one-third of whom are found in the 24-Parganas (6,552). The only other districts with any considerable numbers are Howrah (2,756) and Calcutta (2,451). They are described by Risley as of "Dravidian" origin and are a caste of tappers of date and other palm trees and distillers of toddy.

594. **Patni** [R. II. 170 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 358, 365].—Patnis numbered 13,955 in 1921 and their numbers on the present occasion had decreased by 7.3 per cent. to 40,766. The decrease repeats a decrease also recorded during the decade 1911 to 1921 and the variations from district to district are considerable. In Mymensingh where the most notable decrease was recorded in 1921 the figures have increased from 6,008 to 10,419, but in most districts there has been a decrease. The aspiration of the Patnis to use of the name Mahishya is strongly resented by the Mahishya (or Chasi Kaibartta) community.

595. **Pod** [R. II. 176 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 382, 395 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 513 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 358, 365].—The Pods numbered 588,394 in 1921 and have increased to 667,731; over half of the number are found in the 24-Parganas (399,082) and more than a quarter in Khulna (182,526). They are 36,688 strong in Midnapore and 23,183 in Howrah but their numbers do not reach as many as 10,000 in any of the other districts. They again claimed Kshatriya status and the title respectively of Paundra and Paundra Kshatriya.

596. **Pundari** [R. II. 179 : C. R. 1901, VI (i) 425 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 366].—Figures for Pundaris were shown in 1921 only for Birbhum, Murshidabad and Malda, but although they were 2,514 in Birbhum in 1921 none were there returned under this name on the present occasion: almost half of those returned came from the 24-Parganas (14,597), and Murshidabad contributed rather less than a quarter (7,556). Malda with 4,004 and Rajshahi with 3,484 are the only other districts in which the caste occurs in any considerable number. The claim to the name Pundra Kshatriya again appeared on the present census.

597. **Rabha**.—No figures are on record for this caste in 1921 and they were compiled in 1911 only for Eastern Bengal comprising the Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions where they numbered 734. Their numbers on the present occasion are 3,056 of whom 2,076 or more than two-thirds are found in Jalpaiguri and all except 42 of the remainder in Cooch Behar. They are a section of the Bodo tribe of lower Assam.

598. **Rai** [R. II. 182 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 457].—This is one of the Kiranti group of Nepali tribes which it is almost impossible to distinguish from Jimdars, Khambus and Limbus. There are no figures on record for either 1911 or 1921 and on the present occasion their numbers were 6,277 of whom the great majority were settled in Darjeeling (4,691) and Jalpaiguri (1,133).

The difficulty of separating them from the other tribes named is illustrated by the fact that no returns under this name were received from Sikkim in spite of a large element in the population formed by the Kiranti group of Nepalese settled there.

599. **Rajput** [R. II. 184 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 398 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 514].—Figures for Rajputs amount to 156,978 but the extreme indefiniteness of the position of any group bearing this name renders it impossible to draw any precise deductions as to the numbers included at this compared with previous enumerations.

600. **Raju** [C. R. 1901, VI (i), 426 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 366].—Figures for Rajus were collected in 1921 only in Midnapore, where they numbered 52,091. Their numbers in the same district are now 54,764 : this forms the greater part of the total for Bengal (56,778), and the remainder are principally found in the 24-Parganas (1,906). Their numbers in 1911 were 61,064 and the decrease is naturally greatest in Midnapore which is the headquarters of the group.

601. **Rajwar** [R. II. 192].—Figures for this group were not given in 1921. In 1911 they numbered 22,301 and on the present occasion their numbers are 21,337 showing a decrease since 1911 of 4·3 per cent. They are described by Risley as a "Dravidian" cultivating caste of Bihar, Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur who are probably a branch of one of the aboriginal races. They were returned in the greatest strength in Midnapore (4,561) and Nadia (3,318), but they are comparatively numerous also in Burdwan (2,067), 24-Parganas (1,730), Murshidabad (1,623), Rajshahi (1,394), Rangpur (1,401) and Malda (1,191).

602. **Sadgops** [R. II. 212 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 383, 398 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 358].—The Sadgops number 571,772 showing an increase of 7·2 per cent. over their numbers of 1921 when they were 533,236 strong. The caste had declined in numbers in successive decades from 1901 to 1911 and 1911 to 1921 and the name covers groups in Northern, Western and Eastern Bengal said to be of entirely different origin. They were returned in the greatest strength in Western Bengal which contributed over two-thirds of their number and the adjoining districts of Malda, Murshidabad, 24-Parganas and Calcutta also contributed very nearly one-fifth. The figures include those returned as Satchasis. This is a synonym for Sadgop in Western Bengal, but the Chasadhopas have also adopted it as a name. The inclusion of those returned under it was probably a mistake and it is quite possible that some part of the increase if not all is due to the inclusion of persons who ought to have been classed as Chasadhopas. The returns therefore include persons of three if not of four different castes. (1) There is a small group recognising as Sadgops only a number of families whose origin is traced to the Burdwan district. They claim that commensal and connubial rights are confined within this small group, and that the institution of *kulinism* is peculiar to a section of the caste. They would derive their caste name from (a) *sat* good or (b) *sattrin* (householder) and Gopa (a landlord, keeper of land, keeper of cattle, village official). (2) There are also the Satgoalas who are recruited from the Goalas, as is generally admitted and is claimed by the Goalas themselves for the group known as Satgoala or Satgop in North and West Bengal. (3) There are thirdly the "Satchashis" who in East Bengal are probably Chashadhopas. (4) Fourthly there are "Satgoalas" of East Bengal who may or may not be the same as No. (3).

603. **Sankhabanik** [R. II. 221 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 353].—As on previous occasions the Sankhabaniks claimed to be Vaisyas. The caste is not sufficiently extensive to have been included amongst those whose details have been extracted.

604. **Santals** [R. II. 224 : C. R. 1901, VI (i), 399 : C. R. 1911, V (i), 449, 474, 514 : C. R. 1921, V (i), 366].—The Santals numbered 712,040 in 1921 and have now increased by 11·9 per cent. to 796,656. Like the Oraons the proportions returned as Hindus and under tribal religions have changed very

considerably since 1921. In that year only 158,383 were returned as Hindus compared with 553,657 returned under tribal religions. But on the present occasion Hindus number 433,502 and those professing tribal religions were only 352,386 in numbers, so that the Hindus have increased from 22·2 per cent. of the total to almost 54·5. Mr. Thompson reported in 1921 that the Hindus amongst Mundas and Santals were about the same in number as on the three previous enumerations and had decreased in the case of the Oraons. This tendency has been reversed owing to missionary efforts and to the natural increase in the numbers of Hindus amongst these three tribes. The map forming diagram No. XII-3 shows the numbers of Mundas, Oraons and Santals per 1,000 of the total population in 1921 and 1931.

605. **Sarki** [R. II. 238].—The Nepali group Sarki numbered 2,036 in 1921 in the district of Darjeeling where its numbers are now 2,432. The total numbers in the whole of the province are 3,428 and 993 of the remainder not found in Darjeeling were returned from Jalpaiguri. The caste numbered 2,974 in 1911 when there were in Sikkim 281 in comparison with 249 on the present occasion.

606. **Sahas** [R. II. 215, 248 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 383 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 516 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 358] and **Sunris** [R. II. 275 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 516 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 358].—The Shahas have comparatively recently succeeded in separating themselves in census returns and general estimation from the Sunris upon the ground that they do not manufacture or deal in spirituous liquors. They have now given a further demonstration of the fissiparous tendencies of Indian castes and include the two conflicting sub-castes who have taken the distinguishing names of Varendra and Rarhi and are represented by different caste organisations. The claim of both is to be recorded in the Vaisya *varna* but the Varendra Shahas claim to possess a greater purity of blood than the Rarhi Shahas whose professed object through their Vaisya Shaha Mahasabha is to encourage the solidarity of all groups of Shahas whilst at the same time preserving their distinctness from the Sunris. The claim to inclusion within the Vaisya *varna* is not supported unanimously by the caste and protests against it were received from caste members who alleged that the caste does not wear the sacred thread or recite the *gayatri* mantra, that they practise *sugotra* marriage and observe on bereavement the ceremonial period of pollution for 30 days. In High Court judgment (*Srimati Raseswari Chaudhurani versus Sudhir Chandra Das*) in 1925 where the parties were Shahas of the Varendra sub-caste and the validity of an adoption by a widow of her husband's daughter's son was challenged and could have been supported in the case of twice-born classes only by proof of custom, the judges without considering the existence of custom at all held that the adoption was valid upon the ground that there was no doubt that the Shahas were considered as Sudras in Bengal, and it is therefore clear that if the claim to Vaisya status is raised in the courts this judgment will have to be reconsidered before it can be allowed.

The elevation of the Shahas in social position has naturally stimulated the Sunris, particularly those who no longer follow the traditional caste occupation of dealing in liquor, to emulate them and claim a similar social status and the same name. Taking the two groups together the numbers have been increased from 452,233 in 1921 to 497,119 in 1931, but whereas the Sunris have decreased from 92,492 in 1921 to 76,920 the numbers returned as Shahas have increased from 359,731 to 420,199. As on previous occasions Sunris were returned in strongest numbers in western Bengal and Shahas in eastern Bengal and the districts of Pabna, Jessore, Khulna and Calcutta. Economy prevented the collection of complete figures for sub-castes and the Varendra Shahas of Purbba-Banga Vaishya Samity supplied the figures shown below for their sub-caste :—

SADHUSANIK.

				Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
Bengal	..	..	..	55,980	28,884	27,596
Mymensingh (Tangail)	..	..	..	14,050	6,826	7,224
Dacca	..	..	..	23,842	11,888	12,006
Dacca City	..	..	..	4,696	2,544	2,452
Pabna	..	..	..	8,031	3,921	4,110
Fazlpur	..	..	..	2,688	1,331	1,356
Calcutta	..	..	..	2,443	2,115	828
Nabadwip	..	..	..	282	111	151

The census figures where available are also given but are very much lower than the estimate made by the sub-caste :

SADHUBANIK.			
District and subdivision	Both sexes	Males	Females
Dacca District	3,393	4,681	3,712
Sadar subdivision	2,289	1,031	1,208
Narayanganj subdivision	863	831	632
Munshiganj subdivision	86	62	21
Manikganj subdivision	5,045	3,257	1,788
Mymensingh District	4,892	1,654	3,238
Sadar subdivision	86	30	66
Jamalganj subdivision	63	..	63
Tangail subdivision	4,100	1,579	2,521
Netrokona subdivision	351	45	306
Ki-hor-ganj subdivision	282	..	282
Faridpur District	950	718	232
Sadar subdivision	177	177	..
Gopalganj subdivision	550	455	95
Madaniore subdivision	171	73	97
Goalundo subdivision	52	9	43

This group desires to secure for itself the exclusive use of the name "Sadhubanik" and produced an imposing mass of *vyavasthas* and opinions given by learned Brahmans in support of their contention that they are of the Vaishya *varna*. These were all produced during the census operations of 1911 and are commented on in the report for that year (*Report on the Census India, 1911*, Vol. V, part I, page 442, paragraph 829).

As on previous occasions the Sunris also claimed to be Kshattriyas (as well as Shahas and by implication Vaishyas) and in Jangipur subdivision of Murshidabad district one group claimed without offering any justification or proof to be recorded as Saundias.

607. **Sunuwar** [R. II. 281 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 363].—Figures for this tribe in 1921 were shown, for Bengal, only in Darjeeling where they numbered 3,691. On the present occasion in the same district they number 4,055 out of a total for the whole province amounting to 4,427 compared with 4,323 in 1911. In Sikkim their numbers have increased from 695 to 790. The majority of the tribe returned themselves as Hindus both in Sikkim and in Darjeeling where only 23 and 48 respectively were returned under tribal religions.

608. **Sutradhars** [R. II. 287 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 356 : C. R. 1911, V(i) 442 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 359].—The Sutradhars of Kanchrapara as elsewhere claimed to be recorded as Viswakarma Brahman ; but no similar claim was received from other members of the caste in Bengal, and it is very probable that the claim originated from up-countrymen in the railway workshops who had been stimulated to make it by their fellow caste-men in other parts of India.

609. **Swarnakar**.—The Swarnakars also claimed to be recorded as Viswakarma Brahmans.

610. **Tanti and Tatwa** [R. II. 295 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 400 : C. R. 1911, V(i), 506, 516 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 359].—The numbers of these two cognate castes were 319,613 in 1921 and 330,518 on the present occasion so that they have more than made up their decline from the figure of 322,983 recorded in 1911. They were returned in the greatest numbers in Western Bengal and the neighbouring districts of Calcutta and the 24-Parganas where their numbers amounted to more than two-thirds of the total returned in the whole province, but they are also comparatively strong in Malda, Mymensingh, Dacca and Murshidabad.

611. **Tharu** [R. II. 312].—This is a tribe from the foot-hills of Nepal for which numbers were not published in 1921. They numbered 1,317 in 1911 but are now returned as no more than 482 of whom 231 are in Darjeeling district and 159 in Calcutta. Variations in their numbers are illustrated in diagram No. XII-10.

612. **Tipara** [R. II. 323 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 438].—The Tiparas number 203,069 and were returned outside Tippera, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State, only in Mymensingh. Full figures were not shown for this tribe in 1921, but their numbers in 1911 amounted to 130,025 only,

of whom 94,075 were found in the Tripura State compared with 161,005 on the present occasion. By 1921 the tribe had nearly doubled itself since 1891 and the present figure shows a further increase of 32 per cent., contributed principally by Tripura State where, as in 1921, some part of the increase may be due to increased accuracy in the census returns. It is possible that some of those returned in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as Mrung and included amongst the Tiparas in the results were actually Mrus inaccurately returned by this name; but the total number reported to have been returned as Mrung who were thus included was only 184 in the whole province and this is not enough to have any appreciable effect on the figures.

613. **Tiyar** [R. II. 328 : C. R. 1901, VI(i), 397 : C. R. 1921, V(i), 360, 366].—The numbers of this caste had declined from 215,270 to 175,721 between 1911 and 1921 and the present census marks a further decrease of more than 45 per cent. to 96,413. The decrease is probably very largely, if not entirely, due to the claim of this caste to such names as Mahishya and Rajbangshi and to their successful evasion of the restriction on the use of these names.

614. **Toto**.—Figures were not extracted for the Totos in 1921 but they numbered 235 in 1911 and 334 on the present occasion and are amongst those groups illustrated in diagram No. XII-10. The tribe is confined to a small triangular area in the north-west corner of the Alipur subdivision in Jalpaiguri district and particulars regarding it can be found in the reports on the Survey and Settlement Operations conducted in 1889 to 1895 and 1906 to 1916 and in the Gazetteer of the Jalpaiguri district. The district census officer, Jalpaiguri, suggests that the tribe comes from a mixed stock of low caste Bhotias and Mechis, but no traditions of their origin have apparently been elicited from the people if they have any. In the report on the Settlement Operations, 1906-16, it was recommended that steps should be taken to secure the tribe in the undisturbed possession of the whole area occupied by it and to prevent transfers, mortgages, subletting, or "other disturbing practices". Nothing appears to have been done upon this suggestion and although the tribe is apparently not declining in numbers and the area occupied by it is unlikely to attract the cupidity of its neighbours it is desirable that some measures should be taken to prevent the possibility of their extinction. Mr. J. A. Beale, Subdivisional Officer of Alipur Duar, has supplied (with one addition) the following note on the tribe :—

They all live in one *basti* and there are 61 houses in the *basti*. These houses are built on bamboo *machans* (platforms) and have four bamboo walls and a thatched roof; a log is cut into steps for a staircase. Fowls, pigs, etc., are kept below the houses. Each family has a separate house for living in but all members of the family have a common mess.

The men are a sturdy Mongolian type, very like Bhotias, and the women have Bhotia features. Men dress like Bhotias and wear rings, earrings and necklaces of glass and seed beads. The women wear their hair long and dress in *saris* like those worn by plains-women; for ornaments they have three or four gilt bangles, small earrings and necklaces made of glass and seed beads. Some men and women wear home-made leather sandals. The women go about freely to markets and other public places.

The only income of the Totos is derived from the sale of oranges which they grow on the hill sides. They also grow *marua*, *kauni* and vegetables, but only for home consumption. Liquor is made from *marua* and *kauni* is a small round grain. The women make white cloths from the cotton of a few cotton plants grown by them. They purchase red thread from Bhutan but prepare their own black dye from the leaves of certain plants. The diet of the Toto consists of rice, pulse, fish, fowl, beef, pig and vegetables.

The tribe has no written language and that which is spoken by them is unlike any other; but some of their numerals are the same as the Bhotia numerals.

The Toto takes unto himself only one wife. Both widowers and widows may remarry but it is said that divorce is not permitted. The fathers of the bride and bridegroom arrange a marriage. The bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom's father and stays there, and then the marriage takes place. There is no special marriage ceremony, but after a *pūja* a feast is given by the bridegroom to all. No expenditure is incurred. Sometimes the bridegrooms give ornaments to their brides, but this is not compulsory. Girls are married at any age after 12 years. There is no ceremony at a birth; nor is there any funeral ceremony. The dead are buried, but not in any particular place set apart for burials.

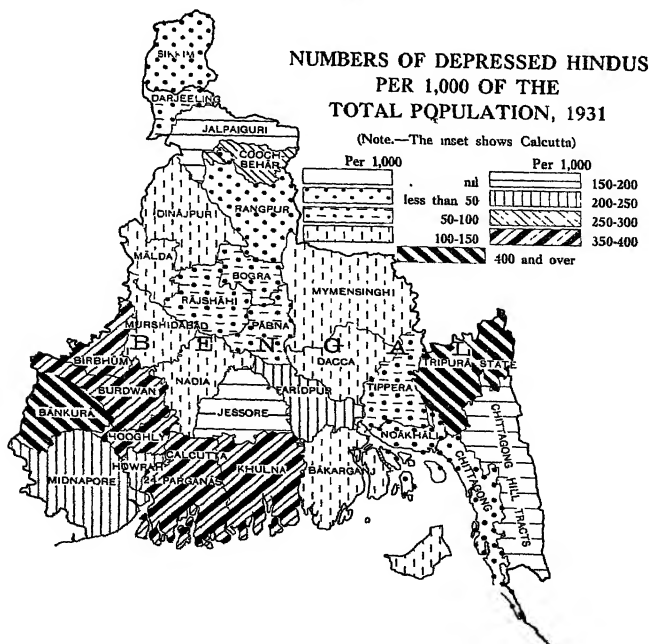
The religion of the Totos consists of the worship of a goddess called Kalswari (not to be confused with Kali). There is no image but a house is set apart for worship. A mound is constructed inside the house and on the mound is placed a large stone in the name of the goddess, and on it is put vermilion. Pigeons, fowls, and even pigs are sacrificed, and offerings of plantains and rice are made. There are two big *pujas*: one in about March and the other just after the rains set in. Special *puja* is made in the case of sickness. The community has two priests who live in separate houses near the house of worship. Besides doing *puja* the priests exercise evil spirits in which the people believe although their names are not known to any but the priests.

Mr. Beale's notes show an interesting divergence from the account of the tribe's religion in the Settlement Report of 1889-1895. It was then said that the tribe had no priests and each man made his own offerings. There were two deities, both of whom are to be propitiated against causing sickness or other troubles. Ishpa, a male god, whose worship consisted in the clearing of jungle from a small square of ground, in placing plantain leaves in the space thus cleared and upon them uncooked *alua* rice over which *eu* (fermented *kauni* liquor) had been poured and in them adding the flesh and blood of the cow, pig or cock sacrificed to him. Chima, a female deity, was worshipped inside the homestead with *alua* rice, hens and *eu*. Goats, hens and pigeons were unacceptable to Ishpa and cocks, pigs and pigeons to Chima.

615. **Turi** [R. II. 333].—This is a small tribe of basket-makers originating in Chota Nagpur principally found in Dinajpur, Malda and Jalpaiguri, which three districts supply between them nearly 70 per cent. of the total number (17,502) found in the province. They numbered 17,666 in 1911 when 1,198 were returned under trihal religions compared with 1,302 on the present occasion.

616. **Yakka** [R. II. 351; C. R. 1901, VI(i), 457].—No figures for this group were given in 1921. They numbered 1,283 in Bengal and 26 in Sikkim in 1911. The figures now are 873 in Bengal of whom all but 23 found in Calcutta are returned in Darjeeling and 142 in Sikkim.

DIAGRAM No. XII-11.



SUBSIDIARY TABLES

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Numerical and proportionate distribution of the

Division, district, city or state		Primitive Tribes				
		Total.	Tribal.	Hindu	Christian.	Buddhist
1		2	3	4	5	6
BENGAL	No.	1,781,723	528,975	1,056,098	29,457	167,193
	Per cent	3	1	2	..	..
BRITISH TERRITORY	No.	1,586,401	527,593	873,283	27,087	158,438
	Per cent	3	1	2	..	..
Burdwan Division	No.	628,897	238,115	388,906	1,853	23
	Per cent	1	3	4	..	..
Burdwan	No.	121,132	38,204	88,613	243	12
	Per cent	8	3	5	..	..
Burhum	No.	74,139	57,060	16,828	253	..
	Per cent	8	6	2	..	..
Bankura	No.	139,063	47,383	91,198	182	..
	Per cent	12	1	8	..	..
Midnapore	No.	239,138	86,245	152,104	607	..
	Per cent	9	3	6	..	..
Hoochly	No.	50,585	8,857	41,894	73	11
	Per cent	5	1	1	..	..
Howrah	No.	4,592	806	4,181	105	..
	Per cent	1	..	..	..	..
Howrah City	No.	639	104	479	57	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Presidency Division	No.	101,129	58,882	39,508	2,866	93
	Per cent	1	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	No.	53,421	36,951	16,241	229	..
	Per cent	8	1	..	..	..
Suburbs in 24-Parganas	No.	822	714	108	..	..
	Per cent	1	1	..	..	..
Calcutta	No.	3,175	428	1,063	963	98
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Nadia	No.	8,313	445	7,802	66	..
	Per cent	1	..	1	..	..
Murshidabad	No.	27,353	18,107	9,151	95	..
	Per cent	3	1	1	..	..
Jessore	No.	5,068	641	4,417	..	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Khulna	No.	3,809	2,082	204	1,513	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi Division	No.	611,152	200,597	385,460	21,748	23,347
	Per cent	6	2	4	..	..
Rajshahi	No.	56,274	18,106	37,906	261	1
	Per cent	4	1	3	..	..
Dinajpur	No.	109,360	67,404	94,187	4,763	6
	Per cent	9	4	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	No.	221,257	60,675	146,208	11,643	2,731
	Per cent	22	6	16	1	..
Darjeeling	No.	46,871	6,063	15,598	3,806	20,809
	Per cent	6	2	1	..	6
Rangpur	No.	15,121	8,233	6,132	716	..
	Per cent	1	..	..	..	..
Bogra	No.	13,319	2,204	10,947	76	..
	Per cent	1	..	1	..	..
Patna	No.	5,352	744	4,806	2	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Maldah	No.	86,898	36,158	49,661	1,070	..
	Per cent	8	3	3	..	..
Dacca Division	No.	57,234	17,398	39,838	..	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca	No.	1,931	2	1,929	..	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Dacca City	No.	118	..	118	..	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Mymensingh	No.	54,454	17,394	37,060	..	..
	Per cent	1	..	1	..	..
Fardpur	No.	711	..	711	..	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Bakarganj	No.	138	2	136	..	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong Division	No.	187,989	12,821	39,573	620	134,875
	Per cent	3	..	1	..	2
Tippera	No.	3,557	..	3,554	3	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Noakhali	No.	80	3	77	..	..
	Per cent . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	No.	28,324	1,059	3,544	..	28,721
	Per cent	1	..	..	..	2
Chittagong Hill Tracts	No.	156,728	11,759	33,098	617	111,254
	Per cent	74	6	16	..	63
BENGAL STATES	No.	195,322	1,382	182,815	2,370	8,755
	Per cent	20	..	19	..	1
Cooch Behar	No.	2,754	1,382	1,372	..	..
	Per cent	1	..	..	..	..
Tripura	No.	192,568	..	181,443	2,370	8,755
	Per cent	60	..	47	1	2
SIKKIM	No.	55,121	26,940	4	..	28,177
	Per cent	60	25	..	..	25

*Excluding Hindus shown in column 4.

†Excluding Christians shown in column 5.

‡Excluding Buddhists shown in column 6.

population by districts on a social and religious classification, 1931.

Hindus *				Muslims.	Others			
Total.*	Brahmans.	Depressed classes *	Others.		Total.	Christian :	Buddhist. :	All others.
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21,155,971 42	1,447,842 3	7,160,500 14	12,547,829 25	27,810,100 54	339,544 1	153,610	163,370 1	22,564 ..
20,697,124 11	1,438,177 3	7,126,090 14	12,132,857 24	27,497,624 55	332,853 1	153,212	157,593 1	22,048 ..
6,776,535 79	556,890 7	2,309,295 27	3,615,740 45	1,222,779 14	19,978	16,668	313	3,007 ..
1,156,259 73	117,404 7	543,076 36	493,180 21	292,471 19	5,237	5,197	90	530 ..
619,599 63	46,404 3	945,880 36	237,335 24	252,900 27	900	77	19	512 ..
920,456 63	102,809 9	533,075 31	469,842 45	51,019 3	1,190	1,140	1	20 ..
2,340,795 83	110,788 4	535,932 19	1,685,080 60	212,473 8	6,890	7,392	14	1,283 ..
882,107 79	84,167 7	300,846 27	497,154 44	180,217 16	1,026	934	50	44 ..
866,959 78	79,894 7	229,216 21	547,140 60	238,698 21	4,315	4,625	100	393 ..
173,134 77	29,664 10	33,690 13	109,789 49	45,256 22	2,514	1,159	19	306 ..
5,139,619 31	428,799 31	2,099,447 31	2,611,373 36	4,771,165 67	96,316	78,407	1,469	14,480 ..
1,726,149 64	107,251 3	512,799 28	806,112 39	913,293 24	21,074	19,791	400	552 ..
49,656 77	3,327 10	12,914 19	28,844 45	12,478 29	1,094	925	157	15 ..
280,000 69	159,101 10	121,176 10	540,280 46	311,153 26	61,904	46,531	2,125	12,355 ..
560,244 87	43,425 3	155,842 10	366,977 63	944,915 36	10,160	9,076	4	180 ..
580,400 43	35,519 3	181,542 13	368,330 26	701,283 36	1,312	960	12	1,027 ..
620,813 38	37,197 2	305,818 10	236,798 17	1,035,371 62	922	919	..	8 ..
616,416 50	46,308 3	322,286 23	247,837 15	804,009 54	1,014	954	27	93 ..
3,356,286 51	108,191 31	558,796 35	2,889,388 51	6,640,332 82	60,345	13,591	43,167	3,587 ..
288,119 80	20,642 2	73,720 3	191,741 10	1,033,105 76	1,327	1,305	13	246 ..
690,645 49	11,064 1	101,075 6	390,902 35	886,732 51	2,704	2,215	..	481 ..
517,807 63	4,065 1	40,000 4	469,982 48	245,851 14	5,012	3,124	4,772	446 ..
221,820 69	8,791 3	7,610 3	204,619 64	8,391 3	43,553	3,074	39,334	145 ..
740,894 28	18,099 1	87,119 3	635,176 14	1,836,840 71	2,430	970	36	1,424 ..
166,682 16	6,924 1	55,792 3	103,068 10	905,638 33	780	390	2	380 ..
327,501 23	23,300 2	83,755 6	220,496 13	1,111,712 77	200	420	..	408 ..
394,745 38	10,090 1	107,569 10	277,089 28	571,843 54	100	113	5	62 ..
3,919,434 23	253,317 2	1,776,783 23	1,889,834 13	9,832,289 71	54,447	41,446	12,417	684 ..
1,129,994 34	70,829 2	443,420 13	609,395 18	2,293,896 67	14,256	11,210	55	21 ..
79,906 68	8,465 6	8,842 6	63,199 46	57,764 41	739	443	26	21 ..
1,187,205 22	65,360 3	417,556 15	654,392 13	3,927,632 71	10,905	10,764	5	219 ..
846,353 36	55,443 2	490,637 21	300,273 13	1,307,157 64	7,994	7,347	13	444 ..
812,449 27	62,183 2	424,360 14	325,904 11	2,105,134 72	21,279	20,105	12,444	....
1,506,879 28	97,280 1	382,949 6	1,026,441 13	5,030,088 74	101,867	3,080	98,267	320 ..
747,870 24	46,583 1	239,448 11	492,899 16	2,356,099 76	2,309	344	1,601	....
366,814 29	19,858 3	84,136 3	282,770 16	1,339,055 74	1,270	795	475	....
388,808 29	32,000 2	64,972 3	297,778 17	1,326,298 71	53,600	1,609	51,775	....
3,678 2	279 ..	443 ..	2,066 ..	8,216 ..	44,300	142	41,149	....
458,847 47	9,465 1	34,410 3	414,972 43	312,476 32	6,891	398	5,777	516 ..
378,701 64	6,163 1	16,173 3	357,876 39	208,736 35	673	172	1	302 ..
80,146 21	4,312 1	18,236 3	57,596 13	103,720 27	6,016	226	5,778	14 ..
47,070 43	8,560 8	245 ..	38,285 35	104 ..	7,513	276	7,235	2 ..

*Includes 7 persons enumerated in the Sunderban Forest.
 **Includes 46 persons enumerated in the Sunderban Forest.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Strength of selected groups with proportion of total population and variations, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

Caste, tribe or Muslim social group	Actual population				Percentage on total population of Bengal.					Percentage of variation In-crease (+), Decrease (-)				Percentage of net variation
	1901.	1921.	1911	1901.	1901.	1921.	1911	1901.	1921-31	1911-21	1901-11	1901-31		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Adi-Kaibutta	352,072	384,049	320,455	265,308	•689	•807	705	•618	- 8	3	17	0	23	37
Budhi	997,576	805,397	1,015,738	1,015,983	1	•880	2 193	2	369	+ 10	- 11	8	0	2
Budya	110,789	102,931	88,790	81,212	•216	•186	191	•169	- 7	0	- 15	9	9	34
Bashnah (Bairagi)	387,771	376,107	423,385	400,371	•661	704	915	•832	- 10	- 10	8	9	7	13
Bardai	195,139	155,570	173,163	163,527	•381	•390	384	•382	+ 4	0	4	3	8	10
Baum	331,268	303,074	313,554	309,843	•448	•636	677	722	+ 9	8	3	4	1	9
Bhumani	72,804	81,932	91,978	86,312	142	172	168	206	- 11	- 2	10	9	3	15
Bhuga (Hindu)	40,370	69,383	68,070	49,023	•096	121	147	114	- 16	9	- 12	8	3	0
Bhuya (Trihal)	1,035	1,034	969	28	•002	•002	•002	•002	+ 0	0	0	7	3,860	7
Bhum	85,101	79,194	90,282	83,841	•165	106	124	105	+ 7	5	- 12	3	7	10
Brahman	1,417,691	1,309,539	1,253,338	1,106,919	2 834	2 752	2 707	2 720	+ 10	6	4	4	7	21
Chamar	150,453	125,372	138,553	122,577	•204	•205	309	•205	- 1	3	11	0	8	15
Dhobi	229,672	227,408	225,052	224,363	•449	477	492	•523	+ 1	0	- 9	8	1	3
Dom	149,007	150,283	173,381	186,013	•274	315	376	435	- 6	8	- 13	6	9	24
Dosedai	36,420	40,121	45,363	51,003	•071	•084	•095	•072	- 9	2	- 12	0	47	9
Gaula	599,238	523,970	649,438	685,550	1 173	1 228	1 396	1 489	+ 2	6	- 0	7	1	6
Hari	382,101	380,661	380,661	380,661	•275	•275	•275	•275	- 11	0	- 14	3	3	8
Jora and Jugi	384,554	365,010	361,141	342,070	•753	769	801	799	+ 5	- 1	- 1	8	3	12
Kalu and Teli	295,306	295,306	295,306	295,306	•575	•575	•575	•575	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kola	71,024	95,906	111,569	114,440	•129	•201	•240	•268	- 25	9	- 14	0	2	37
Kamar	245,531	250,827	263,329	269,019	•519	558	568	568	+ 3	4	- 2	4	0	3
Kara	107,903	110,655	112,291	111,042	•211	•232	242	•261	- 2	5	- 1	5	0	8
Kapali	165,589	158,364	154,415	145,066	•324	•333	333	•355	+ 4	- 2	- 9	9	1	13
Kavastha	1,558,475	1,397,739	1,115,384	984,448	3 045	2 727	2 404	2 399	+ 20	1	- 16	9	18	1
Koch	61,299	151,273	125,046	64,319	•159	275	270	•150	- 38	1	- 5	0	9	26
Kumhar	389,810	284,658	290,709	279,019	•597	•698	627	•650	+ 1	- 8	- 2	1	4	8
Kurari	194,652	182,447	176,779	155,353	•273	•381	377	•359	+ 7	- 4	- 3	6	14	8
Lohar	50,152	55,108	47,035	40,380	•093	130	101	•101	- 23	0	- 8	4	9	21
Mahisiya	2,351,226	2,210,681	2,137,943	1,952,794	4 001	4 645	4 610	4 553	+ 7	- 7	- 3	4	9	5
Mai	111,425	117,637	106,159	92,574	•247	233	238	•238	- 6	8	- 7	0	1	3
Mali	79,024	62,704	38,653	35,533	•154	110	988	•085	+ 39	5	+ 45	0	6	110
Malo	128,094	221,193	247,533	229,067	•458	454	534	•526	- 14	9	- 10	6	9	2
Murch	414,221	417,564	455,236	415,936	•510	577	581	•610	- 9	0	- 8	3	9	3
"Mumun" (Folaha) (Mivlum)	2,70,322	255,154	285,425	445,073	•363	309	1 042	1 042	+ 5	0	- 3	0	30	7
Namasandra	2,004,957	2,000,259	1,905,728	1,848,483	4 100	4 215	4 128	4 870	+ 4	4	8	1	3	13
Napit	451,088	444,138	447,306	431,922	•822	•933	•965	1 007	+ 1	5	- 0	7	8	4
Patni	49,589	49,589	49,589	49,589	•079	•092	137	•147	9	9	- 9	7	15	1
Pot	607,731	553,934	506,665	464,736	1 307	1 237	1 159	1 013	+ 13	6	- 9	7	15	4
Raibangsin	1,806,390	1,727,111	1,805,790	1,805,241	3 841	3 632	3 805	4 237	+ 4	0	- 4	5	11	9
Rajput	156,976	125,513	130,221	117,416	•307	•263	281	•273	- 26	1	- 3	0	1	3
Sadgop	571,772	533,236	550,017	558,893	1 119	1 120	1 188	1 303	+ 7	2	- 3	1	1	6
Shaha	420,190	559,731	324,927	428,215	•822	1 176	701	•998	- 24	9	+ 10	7	0	10
Sunni	70,830	92,422	119,325	120,787	•150	194	253	•251	- 15	18	- 9	2	14	6
Sayad (Muslim)	162,902	140,499	158,548	130,787	•258	•258	•258	•258	- 9	0	- 1	0	8	9
Tanti and Tatwa	300,518	310,613	322,953	312,927	•646	•671	•697	•729	+ 3	4	- 1	0	8	6
Teli	224,253	205,926	419,122	403,959	•439	•632	•904	•942	+ 9	2	- 14	1	3	9
Tora	207,583	207,583	207,583	207,583	•318	•318	•318	•318	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tyali	96,413	175,721	215,270	218,511	•188	•369	•464	•497	- 45	1	- 10	4	0	54

*Tells are included in Tills for this year or period.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Proportions borne by selected castes and tribes (a) to the total population, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1931 and (b) to the population in the areas in which they are principally found, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

NOTE.—Complete figures for all Bengal are not on record for 1921.

Caste or tribe.	Locality in which principally found	Per mille of total population in Bengal and Sikkim.				Per mille of the population of areas in which principally found			
		1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bhotia of Bhutan	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0 06	0 15	0 06	0 45	1 34	0 57	5 54	2 19
Bhotia of Nepal		0 20	0 15	0 10	0 45	7 34	5 45	4 40	5 45
Bhotia of Sikkim		0 23	0 25	0 20	0 45	8 45	7 09	9 14	8 10
Bhotia of Tibet		0 06	0 10	0 10	0 45	3 00	7 21	9 81	8 10
Chakma	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	2 45	1 26	1 16	1 07	197 88	102 45	101 03	103 87
Dama	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0 15	0 15	0 14	0 10	17 27	19 35	17 00	17 89
Gharu	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0 05	0 10	0 10	0 10	5 88	*	10 40	12 72
Gurung	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0 40	0 37	0 34	0 32	42 99	40 59	44 35	43 25
Hami	Myersong	0 56	0 52	0 52	0 52	6 29	3 95	5 79	5 68
Khamlu	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	1 22	1 31	1 04	0 89	43 77	45 03	45 40	40 94
Kumi	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0 41	0 40	0 32	0 24	14 36	13 92	14 07	12 55
Kiyang	Chittagong Hill Tracts	0 07	0 08	0 08	0 08	4 58	4 58	2 13	3 33
Khas	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0 22	0 42	0 36	0 36	29 96	19 85	53 21	48 19
Kuki	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	0 32	0 12	0 21	0 10	27 68	12 84	14 50	30 74
Lepcha	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0 50	0 40	0 45	0 39	58 59	51 28	53 81	62 87
Lamun	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0 05	0 05	0 54	0 44	19 74	17 47	20 20	21 24
Lohari	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	0 06	0 06	0 06	0 06	6 01	*	22 35	28 95
Majmar	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0 55	0 58	0 42	0 38	10 71	20 49	19 09	10 58
Mech	Jalpaiguri	0 20	0 46	0 57	0 47	11 96	11 51	22 35	28 95
Mru	Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	0 14	0 27	0 20	0 20	12 81	18 21	29 43	2 55
Munda	All Bengal	2 12	1 45	1 20	0 28	2 13	2 09	1 45	1 20
Murni	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0 32	0 32	0 77	0 62	29 33	30 53	30 50	30 07
Near	Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Sikkim	0 32	0 32	0 77	0 62	29 33	30 53	30 50	30 07
Oron	All Bengal	4 46	3 57	2 76	0 88	11 54	10 37	9 95	9 81
Santal	All Bengal	15 06	14 45	12 33	7 77	15 59	14 06	14 45	12 34
Sark	Darjeeling	0 07	0 07	0 05	0 05	7 61	7 20	7 50	7 82
Sunwar	Darjeeling and Sikkim	0 10	0 11	0 15	0 15	11 35	11 35	11 35	11 35
Taru	Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling	0 01	0 03	0 03	0 03	0 24	*	1 12	0 49
Tibba	Tripura, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Tripura State.	3 97	2 80	2 86	2 27	54 12	47 76	44 80	40 82
Toto	Jalpaiguri	0 06	0 06	0 06	0 06	0 38	*	0 26	0 22
Tukia	Darjeeling	0 06	0 06	0 06	0 06	2 66	*	4 50	4 50

*Not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Classification by natural divisions of the returns of Brahman sub-castes actually made.

Class, TERRITORIAL DIVISION and sub-caste	Bengal		West Bengal.		Central Bengal		*North Bengal		East Bengal			
									Dacca Division.		Chittagong Division	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Class I—Pancha Gauda	227,683	210,071	115,525	113,814	53,349	46,497	31,771	25,841	27,018	23,919	..	..
1 SARASWATA	286	91	125	77	125	4	38	10	..	..	..	..
2 "Maistry,"	28	13	14	13	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..
3 KANYAKUBJA	202,863	190,665	95,388	95,478	51,598	46,110	28,891	24,474	27,008	23,905	..	..
4 Vaidik	14,055	13,594	7,223	6,987	4,225	3,855	1,372	1,043	1,635	1,679	..	..
5 Paschatya Vaidik	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Ratri	148,979	143,098	81,000	83,500	40,731	36,043	8,010	7,117	18,333	15,746	..	..
7 Purbal	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8 Varendra	31,004	27,965	1,100	1,035	5,380	4,066	17,571	15,774	7,083	6,480	..	..
9 Madhyasreni	2,948	2,573	2,948	2,573	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 Saptasati	9	10	..	..	..	..	9	10	..	..	..	..
11 Kanyakubja—sub-caste not further specified	6,188	3,725	3,067	2,271	1,812	924	829	530	..	..	..	..
12 GAUDIYA	4,802	3,883	3,865	3,285	897	259	40	39	..	..	..	..
13 Gaudadya	497	350	423	345	69	35	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Gaudadya	69	35	..	..	69	35	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 Vyasika	428	345	428	345	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16 MAITHILA	3,125	1,738	781	525	282	60	2,082	1,151	..	..	..	..
17 "Behari"	6	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Sakadwip	265	217	919	217	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
19 Malini—sub-caste not further specified	2,864	1,519	632	808	276	60	2,036	1,151	..	..	..	..
20 UKKAL	16,840	13,638	15,863	13,407	435	84	742	147	..	..	..	..
21 Dakshinaty Vaidik	314	276	313	276	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Panda	35	28	81	22	..	..	4	8	..	..	..	..
23 "Adhikari"	70	11	45	11	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24 Uttal—sub-caste not further specified	16,421	13,828	15,274	13,098	409	64	738	161	..	..	..	..
25 TERRITORIAL DIVISION NOT SPECIFIED.	27	58	3	44	12	..	..	..	12	14	..	..
26 "Maulik"	1	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 "Mia"	12	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28 "Barma"	12	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	14	..	..
29 "Srotiya"	2	42	2	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Class II—Pancha Dravida	213	149	98	60	23	89	89	..	..	..	..	..
30 MAHARASHTRIYA	137	20	39	13	9	7	89	..	..	..	..	..
31 Yajurvedi	24	12	24	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32 ANDHRA OR TAILANGA	7	1	2	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
33 "Adra"	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 "Telugu"	1	2	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 DRAVIDA	65	50	52	39	13	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 GURJARA	2	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37 Gujarti	1	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38 "Saurashtra"	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
39 UNSPECIFIED	2	76	1	5	1	71	..	..	..	..	..	..
40 "Madras"	2	76	1	5	1	71	..	..	..	..	..	..
Class III—Other divisions not falling certainly within the first two main classes.	556,367	453,228	171,335	149,801	197,303	131,541	33,127	22,516	101,688	100,694	52,916	48,676
41 KAMRUPI	16	8	1	..	1	..	13	8	..	..	..	..
42 Assami	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
43 KASHMIRI	10	3	3	3	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..
44 NEPALI	85	33	1	..	23	..	81	33	..	..	..	..
45 TERRITORIAL DIVISION NOT GIVEN	586,257	463,184	171,330	149,788	197,279	131,541	33,048	22,476	101,688	100,694	52,916	48,676
46 Acharya	8,285	8,950	5,940	5,678	710	605	490	377	2,149	1,688	..	..
47 Acharya	6,082	7,221	4,301	4,537	710	605	490	377	2,149	1,688	..	..
48 Grahacharya	1,145	1,127	1,145	1,127	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Jotava	2	2	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
50 Agnikartia (Marupora)	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
51 Agnanti	908	799	602	624	62	59	65	44	89	72	..	..
52 Barma	4,269	3,606	2,852	2,427	384	232	561	509	652	418	..	..
53 Kapali	12	15	..	..	12	15	25	28	..	..	..	..
54 Bhat	1,948	1,758	1,413	1,264	476	470	23	28	36	56	..	..
55 Bhunhar	12	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
56 Chaudhan	14	6	..	..	14	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
57 Daibarna	16	28	..	..	..	..	16	28	..	..	..	..
58 "Deval" (Devalya)	1	4	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
59 "Goswami"	140	11	116	1	1	..	..	..	28	10	..	..
60 Jan	35	14	30	11	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
61 "Jhalia"	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
62 "Khandewala"	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
63 "Khatriya"	189	101	..	..	..	..	..	189	101	..	..	..
64 "Nanakpanthi"	5	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
65 "Panchali"	35	..	..	..	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
66 "Trivot"	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
67 Others	589,496	438,507	160,427	139,844	195,641	130,146	31,044	21,492	98,568	96,849	52,916	48,676

*Rajshahi Division with Cooch Behar.
†Chittagong Division with Tripura State.

APPENDIX I

The depressed classes

1. **Introduction.**—The notification of the Government of India in which the taking of the census was prescribed contained the following directions :—

"The Government of India also desire that attention should be paid to the collection of information conducive to a better knowledge of the backward and depressed classes and of the problem involved in their present and future welfare."

In accordance with this direction the Census Commissioner instructed Census Superintendents as follows :—

"For this purpose it will be necessary to have a list of castes to be included in depressed classes and all provinces are asked to frame a list applicable to the province. There are very great difficulties in framing a list of this kind and there are insuperable difficulties in framing a list of depressed classes which will be applicable to India as a whole."

The Government of Bengal was accordingly consulted, but no decision was reached before it became necessary to lay down what classes should be treated as depressed for the purposes of extracting the census figures and it is not yet known whether any list has been adopted as final by the local Government. The classification appearing therefore throughout the census report may differ in some respects from any which may be subsequently adopted by the Government of Bengal.

2. **Meaning of the term "Depressed classes."**—The expression "depressed classes" is of comparatively recent coinage and is in many respects unfortunate. It does not translate any actual vernacular term in common use in Bengal, nor does it describe any class the members of which can be defined with accuracy. It is a term in itself indefinite. In European countries it is applied to the chronically indigent portion of the population and connotes an economic condition. It can be applied anthropologically in a psychological sense to describe that state of mind engendered in a primitive people when it finds itself in contact with a dominant society based upon principles entirely different from and disregarding the traditionally accepted sanctions of tribal life. This psychological condition has been convincingly put forward as one at least of the elements leading to the depopulation of Melanesia and it has an interesting counterpart in the "discouragement" from which Mr. George Bernard Shaw makes visitors to the island die off in contact with the civilization of the ancients in "Back to Methuselah." In general use, however, the term in India though not applying to exactly similar strata of population in different parts, is used to describe those members of the community who in common social estimation are considered to be inferior, degraded, outcaste or not fit in any way for social and religious intercourse on reasonably equal terms with members of the clean or higher castes. It represents a problem which arises only within the fold of Hinduism, namely the problem of those Hindu groups who by the accident of birth are denied and never can by any individual merit achieve social consideration or spiritual benefits which are the birthright without consideration of personal merit equally of all persons born into the higher castes.

3. **The criterion of the depressed classes.**—It is, however, by no means a simple matter to devise a satisfactory criterion by which to distinguish the depressed classes. The problem itself being essentially social and religious, the criteria, which have been at various times suggested, themselves depend upon social observance or social precedence. During the census of 1901 the castes in Bengal were distinguished into seven groups upon an elaborate classification. The first group contained Brahmans only as the acknowledged superiors of all other classes in the caste hierarchy. In the second group were placed castes whose respectability was never in question and who are either twice-born or were held to be superior to all other Sudra castes. The third group consisted of the so-called *navasakka*, or nine branches, now indeed containing more than nine groups but all characterised by being held worthy to offer water the drinking of which would not pollute the higher classes. Below this third group were distinguished a fourth containing clean castes with degraded Brahmans; a fifth containing castes lower than group 4 whose water is not usually accepted, a sixth comprised of low castes abstaining from beef, pork and fowls and seventh embracing castes by whom forbidden foods were eaten and who pursue the most degraded occupation as scavengers, etc. In 1911 the Census Commissioner for India directed provincial superintendents to enumerate castes and tribes returned as Hindus who do not conform to certain standards or are subject to certain disabilities, "leaving the reader to draw his own inferences." They were asked to prepare a list of all but the minor castes which quâ castes :—

- (1) deny the supremacy of the Brahmans;
- (2) do not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognised Hindu *guru*;
- (3) deny the authority of the Vedas;
- (4) do not worship the great Hindu gods;
- (5) are not served by good Brahmans as family priests;
- (6) have no Brahman priests at all;
- (7) are denied access to the interior of Hindu temples;
- (8) cause pollution (a) by touch; (b) within a certain distance;
- (9) bury their dead; or
- (10) eat beef and do not do reverence to cow.

The enquiry was intended to furnish material, if possible, from which an answer could be given to the difficult question "who is a Hindu". Up to 1916 in Bengal at least the expression "depressed classes" was unknown. In 1916 however the Bengal Government was invited to prepare a list of the depressed classes and submitted a list including certain criminal tribes and aboriginals and amounting in all to 31 groups. This list was used by the Commissioner for Education in writing his quinquennial report on the progress of education in India for the years 1912-1917. The term thus introduced remained and both the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) and the census report for 1921 contained lists of the depressed classes. In neither of these last instances, however, was any clear criterion set forth to show on what grounds the groups were included. The Indian Statutory Commission without giving any definite criterion referred to them as the

"lowest castes recognised as being within the Hindu religious and social system Their essential characteristic is that according to the tenets of orthodox Hinduism, they are, though within the Hindu system, untouchable—that is to say, that for all other Hindus they cause pollution by touch and defile food and water. They are denied access to the interior of an ordinary Hindu temple (though this is also true of some who would not be classed as 'untouchable'). They are not only the lowest in the Hindu social and religious system, but with few individual exceptions are also at the bottom of the economic scale and are generally quite uneducated. In the villages they are normally segregated in a separate quarter and not infrequently eat food which would not be touched by any section of the Hindu community."

At a later date the franchise Committee, driven to lay down simple criteria, adopted No. 7 and 8 of the distinctions made in the census report of 1911. For Bengal these distinctions have been elaborated on behalf of the Depressed Classes Association as follows :

- (a) castes from whose hands the three high castes or even the *navashaka* (that is, the caste-Hindus) would not accept water and whose presence either in the kitchen or in the room where water and cooked food are kept would pollute the same according to their estimation ;
- (b) castes who would not be allowed into any public temple and whose presence there would defile articles of worship ;
- (c) castes who would not be allowed to enter or to have their meals inside the dining room of an hotel or eating house run by caste Hindus ;
- (d) castes at whose socio-religious functions Srottriya Brahmins (that is the priests) officiating in such functions in the house of the caste-Hindus would not officiate ; and
- (e) castes who would not be served by the Srottriya Napit (that is the Barber) whose services are necessary in various socio-religious functions of the Hindus.

4. **Defects of the criteria suggested.**—The difficulty of applying any or all of these criteria is very considerable. They reduce themselves naturally to religious or social disabilities and in not a single instance is there any criterion put forward which *prima facie* ought to attract the attention of the administration on the ground that some incident of citizenship in a free and democratic country is thereby denied to any class of persons. The existence of such disabilities is not denied and will be discussed later but at this stage what is emphasised is the fact that all the criteria hitherto mentioned are entirely matters of social and religious consideration and that, if they involved no civic disabilities, they would be entirely irrelevant to any consideration by Government of the problem of the depressed classes.

5. **Temple entry.**—As regards the prohibition of temple entry, it is at the outset clear that those castes to whom temple entry is denied, in many cases, would have no desire or opportunity to enter them. In many cases indeed by no stretch of the imagination could they be considered to have any claim to enter them, for many places of worship are private or family temples endowed for specific purposes. Entry to the majority of the great public temples in Bengal such as those at Kalighat and Tarakeswar is closed to a very small proportion indeed of the Hindu population. Secondly, during recent years at least, there has been a strong agitation, not uncoloured by political considerations, for a relaxation of the exclusiveness of temple entry. In Khulna, Dacca and Jessore, movements have been successfully instigated for securing the privilege of temple entry in certain cases to groups to whom it had been previously denied and on more than one occasion during the past five years instances have occurred in which *sarvajatin pujas* have been celebrated with the express purpose of including all classes of the community in a common worship. There still apparently exists on the statute book a regulation (No. IV of 1809) section 7 of which prohibits by law entry into the temple of Jagannath at Puri of a number of castes ; but the regulation is almost a century and a quarter old and what is of importance is not the actual regulation but the extent to which public opinion enforces it and upon this point there appears to be no recorded up-to-date information. Vaishnavism, particularly popular in Bengal, has done much to obliterate a rigid insistence upon caste distinctions and in this same temple one of the conditions of worship is that pilgrims may not refuse to accept from the hands of any castes, whatever, the food offered to the diety. In short, disabilities regarding the right to worship or enter into temples are largely conventional or not immune from change and in any case do not properly constitute a title to special consideration in the body politic, so long as they are confined purely to the social and religious life of the community.

6. **Service of Brahmins and Barbers.**—A similar argument holds in respect of the grievance made of the fact that the services of high class brahmins and *srottriya* napits cannot be obtained by some of the lower castes. It does not even follow that these castes are denied the consolation of religion or must go unshorn and unshaved, for if they have no Brahmins of their own these

castes are ready to supply priests from their own ranks and they also obtain the services of barbers and washermen, the other two classes of essential servants in the Hindu polity, even if these are not of the same position as those serving the higher castes. Moreover, here too the disability is one which is not irremovable. The agitation for temple entry and for the abolition of untouchability actually resulted recently in a resolution passed by the provincial Hindu Sabha that a priest, barber and washerman should be attached to each branch association for the specific service of members of the untouchable classes; and it is probably true to say that a sufficiently cultured and wealthy member of any of the untouchable classes, or a sufficiently wealthy and influential group of them can secure the services of a rather superior priest, barber and washerman according to their wealth.

7. **Pollution by touch.**—There is a similar conventionality and flexibility about the very idea of uncleanness and pollution. In Bengal there are no groups which pollute the higher castes by mere propinquity. By touch it is admitted on all hands that members of the higher castes can be rendered ceremonially impure, but the strictness with which this sentiment is observed is definitely being relaxed. It is becoming more a question of personal cleanliness and the character of a man's occupation which decides whether one of the higher castes shall consider himself polluted sufficiently by contact with him to require ceremonial purification. Moreover the exigencies of modern life make it impossible for the highest castes to enquire too narrowly into the caste of persons with whom travel in trains, trams and buses and occupation in cities bring them into contact. Amongst even the higher castes, indeed, it is generally only pollution when engaged in some religious ceremony which is considered to be important and to require expiation. Finally the extent to which members of the higher castes feel themselves polluted differs in respect of the same group from place to place.

8. **Food and drink tabus.**—There is an even greater divergence in different places as regards the food and drink tabus of the higher classes. It is clearly a little unreasonable for anyone to make a grievance of the fact that his presence in the kitchen of a Brahman will spoil the food and pollute the utensils therein if he has no right to be there at all and no title to demand that he should be admitted there. Similarly it is only in social estimation and not in a practical way that those castes suffer, which are not considered fit to offer drinking water to the higher classes, whilst this privilege is far from uniform throughout Bengal. The convenience of the higher castes also results in the existence of a host of exceptions and legal fictions, by which in certain circumstances food or drink can be accepted from inferior castes upon the ground, for instance, that it is not the kind of cooked food which can be polluted or that it does not fall within the class of article which the higher castes may not take at the hands of a lower caste. Amongst the more educated Hindus food and drink tabus are becoming more and more a matter of personal taste. Dining together on public occasions is increasing and in most cases it is probably only on ceremonial occasions that the prohibitions are strictly observed. The prohibitions themselves are no less unsuitable for acceptance as a criterion of social condition from the fact that they are entirely irrational. It is, for instance, an entirely irrational convention which places groups like the wealthy and cultured Subarnabaniks amongst the *jalavyavahariya* classes from whom the higher castes may not accept water. All non-Hindus are in the same position and even members of progressive, cultured and liberal Hindu sects, such as the Brahmos are equally *jalavyavahariya* with the lowest classes.

9. **Civic disabilities.**—These religious and social disabilities, therefore, as such are all first indefinite, secondly, conventional, thirdly, liable to modification in different places, at different times and with different members of the same community and, fourthly, in any case (so far as they are purely social and religious disabilities) in themselves of no interest whatever to the administration. They are properly the object of reform within the community and stress of political interest if nothing else will most probably lead to their amelioration. During 1931 the principal Hindu association passed a resolution in Bengal in which it

"recognises the complete social equality of all castes and emphatically declares that there is no inherent superiority of one caste over the other and supports all efforts to remove inequalities."

The same association adopted as one of its principles that no caste should be *jalavyavahariya*. These are still probably more the expression of abstract principles than practical rules of conduct, but it is significant that they should have been affirmed. Social and religious disabilities become of interest to the administration only when they are accompanied by a disability to take advantage of administrative conveniences provided not for a class of the community only but for the community at large. In Madras there are groups to whom the use of public roads, public wells, public markets and public burial grounds are all denied. The extent to which the lowest classes in Bengal suffer from similar disabilities is extremely small. They may be considered under three aspects, namely, exclusion from (a) roads, (b) wells and (c) schools.

10. **Exclusion from public roads, wells and schools.**—In Bengal nowhere is any caste excluded from a public road merely on account of the position of the caste. In certain areas the very lowest classes of scavengers, sweepers, etc., are not allowed, as in Malda and Hooghly, to use the public wells, but in most cases the restriction does not exist at all, and where it exists, it is either dependent upon the size or nature of the well or is overcome by some form of adjustment between the classes. In some districts, for instance, members of the sweeper classes are not allowed to use *kacha* wells but may use masonry wells, or they are excluded from wells with a diameter less than a certain distance (say 6 feet) but are permitted to use larger wells than these. In some cases the higher castes, in a manner of speaking take the disability upon themselves and voluntarily leave certain wells exclusively to the lower castes; or the lower castes, when they wish to draw water, will not let down their own vessels or touch the vessel used for drawing

the water by higher castes but will wait beside the well till one of the higher castes fills their vessels. As regards schools the Calcutta University Commission (Chapter X, section viii, page 221) came to the conclusion more than ten years ago that

"although children may belong to the lowest classes of the Hindu social system or be outside the pale of caste altogether there is no difficulty of their being admitted to primary schools."

In Malda, it is reported that, children of the untouchable classes were not allowed to attend schools; and some difficulty is reported from Nadia in getting their children admitted. In schools founded by institutions for a particular purpose it is of course possible that the conditions of entry may restrict admission to members of the higher castes. Elsewhere, however, if any disabilities exist at all, they are generally confined, as in parts of Rajshahi and Jessore to the requirements that a child of the untouchable classes shall sit on a separate seat from the higher caste boys. In most cases children of a sweeper caste would be admitted into a *pathshala* or a primary school as a matter of course and, as was reported in Howrah district, no caste could object to sitting with them and learning lessons. In Bankura district, indeed, boys of the Muchi and Dom castes have carried through their course of education without any objection whatever being raised by the higher castes with whom they received instruction. Moreover a society for the improvement of the backward classes has for many years done much for the depressed and educationally backward classes by the establishment of a large number of schools intended for them. The Depressed Classes' Association also maintains a very large number of schools, principally for their own members to which, however, there is no exclusive restriction of admission. These schools are both primary and secondary and are to be found in many districts throughout the province.

11. The problem of political representation.—As a social question, therefore, the problem of the depressed classes is primarily one for Hindu society to tackle for itself. As an administrative problem demanding the cognisance of Government, social and religious disabilities are unsatisfactory as a test of the classes to be included whilst the extent to which the depressed classes are denied participation in the advantages and conveniences maintained by the administration is so small as to be negligible. For the administration, in fact, the problem of the depressed classes in Bengal practically does not exist, save in so far as special measures are necessary to improve their economic condition and standard of education. The prominence which it acquires is largely due to the questions raised in comparatively recent years as regards separate representation in the legislatures for members of these classes. For Bengal at least, therefore, the attempt to treat any social usage or any civic disability as a clear criterion by which to distinguish the depressed classes is bound to fail and some other distinction must be sought. It is necessary to retain the untouchables since the Census Commissioner has explained depressed classes as

"castes contact with whom entails purification on the part of the high-caste Hindus."

He added

"it is not intended that the term should have any reference to occupation as such but to those castes which by reason of their traditional position in Hindu society are denied access to temples for instance, or have to use separate wells or are not allowed to sit in schools but have to remain outside or have to suffer similar social disabilities."

The question of preparing lists of the depressed classes for each province was discussed at a meeting of the Superintendents of Census Operations in January 1931. As a result of this discussion the Census Commissioner announced

"for the purposes of the census of India I propose at present to retain the term depressed classes to indicate untouchables, whether of the milder or of the more severe degree of untouchability."

It was decided also that Muslims and Christians should be excluded and that generally speaking the hill and forest tribes who had not become Hindu but whose religion was returned as tribal should also be excluded.

12. A. Untouchables: (i) Sweeper and scavenging castes.—As to the sweepers and scavenging castes there would be general agreement. In statement No. XII-a shown in

STATEMENT NO. XII-a.
Sweepers and scavenging castes.

Name of caste.	Bengal, British districts			Bengal States.		
	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
All castes below	477,199	247,589	229,610	5,094	2,507	2,587
Bhummah ..	69,803	35,314	34,489	3,001	1,460	1,541
Dom ..	138,926	70,773	68,153	1,141	511	630
Halalkhor ..	876	502	374	..	..	..
Hari ..	131,852	67,213	64,639	541	311	230
Kaora ..	107,867	56,901	50,966	41	38	5
Kichak ..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Kichak ..	4,865	3,489	1,476	..	..	..
Leibegi ..	22,908	13,395	9,513	370	188	181
Mentor ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

margin their names are given with their total numbers in Bengal (British Territory) and Bengal States. The detailed notes on caste distribution contain a reference to the accounts in Risley's "Tribes and Castes" and in previous census reports in which these castes are described. The total number of persons recorded in British Bengal under names of scavenging castes is 477,199, of whom 247,589 are males and 229,610 females. In Bengal States their number is 5,094 (male 2,507, female 2,587). All these castes pursue degraded occupations and so far as is known it has never been suggested on any view that, if a separate category of depressed classes is formed, they have not the first claim to inclusion within it.

13. (ii) **Other untouchables.**—The sweeper castes, however, are not the only groups which would be covered in Bengal by the definition of the Census Commissioner. The castes shown in statement No. XII-b would certainly be included. This statement contains a number of

STATEMENT NO. XII-b.

Other untouchables.

Name of caste	Bengal, British districts			Bengal States.		
	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
All castes below	5,654,653	2,919,171	2,735,482	22,376	12,771	9,605
Bagdi	887,333	496,075	490,058	237	117	120
Bahela	4,448	2,214	2,235			
Bauri	330,893	164,040	166,853	345	165	80
Bhuiya	49,228	27,559	21,667	144	73	72
Bind	19,160	10,365	8,795	358	201	157
Bhunjha	203	102	101	114	55	59
Chamar	148,661	99,439	55,222	1,797	1,063	734
Dahi		(Not extra c'd.)				
Dhenuni	44	21	23			
Dhobi	228,687	120,316	108,351	1,005	541	464
Doai	1,073	552	521	887	498	448
Dosadh	35,928	24,328	11,600	462	378	119
Ghasi	5,222	2,822	2,400	80	71	19
Hadi	14,334	8,154	6,180			
Hajang	19,593	10,066	9,527			
Kadar	1,078	619	459			
Kan	28	24	4	38	18	25
Kandh	530	596	252	675	404	271
Kochi	80,092	41,080	38,972	1,297	674	623
Konwai	133	78	55			
Kotal	7,651	3,852	3,799			
Kurariar		(Not extra c'd.)				
Mahli	49,953	25,928	24,025	214	138	76
Mali	16,282	8,211	8,051	13	13	
Mal	111,154	54,078	57,076			
Mallah	25,001	16,085	9,216	351	267	94
Malpahariya	11,781	6,081	5,700	1		
Muchi	411,891	220,103	191,716	2,400	1,870	530
Musahar	11,515	6,378	5,136	98	105	105
Naiya	3	3		37	17	20
Namasudra	2,089,213	1,002,612	1,023,601	8,744	4,701	3,953
Paliya	43,180	22,862	20,298			
Pan	791	530	261	1,064	781	383
Pasi	18,628	12,651	5,977	297	163	144
Patui	39,290	20,115	19,175	1,476	714	762
Pod	687,731	339,072	328,659			
Pundari	31,255	17,354	13,901			
Rajwar	21,415	10,841	10,574	22	13	9
Sunri	76,779	39,614	36,865	141	89	35
Tivar	96,375	48,385	47,990	38	7	31

The Koochi with the allied group, the Paliyas, are the original inhabitants of Cooch Behar and neighbouring regions. The Bhuiyas, Binds, Binjias, Dhenuars, Kurariars, Mahlis, Malpaharias and Rajwars are all similarly to be found originating in Chota Nagpur and Bihar, and the term Lohar is intended to refer not to the Kamars or Karmakars of either Bengal or Bihar but to members of aboriginal groups from these regions who have taken to iron work and often even call themselves Kamars or Karmakars. Bahelias, Dosadhs, Ghasis, Kadars, and Pans also come from Bihar and the origin of the Kandhs is to be sought in Orissa. Groups like the Kotalas, Mals, Naiyas and Pasis are described as "non-Aryan" or "Dravidian" by Risley. Many of these groups are found in comparatively small numbers in Bengal and their small numbers have resulted in their being omitted when previous lists of "depressed classes" have been under preparation. The total number of groups included in this statement amounts in British districts to 5,654,653 of whom 2,919,171 are males and 2,735,482 are females. Added to the numbers in statement No. XII-a they give totals for the untouchables of 6,131,852 in all or 3,166,760 males and 2,965,092 females. In Bengal States the number of this group is 22,376 (male 12,771, female 9,605).

14. **An ad hoc criterion for the depressed classes.**—An attempt has been made to show that untouchability itself does not involve disabilities of a nature to attract the special interest of the administration. The position would, perhaps, be more clearly stated if it were put somewhat differently. The untouchables claim the special consideration of Government not *qua* untouchable, and governmental responsibility for them arises not from their social and religious disabilities, but from other conditions. These conditions would remain even if untouchability were removed. If it were possible to imagine caste Hindu society undergoing a universal change of heart and effectively admitting untouchables to all the privileges which are now denied them on religious grounds, they would still remain in poverty and ignorance and both their conditions of life and their mental outlook would still be deplorable. If every untouchable were forthwith invested with the sacred thread and given the status of a Brahman it would be a very long time before the class unaided could derive any benefit from its elevation. A spectacular removal of untouchability, if it were effective, would still leave the ex-untouchables in conditions entitling them to special consideration. In the terms of His Majesty's Instrument of Instructions to the Governor of the Province it would still be true that

"from their lack of educational and material advantages they rely specially upon the protection of government and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action."

Moreover they would not be and are not now the only classes "relying specially upon the protection of Government" for the same reasons. Other groups also, from poverty, ignorance, apathy, inertness and lack of ambition induced by generations of inferiority and the suppression of initiative or from tradition and environment or from the primitive level of their general development and the stress of contact with a different culture are not in a position to avail themselves on equal terms of the advantages offered by the administration and are in danger of having their interests neglected or subordinated to those of classes more fortunately situated.

For these also Government has a special responsibility and that responsibility becomes more prominent if the form of government is increasingly democratic unless it provides some safeguard that these interests will not be overlooked. The list of depressed classes has consequently been extended to include such groups as appear at the present time to be included on these grounds. The criterion is incidentally identical with that suggested in a memorandum to the Franchise Committee by the Hon. Mr. E. A. B. Blunt, O.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. He offered the following *ad hoc* definition as a standard of decision:

"A depressed class is one whose social, economic and other circumstances are such that it will be unable to secure adequate representation of its political views or adequate protection of its interests without some form of special franchise concession."

The remaining classes included in the list thus extended may be divided into two: one containing the Hindus of groups of aboriginal derivation (amongst whom Christians and Buddhists also may be found as well as persons professing tribal religions) and the other comprising such groups as on the criterion suggested appear to be entitled to have special franchise concessions.

15. **B. Aboriginal tribes.**—The groups of aboriginal derivation shown in the accompanying statement No. XII-c are those given in subsidiary table I to chapter XII as primitive peoples with the exception of the Hill Tribes. No entirely satisfactory justification can be offered for

STATEMENT NO. XII-c.

Groups of aboriginal derivation not included in statement No. XII-b.

Name of group	Bengal, British districts			Bengal States		
	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
All groups below	867,109	445,255	421,854	189,200	87,908	81,291
Agaria	230	159	71	..	..	..
Asur	..	(Not extracted.)	..	..	..	..
Bhumij	83,995	41,700	42,295	452	240	212
Birhor	..	(Not extracted.)	..	..	..	..
Garo	35,518	18,473	17,045	2,363	1,161	1,232
Ho	18	15	3	4	..	..
Kaur	1,894	887	777	117	1	110
Koda (Kora)	46,617	23,778	22,839	172	131	41
Korwa	..	(Not extracted.)	..	..	..	..
Lodha	10,864	5,738	5,125	37	24	13
Mech	4,798	2,694	2,104	77	52	25
Munda	61,043	32,088	28,957	2,084	1,190	874
Nagesa	2,017	1,177	71	38	38	85
Oraon	135,412	72,641	62,771	1,015	648	369
Rabha	1,138	660	478	838	483	455
Santhal	432,791	218,920	213,841	741	395	346
Tipara	34,876	17,450	17,426	83,498	77,481	..
Turi	18,059	8,379	7,080	140	50	90

the general body of Hinduism. Amongst the Hadis and Hajjengs, for instance, hinduisation has gone so far as to result in a claim to Kshattriya status and the same is true of the Kochh. It may be said of all primitive peoples that in general no question of the depressed classes arises amongst them so long as they remain under their own tribal beliefs and customs, but we are concerned now only with the Hindu members of the tribes and there is no doubt that, although they are now-a-days given conventionally the status of Kshattriyas by the Hindu missionaries who convert and initiate them, the Hindu converts of these groups of aboriginal derivation do not step into the social position associated with the Kshattriya status and that both before conversion and afterwards in contact with other Hindus a pronounced sense of social inferiority is developed. The list here given includes the majority of the Mundari and Oraon peoples, viz., the Agarias, Asur, Bhumij, Birhor, Ho, Koda, Korwa, Munda, Santhali and Turi and the Oraons; the allied Nagesias; the Garos; the Bodo groups, Mech and Rabha; and the Tiparas.

16. **C. Other depressed classes.**—Statement No. XII-d contains a number of castes which may not be definitely or universally untouchable but are of very low status in Hindu society. The

STATEMENT NO. XII-d.

Other depressed classes not included in statements Nos. XII-a to XII-c.

Name	Bengal, British districts			Bengal States		
	Both sexes.	Males	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.
Total	1,188,044	623,235	564,809	7,267	3,863	3,384
Balti	8,888	4,766	4,122	..	..	..
Bediya	6,891	3,529	3,362	352	169	183
Beidar	3,138	1,628	1,511	..	..	..
Berua	397	177	190	..	..	..
Bhatiya	322	147	175	..	..	..
Damai	6,032	3,034	2,998	17	17	..
Gonrhi	5,149	1,778	3,371	..	..	..
Jaliya Kalbarta	348,858	181,330	168,528	2,213	1,176	1,037
Jhalo, Malo	187,789	101,846	95,943	310	282	48
Kalu and Tell	293,234	166,161	134,063	2,082	1,204	878
Kalwar	13,383	8,877	4,506	148	87	61
Kandra	4,890	2,483	2,397	34	14	20
Kapali	163,680	85,866	78,314	1,903	876	1,027
Kapuria	170	98	72	..	..	..
Karanga	9,855	4,949	4,906	..	..	..
Khatik	1,157	762	395	..	..	..
Konai	41,053	20,822	20,136	..	..	..
Mahar	1,791	935	855	168	68	180
Nagar	16,191	8,004	8,147	13	13	..
Nat	7,348	3,798	3,552	..	..	..
Raju	56,778	29,318	27,460	..	..	..
Shagirdpesha	333	166	177	..	..	..

aspire to a caste nomenclature pronouncing them to be of the twice-born classes. A similar claim is made for the second group, found principally in Dacca, which is included with the Kharwar Nats amongst those shown as Nats. The total number of persons in British districts included in this category is 1,188,044 of whom 623,235 are males and 564,809 females. In Bengal States the number is 7,267 (male 3,883, female 3,384). In spite of social ambitions their present position in society and in some cases their small numbers entitle them to special consideration.

17. **Comparison with previous lists.**—A comparison with the groups included in the various lists at any time prepared in Bengal is afforded by statement No. XII-f printed at the end of this appendix. Groups included for the first time in 1931 are in general castes or tribes who have been overlooked previously owing to the small numbers or the fact that they are not indigenous in Bengal. The accompanying statement No. XII-e shows the principal groups, included in 1921 and now omitted, regarding whom some controversy may arise. The entry Kaira in the list of 1921 appears to be a mistake. No figures were given for the group anywhere in the report for that year and it does not appear to be mentioned in any ethnographic book of reference. After the census was held an enquiry was made in Midnapore where they are stated to be found but none were discovered. The entry is probably a misprint for Khaira and this group is given in Risley's *Caste's and Tribes of Bengal* as (a) a cultivating sub-caste of Bagdis and (b) a synonym of Koras.

In the census report for 1901, vol. VI, part I, page 392, comment is made on the difficulty of distinguishing between Kora, Kharia and Kharwar. It is probable that they should have been included in the number of some one or other of the depressed classes and that their appearance under a separate name is an omission of classification. In any case they are entitled to be included as depressed classes but the omission was not detected until it was too late to alter the list. Similarly Nuniyas and Sukhis should be included: the Nuniyas may not offer water to higher castes and their Brahmans are said to be degraded but they are not excluded from the courtyards of temples. On the other hand they appear in the classification of 1901 in the same group as Sunnis and Tiarys who are shown as depressed on the present occasion. In the same classification Sukhis, similarly, come with the Bagdis and Namasudras. The Mahishyas or Chasi Kaibarttas have themselves protested against inclusion. A demand to be included should not be admitted without careful examination, since the object of admitting a group is that it may be in position to get its interests considered and this object would be jeopardised for other groups by the admission of a numerous caste with interests different from those of other depressed classes. On the other hand no caste should be included which prefers to be excluded. Khandaits, the swordsmen of Orissa and now a cultivating class, rank with the Karans as being of twice-born rank. Kurmis are "clean sudras" and were ranked in 1901 (Census Report, vol. VI, part I, pages 373-374) in the higher sub-group in that class in which also the Koiris appear. There is some difficulty about the Kurmis since the same transliteration covers both an aboriginal group and a caste of Bihar spelt with an almost indistinguishable difference of one letter. The aboriginal group probably predominates in Bengal, but in 1929 they were reported to be not untouchable and after the census those in Bankura and such as could be found in Midnapore were consulted and declined to be included with the depressed classes. Khandaits in Midnapore and Koiris both in Midnapore and the 24 Parganas when consulted after the census similarly declined inclusion. The Kasthas were shown in 1901 in the same group as the *navasakh* and they also prefer exclusion. The Kalitas (Khens or Khyans) are a respectable cultivating caste although in 1901 it was reported that their position with the *navasakh* is not assured. They claim to be Kayasthas and enquiries during the census enumeration showed that they are generally regarded as such by other castes for instance in Rangpur and Jalpaiguri. There seem therefore to be good grounds for excluding all these groups.

18. **Exclusion of the Rajbangshis.**—The Rajbangshis present a more difficult problem. The Franchise Committee (1931) noted in their report that this caste had asked for exclusion from the depressed classes, but the name is claimed by what are several distinct castes and it is not certain to which the persons really belong who made this request. The name should be restricted to the group with racial affinities to the Kochh and Paliya castes and the leaders of this group have claimed inclusion. They could point with reason to their racial identity with these other two depressed groups, but this is probably the last thing they would do, for they claim to be very much superior to them and to have established their position in the *Kshatriya varna*. Their claim to inclusion confers no title to be included for the reason which has already been noted, viz., that inclusions must be scrutinised to prevent the danger that they may swamp the general interests of the genuine depressed classes. As early as 1901 they were reported as being "to some extent *jal-chal*", i.e., considered of sufficiently elevated social status to offer water to the higher castes and their position has by no means deteriorated since then. It does not follow that all the *jalavyavahariya* castes are depressed, but it is certain that no caste can be depressed which is *jal-chal* or *jalacharantiya*. The claim to be included within the depressed

STATEMENT No. XII-e.

Some castes included in the list of depressed classes in 1921 but not in 1931.

NOTE.—Figures for those castes marked with an asterisk are not for all districts, Bengal, British districts, Bengal States.

Name of caste	Both sexes.			Both sexes.		
	Males	Females		Males	Females	
All castes below	1,801,712	957,529	844,183	321,260	167,546	153,714
*Kastha ..	2,800	1,366	1,234	1	1	..
*Khaia ..	38,154	18,783	19,361	121	111	..
*Khandait ..	34,329	26,612	7,066	752	598	156
*Koiri ..	16,021	11,407	4,014	..	..	..
Kurmi ..	193,176	106,278	86,898	1,476	1,090	386
*Nuniya ..	29,100	17,499	10,601	..	..	..
Rajbangshi ..	1,455,473	773,611	711,832	318,898	165,745	153,163
*Sukhi ..	3,880	1,003	1,957	..	..	..

classes is indeed clearly incompatible with an insistent demand to be given the consideration of the second twice-born *barna* and can only be interpreted as evincing a desire to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. In the Rajshahi Division where they are most numerous it will be seen from statement No. XII-10 in the body of the chapter that they form more than a third of the total Hindu population and in the districts where they are chiefly found (Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Rangpur) their proportions are between 45 and 60 per cent. These figures are probably an underestimate owing to the success with which it is claimed by the caste that they contrived to get themselves recorded as Kshattriya without any qualification. Both their present social position and their numbers in the areas to which they are practically confined justify their exclusion.

19 **Distribution of the depressed classes by districts, etc.**—The necessity of compiling the list of depressed classes before any decision of Government was reached upon the castes to be included makes it doubtful to what extent the list shown in this report will be of use. Any list, however compiled, is bound to become out of date, and the more rapidly the object of recognising a special group of depressed classes is achieved the more rapidly will the list be antiquated. The object of recognition is not to perpetuate differences but to give the depressed classes a chance of surmounting them and taking a place on equal terms with others of the community, and as each caste progresses it must be withdrawn from the list and throw in its lot with the rest of the Hindu community. In the statements printed at the end of this appendix and numbered XII-g and XII-h figures are given both for groups in the list prepared for the report and so far as they are available for castes shown in statement No. XII-e. Groups not shown in the list for this report and the totals including them are shown in *italics*. The tables show both the numbers and also the proportion of the depressed classes in the total population and amongst Hindus. The district distribution as a proportion of the whole population is shown in the accompanying diagram No. XII-11 where the same scale is used as in the similar diagrams (Nos. XII-1 and XII-4) in the body of the chapter illustrating the distribution of the primitive tribes and the upper classes. As a proportion of the total population the depressed classes are most numerous in the districts of Western and Central Bengal and in the two Bengal States. It is, however, as a proportion of the Hindu community that their numbers are of most interest. They form 37 per cent. of the Hindus throughout Bengal. They are more than half the Hindus in six districts (Burdwan, Birbhum, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj and the Chittagong Hill Tracts) and in Tripura. They are less than a quarter only in 6 districts (Calcutta, Dinajpur, Darjeeling, Rangpur, Noakhali and Chittagong) and in Cooch Behar. They consequently form between a quarter and a half of the Hindu population in nearly 60 per cent. of the districts of the province. They are most numerous in the Dacca Division. Here are mainly concentrated the Namasudras who contribute more than a fourth of the total number of the depressed classes. A comparison between the relative strength of the depressed classes and the Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas who form the upper classes of the community is facilitated by the two diagrams giving their proportionate strength in each district but is perhaps most easily effected by comparing statements No. XII-7 and No. XII-8 in the body of the chapter with statements Nos. XII-g and XII-h at the end of this appendix. Only in Calcutta (where literates and the upper classes tend to gravitate) and in the predominantly Muslim districts of Noakhali and Chittagong are there more of the upper classes than of the depressed classes and in most districts the discrepancy is very considerable. Where aborigines are found in numbers the excess is particularly marked. Thus there are more than ten times as many of the depressed classes as of the upper classes in Jalpaiguri and Malda, more than nine times as many in Dinajpur and more than six times as many in Birbhum. The excess of more than fifteen times as many in Tripura is due to the numbers of Tiparas, and it is doubtful whether in the State in which they are indigenous it is proper to consider them depressed in the sense in which the word can be applied to them in British districts.

STATEMENT

Groups shown as depressed classes in the—				Groups shown as depressed classes in the—			
Census Report of 1911.	Census Report of 1921.	Calcutta University Report, 1917-19.	List of Bengal Government, 1916.	Census Report of 1931.	Census Report of 1931.	Calcutta University Report, 1917-19.	List of Bengal Government, 1916.
A.—Untouchables.				A.—Untouchables.			
(i) <i>Barang and scavengers.</i>				(ii) <i>Other untouchables.</i>			
Phulchali Dom	Bhuanmali Dom	Bhuanmali Dom	Bhuanmali Dom	Kadar	..	..	..
Phulchali Hari	Kan	..	..	..
Phulchali Kaora	Hari Kaora	Hari Kaora	Hari Kaora	Kandh	..	..	..
..	Koch	Koch	..	Koch
..	Konwar	..	..	..
..	Kotal	..	..	..
..	Kurmar	..	..	..
..	Lohar	Lohar	..	..
..	Mali	..	..	..
..	Mal	Mal	..	Mal
..	Mallah	..	..	..
..	Malpahanya	..	..	..
..	Muchi	Muchi	..	Muchi
..	Mushar	..	..	..
..	Naya	..	..	..
..	Namasudra	Namasudra	..	Namasudra
..	Palya	..	..	..
..	Pan	..	..	..
..	Patni	Patni	..	..
..	Pod	Pod	..	Pod
..	Pundari	Pundari	..	..
..	Rajwar	..	..	..
..	Sun	Sun	..	Sun
..	Tiyar	Tiyar	..	Tiyar

STATEMENT

Aggregate numbers and proportions of the

Division, district or state.	Total population.			Total Hindu population			List of 1931			
	Both sex.			Both sex.			Both sex.			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL	..	51,087,338	26,557,860	24,529,478	22,212,069	11,639,285	10,572,784	8,390,942	4,342,320	4,048,622
BRITISH TERRITORY	..	50,114,002	26,041,698	24,072,304	21,570,407	11,299,914	10,270,493	8,187,005	4,235,250	3,951,755
Burdwan Division	..	8,647,189	4,452,882	4,194,307	7,164,441	3,684,470	3,479,971	2,699,611	1,374,737	1,324,874
Burdwan	..	1,578,699	814,591	760,808	1,238,872	639,304	599,508	626,860	321,150	305,800
Balrampur	..	947,554	472,087	474,867	638,428	317,330	319,093	362,699	178,822	183,867
Bonga	..	1,111,721	557,074	554,407	1,011,654	506,328	505,328	445,084	222,008	222,998
Bonga	..	2,799,093	1,417,025	1,388,004	2,492,939	1,265,749	1,230,240	686,105	345,089	342,476
Bonga	..	1,114,255	592,130	592,135	924,061	489,398	484,063	343,243	179,954	183,289
Bonga	..	1,088,867	590,075	499,792	860,440	469,963	361,077	233,500	127,054	106,446
Presidency Division	..	10,108,228	5,475,398	4,532,983	5,179,127	2,836,908	2,343,129	2,201,082	1,167,960	1,033,122
24 Parganas	..	2,713,874	1,404,933	1,248,921	1,742,387	945,206	797,181	831,785	439,043	392,143
Culcutta	..	1,196,734	814,949	801,798	822,293	647,846	274,447	123,061	85,748	87,813
Nadia	..	1,529,612	788,885	740,747	874,046	294,404	279,048	183,639	94,750	95,889
Murshidabad	..	1,370,877	628,483	687,104	589,551	294,708	294,848	194,193	95,569	96,024
Jessore	..	1,671,164	871,449	799,718	634,230	326,807	307,423	334,461	172,964	161,477
Khulna	..	1,626,148	851,651	774,497	616,620	427,032	369,588	333,953	279,281	254,672
Rajshahi Division	..	10,968,066	5,648,437	5,116,629	3,721,728	1,961,798	1,759,928	879,750	510,146	469,604
Rajshahi	..	1,429,018	741,295	687,723	326,018	171,347	154,671	118,391	69,274	56,117
Tanajpur	..	1,758,432	924,022	831,340	793,332	422,240	371,692	196,869	108,494	94,165
Jalpaiguri	..	893,387	338,910	446,538	664,018	380,721	308,284	185,371	96,560	86,791
Darjeeling	..	316,635	170,131	146,504	236,811	126,555	110,328	28,811	16,296	12,815
Rangpur	..	2,594,785	1,366,664	1,236,191	746,546	394,780	351,616	94,328	60,439	43,889
Bogra	..	1,088,419	557,174	529,843	177,639	94,599	83,108	72,445	37,793	34,658
Pabna	..	1,445,854	739,027	706,827	332,387	168,030	164,837	122,068	60,893	61,805
Mahes	..	1,054,766	527,303	626,461	444,406	228,019	220,787	101,847	80,267	80,670
Dacca Division	..	13,864,104	7,122,397	6,741,707	3,958,870	2,036,611	1,928,257	1,863,869	964,529	919,430
Dacca	..	3,432,877	1,743,517	1,689,060	1,124,893	586,529	550,384	466,829	285,780	294,049
Mymensingh	..	6,130,282	3,067,164	2,498,095	1,774,328	919,114	855,814	476,980	254,898	254,902
Fardpur	..	2,362,216	1,206,948	1,158,867	847,064	436,748	420,813	509,422	267,566	261,937
Bakarganj	..	2,938,060	1,505,838	1,438,712	812,585	416,222	396,263	455,627	216,475	200,152
Chittagong Division	..	6,826,414	3,441,616	3,384,788	1,546,243	787,035	759,208	429,603	217,878	204,735
Tippera	..	3,109,735	1,595,640	1,514,095	750,734	384,341	366,383	242,712	125,768	116,099
Chittagong	..	1,706,719	858,618	847,901	366,391	187,188	179,203	84,918	44,000	40,012
Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	1,797,008	829,862	824,180	352,352	185,407	186,945	62,437	31,255	31,172
..	..	214,922	114,370	92,662	36,776	20,099	16,877	32,848	16,840	15,706
BENGAL STATES	..	973,336	516,162	457,174	641,662	339,371	302,291	203,397	107,070	96,867
Cooch Behar	..	594,484	313,230	277,656	380,073	201,513	178,590	17,767	10,175	7,632
Tripura	..	381,460	202,932	179,518	261,589	137,858	128,781	186,230	96,895	89,885

No. XII-f.

Groups shown as depressed classes in the—				Groups shown as depressed classes in the—			
Census Report of 1931	Census Report of 1921	Calcutta University Report, 1917-19	List of Bengal Government, 1919.	Census Report of 1931	Census Report of 1921.	Calcutta University Report, 1917-19.	List of Bengal Government, 1919.
B.—Groups of aboriginal derivation.				C.—Other depressed classes.			
Agaria	..	..	..	Baiti	..	..	..
Asur	..	..	..	Bediya	..	Bediya	Bediya
Bhumij	Bhumij	Bhumij	Bhumij	Beldar	..	..	..
Birhor	..	Chakma	Chakma	Berna	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	Bhatiya	..	..	..
Garó	Garó	Garó	Garó	Damai	..	Chasi Kaibarta	..
Ho	..	..	..	Gomra	..	..	Gara
Kaur	..	..	..	Jalia Kaibarta	..	Jalia Kaibarta	..
Koda (Kora)	Koda (Kora)	Koda (Kora)	Koda (Kora)	Jhalo, Malo	..	..	..
Korwa	..	..	..	Kalu and Tel	..	..	..
Lodha	..	Lodha	Lodha	Kalwa	..	..	..
Mech	Mech	Munda	Munda	Kandua	..	..	..
Munda	..	..	..	Kapali	..	..	..
Nagesia	..	Orson	Orson	Kapuria	..	..	..
Orson	..	..	..	Karenga	..	..	..
Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Santal	Santal	Santal	Santal	..	..	..	..
Tipara	..	Tipara	Tipara	..	..	..	..
Turi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

No. XII-g.

depressed classes by districts.

Number of the Depressed Classes per 1,000.																								
classes			of the total population.												of the Hindu population.									
Including those shown in 1921 but not in 1931.			List of 1931.						Including those shown in 1921 but not in 1931.						List of 1931.						Including those shown in 1921 but not in 1931.			
Both sex. Male. Female.			Both sex. Male. Female.			Both sex. Male. Female.			Both sex. Male. Female.			Both sex. Male. Female.			Both sex. Male. Female.			Both sex. Male. Female.						
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	
10,513,914	5,467,395	5,046,519	164	164	165	206	206	206	378	373	383	473	470	477										
9,988,717	5,192,779	4,795,938	163	163	164	199	199	199	380	375	385	463	460	467										
2,837,182	1,506,178	1,437,004	312	309	316	340	337	343	377	373	381	410	407	413										
641,477	329,593	311,884	398	394	402	407	405	410	508	502	510	518	516	520										
387,718	151,369	186,349	383	378	387	388	384	392	570	568	570	678	672	684										
409,686	248,448	251,418	400	399	402	450	448	453	440	439	441	494	491	498										
795,780	400,261	395,519	246	244	248	288	288	288	278	274	278	321	317	325										
383,614	192,706	171,008	308	304	313	326	325	325	371	368	370	394	394	394										
284,497	147,501	110,906	212	212	213	241	245	241	274	271	272	307	314	299										
2,389,082	1,276,392	1,110,690	218	213	223	238	233	240	425	412	441	461	451	474										
909,783	486,938	422,945	308	300	314	335	332	336	477	465	492	522	515	530										
164,739	104,846	42,059	103	108	103	123	129	110	150	157	136	179	191	188										
103,180	105,342	97,838	129	120	120	133	132	132	320	322	318	354	358	360										
224,932	106,849	114,443	142	140	144	164	161	187	329	324	324	380	379	388										
345,764	179,101	166,660	328	328	329	344	345	345	354	354	354	385	385	385										
589,159	292,314	296,845	328	328	329	344	345	345	354	354	354	385	385	385										
2,274,376	1,189,177	1,085,199	92	92	92	213	214	212	383	380	387	477	470	477										
151,725	79,980	72,445	83	84	82	106	107	105	363	368	363	468	468	468										
594,739	295,792	268,947	112	112	112	322	320	324	248	248	251	711	701	724										
518,889	277,886	240,408	189	185	193	637	621	625	279	273	296	781	770	798										
56,213	31,402	24,811	90	90	92	176	168	181	320	320	318	412	412	412										
542,994	282,776	260,216	36	36	37	109	109	109	208	210	212	272	272	272										
84,828	44,290	40,596	87	85	86	78	79	77	408	400	417	478	469	488										
139,391	69,908	69,998	84	82	87	90	90	90	369	369	370	478	478	478										
216,289	105,446	107,543	154	154	154	225	208	205	364	362	366	487	485	488										
1,862,623	1,006,730	956,893	136	138	138	142	141	142	478	475	477	498	498	498										
498,267	260,887	237,890	137	135	139	145	144	147	418	415	421	443	441	445										
113,009	272,433	240,556	93	95	91	100	102	98	408	411	404	437	440	448										
824,483	265,324	259,159	118	114	118	145	144	144	320	320	324	408	408	408										
428,994	217,310	209,543	145	144	146	145	144	146	324	320	325	408	408	408										
428,454	218,392	209,152	62	63	60	62	64	61	273	277	270	275	270	272										
244,397	130,077	117,790	78	79	77	79	79	78	323	327	319	326	330	321										
56,173	24,097	41,078	50	51	49	50	51	48	408	411	404	437	440	448										
83,338	31,638	51,648	15	16	14	15	16	14	169	169	169	218	218	218										
32,546	16,840	15,706	163	147	169	153	147	159	686	686	686	842	836	842										
525,197	274,616	250,581	210	207	212	540	532	548	318	315	320	818	809	829										
337,691	176,795	160,896	30	32	27	271	271	271	580	570	570	712	708	712										
187,508	97,861	89,655	487	477	498	490	482	489	712	708	712	882	877	882										

STATEMENT

Numbers of the depressed classes

NOTE—Figures for those castes

Serial No.	Division, district or state	A.—Untouchables.							
		(i) Sweeper Castes							
		Total all untouchables			Total sweeper castes			Bhummal	
		Both sex	Male	Female	Both sex	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1	BENGAL	6,159,322	3,182,038	2,977,284	482,293	250,096	232,197	36,774	36,030
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	6,131,852	3,166,760	2,965,092	477,199	247,589	229,610	35,314	34,489
3	Burdwan Division	1,961,515	986,887	964,628	241,606	123,479	118,127	1,149	1,272
4	Burdwan	498,598	253,626	244,972	57,093	29,179	27,914	18	10
5	Birbhum	306,825	150,872	155,953	60,953	30,327	30,626	1,030	1,187
6	Bankura	316,485	157,350	159,135	20,838	10,511	10,327		
7	Midnapore	379,085	191,719	187,340	49,106	24,649	24,457	2	
8	Hooghly	270,718	141,147	129,571	27,680	14,173	13,507	27	41
9	Howrah	189,824	102,173	87,051	25,936	14,340	11,596	10	28
10	Presidency Division	1,881,120	995,293	885,827	119,755	64,392	55,363	2,537	2,839
11	24-Parganas	786,737	395,990	360,747	72,600	38,026	33,874	49	29
12	Calcutta	86,035	67,838	38,197	17,801	11,003	6,798	27	1
13	Nadia	133,982	68,783	65,359	7,378	3,728	3,652	708	801
14	Murshidabad	144,964	71,714	73,270	16,199	7,826	8,373	1,187	1,789
15	Jessore	286,279	138,242	123,037	3,774	2,050	1,724	381	209
16	Khulna	493,093	257,776	235,317	2,103	1,065	1,038	82	60
17	Rajshahi Division	474,273	250,050	224,223	67,633	35,128	32,505	14,951	14,234
18	Rajshahi	67,283	35,289	32,044	6,611	3,575	3,036	2,196	1,987
19	Imajpur	90,337	48,814	41,523	21,714	11,202	10,512	3,849	3,845
20	Jalpaiguri	33,877	19,389	14,488	5,439	2,656	2,483	703	440
21	Darjeeling	6,950	4,251	2,699	1,353	872	481	22	28
22	Rangpur	77,808	41,292	36,314	10,225	5,182	5,043	2,708	2,681
23	Dogra	47,958	25,318	22,640	6,042	2,987	3,055	1,381	1,531
24	Pabna	70,147	35,049	34,198	7,106	3,716	3,390	3,185	2,944
25	Malda	80,115	39,798	40,317	9,143	4,638	4,505	862	828
26	Dacca Division	1,539,200	783,311	755,889	27,171	14,338	12,833	11,761	10,917
27	Dacca	364,366	181,321	183,045	11,150	5,678	5,472	5,181	5,157
28	Mymensingh	329,001	174,453	154,548	7,025	3,941	3,084	2,481	1,952
29	Faridpur	454,332	228,065	225,367	5,336	2,814	2,522	2,482	2,249
30	Bakarganj	391,501	198,572	192,929	3,660	1,905	1,755	1,667	1,569
31	Chittagong Division	275,744	141,219	134,525	21,034	10,252	10,782	4,916	5,227
32	Tippera	174,732	90,140	84,502	5,497	2,704	2,798	2,312	2,472
33	Noakhali	67,193	34,279	32,914	3,531	1,694	1,837	1,034	1,785
34	Chittagong	33,587	16,645	16,842	11,959	5,819	6,140	951	966
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	232	155	77	47	35	12	19	4
36	BENGAL STATES	27,470	15,278	12,192	5,094	2,507	2,587	1,460	1,541
37	Cooch Behar	13,483	7,892	5,591	2,994	1,570	1,424	847	795
38	Tripura	13,987	7,386	6,601	2,100	987	1,108	613	746

A.—Untouchables.											
(ii) Other untouchables											
Serial No	Division, district or state.	Total other untouchables.			Bagdi		Baheha		Bauri		
		Both sex.	Male	Female.	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female.	
1		24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
1	BENGAL	5,677,029	2,931,942	2,745,087	496,792	490,778	2,214	2,235	164,205	167,033	
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	5,654,653	2,919,171	2,735,482	496,675	490,658	2,214	2,235	164,040	166,953	
3	Burdwan Division	1,719,909	873,408	846,501	374,582	374,407	128	28	158,654	161,595	
4	Burdwan	441,505	224,447	217,058	91,753	93,419	50	17	61,380	62,484	
5	Birbhum	245,872	120,545	125,327	42,854	44,065	7		18,380	18,618	
6	Bankura	295,847	140,830	148,503	45,148	44,514			58,894	60,516	
7	Midnapore	328,959	166,770	168,189	76,721	76,859			7,110	6,653	
8	Hooghly	243,038	126,974	116,064	79,450	76,790	60		12,735	13,259	
9	Howrah	163,888	87,833	76,055	38,656	38,180	11	11	215	65	
10	Presidency Division	1,761,365	830,901	830,464	109,443	104,676	531	567	3,937	3,972	
11	24-Parganas	684,237	357,364	326,873	51,021	48,158	95	37	506	466	
12	Calcutta	78,234	56,745	21,489	2,579	2,786	23	11	22	158	
13	Nadia	128,614	65,007	61,007	20,611	19,443	169	261	1,069	1,086	
14	Murshidabad	128,785	63,888	64,897	19,877	20,398	175	213	2,002	1,998	
15	Jessore	252,505	131,186	121,310	10,897	9,990	69	45	247	243	
16	Khulna	490,990	250,711	234,279	3,858	3,895			91	71	
17	Rajshahi Division	408,640	214,922	191,718	5,457	5,388	415	522	555	575	
18	Rajshahi	60,672	31,664	29,008	1,584	1,565			37	36	
19	Imajpur	68,623	37,612	31,011	420	423	1		126	100	
20	Jalpaiguri	28,438	16,433	12,005	213	134			8	18	
21	Darjeeling	5,597	3,379	2,213	16	16					
22	Rangpur	67,381	36,110	31,271	163	148	23	18	1	1	
23	Bogra	41,916	22,331	19,585	517	573	6				
24	Pabna	63,041	32,283	30,803	1,725	1,681	68	62	16	5	
25	Malda	70,972	35,160	33,812	819	890	317	442	367	420	
26	Dacca Division	1,512,029	768,973	743,056	7,125	6,136	1,136	1,109	163	117	
27	Dacca	353,216	175,043	177,573	1,375	1,077			68	50	
28	Mymensingh	321,978	170,512	151,464	3,908	3,432	1,136	1,109	100	87	
29	Faridpur	448,998	220,151	228,845	1,823	1,580					
30	Bakarganj	367,841	186,607	191,174	19	47					
31	Chittagong Division	254,710	130,967	123,743	68	51	4	9	731	694	
32	Tippera	168,235	87,498	81,799	24	14	4	9			
33	Noakhali	63,662	32,585	31,077	8	6					
34	Chittagong	21,628	10,826	10,802	30	31			720	690	
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	185	120	65					11	4	
36	BENGAL STATES	22,376	12,771	9,605	117	120			165	80	
37	Cooch Behar	10,459	6,322	4,167	106	101					
38	Tripura	11,917	6,449	5,488	11	19			165	80	

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

No. XII-h.

by categories, by districts.

marked with an asterisk are not for all districts

A—Untouchables															Serial No.
(i) Sweeper Castes (continued)															
Dom		Halalkhor		Hari.		Kaora		Kichak		Lalbegi		Mehtor.			
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female.	Male	Female.	Male	Female.		
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
71,284	68,783	502	374	67,524	64,869	56,937	50,971	2	..	3,489	1,476	13,584	9,694	1	
70,773	68,153	502	374	67,213	64,639	56,901	50,966	2	..	3,489	1,476	13,395	9,513	2	
56,200	54,918	80	124	42,033	40,472	20,370	18,684	..	..	290	124	3,357	2,533	3
17,799	17,111	48	81	10,263	9,809	337	314	..	..	72	35	642	538	4
17,972	18,306	..	..	11,216	11,105	27	4	..	..	..	..	26	24	5
7,014	6,901	..	..	3,459	3,391	1	..	..	..	..	..	37	35	6
7,728	7,451	..	..	12,562	12,476	3,688	3,552	..	..	54	51	916	827	7
4,198	4,008	32	34	2,940	3,128	6,292	5,792	..	..	5	30	670	473	8
1,489	1,140	..	..	1,503	508	10,025	9,023	..	..	159	8	1,058	836	9
7,422	6,702	271	96	8,493	8,348	36,531	32,282	..	..	2,618	903	6,522	4,193	10
1,326	1,226	..	..	2,507	2,376	32,952	28,950	..	..	556	443	1,336	848	11
2,214	1,548	238	66	590	483	1,499	1,408	..	..	2,000	438	4,627	2,774	12
700	707	8	11	1,632	1,648	326	211	..	..	10	7	253	214	13
2,820	2,764	6	..	3,534	3,015	..	..	..	..	..	..	137	59	14
302	311	18	8	177	182	1,091	908	..	..	..	..	268	226	15
60	61	9	5	53	43	780	747	..	..	33	5	43	39	16
3,103	2,855	95	118	14,518	13,586	..	..	..	..	511	394	1,950	1,518	17
149	109	12	..	980	705	..	..	..	..	63	152	175	133	18
557	475	22	10	6,174	5,687	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	309	19
849	689	..	..	986	1,095	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	418	20
79	32	..	..	380	218	..	..	..	..	304	144	137	59	21
700	706	61	102	1,221	1,223	..	..	..	..	5	2	397	320	22
140	138	..	..	1,325	1,322	..	..	..	..	..	..	141	104	23
153	109	..	..	202	168	..	..	..	..	139	96	87	75	24
478	447	..	..	3,300	3,230	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
997	777	56	36	30	11	..	..	..	..	70	44	1,424	1,048	26
351	202	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	65	36	131	77	27
388	303	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,100	829	28
243	208	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	89	65	29
65	64	56	36	8	11	..	..	..	..	5	8	104	77	30
3,051	3,101	..	..	2,139	2,222	..	..	2	..	2	11	142	221	31
325	277	..	..	28	20	..	..	2	..	..	2	37	22	32
17	16	..	..	20	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	33	33
2,708	2,808	..	..	2,091	2,199	..	..	..	..	2	9	87	158	34
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	8	35
511	630	..	..	311	230	36	5	..	..	..	..	189	181	36
281	280	..	..	290	219	..	..	..	..	..	..	152	130	37
230	350	..	..	21	11	36	5	..	..	..	..	37	51	38

A.—Untouchables.															Serial No.
(ii) Other untouchables (continued).															
Bhutya.		Blind		Bunjha.		Chamar.		Dhenwar.		Dhobl.		Doal.			
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46		
27,611	21,759	10,566	8,952	157	160	94,502	55,956	21	23	120,857	108,815	990	970	1	
27,539	21,687	10,365	8,795	102	101	93,439	55,222	21	23	120,316	108,351	552	521	2	
18,925	14,689	814	545			21,932	11,951			28,200	27,245			3	
5,928	3,943	181	58			4,106	2,178			2,041	1,910			4	
690	579	.	2			2,165	2,210			907	865			5	
2,110	2,038					109	96			1,977	1,983			6	
7,475	7,208	15	13			1,411	1,303			10,781	10,180			7	
1,643	779	632	460			8,783	3,181			2,310	1,964			8	
1,144	142	76	10			8,436	2,983			5,184	4,383			9	
3,981	3,017	2,112	1,694			44,107	21,635	21	23	21,199	15,512			10	
1,197	1,004	414	202			17,200	8,748			8,825	6,252			11	
1,112	327	152	201			18,020	5,947		9	7,468	8,789			12	
706	511	905	829			667	442			1,584	1,547			13	
49	69	538	462			2,972	2,777	21	14	1,121	959			14	
627	804	2				1,383	1,300			1,415	1,783			15	
	2	18				2,985	2,417			1,291	1,202			16	
4,304	3,801	6,945	6,486	102	101	12,773	9,134			4,809	4,105	544	521	17	
1,198	1,095	495	190			2,332	2,347			949	802			18	
507	498	184	113			1,101	458			866	314			19	
1,154	792	70	52	1		904	879			355	201			20	
21	26			101	101	807	825			171	88			21	
77	38	147	80			2,535	1,432			416	195	525	509	22	
120	79	43	22			2,421	1,561			187	114	19	12	23	
1,282	1,275	5,550	5,410			1,273	760			804	681			24	
194	120	461	35			1,900	1,821			1,781	1,720			25	
113	90					12,748	11,046			33,548	31,274	8		26	
45	30	79	35			5,044	4,119			7,403	6,891			27	
36		882				5,737	5,365			8,353	7,855	8		28	
135	60	33	35			1,285	1,101			4,941	4,509			29	
7	.	32	35			882	461			12,551	12,022			30	
115	58	1				1,849	1,456			31,560	30,215			31	
12	2					1,515	1,318			12,407	10,937			32	
						114	139			12,497	11,881			33	
						219	97			6,985	7,382			34	
						1	2			81	15			35	
72	72	201	157	55	59	1,063	734			541	484	438	449	36	
5		87	9	55	59	673	253			145	83	438	449	37	
67	72	134	148			390	431			396	381			38	

STATEMENT

Number of the depressed classes

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	A.—Untouchables.									
		(b) Other untouchables (continued).									
		Dooardh.		Ghasi.		Hadi.		Hajang.		Kadar.	
		Male	Female.	Male	Female	Male.	Female.	Male	Female	Male.	Female
1	BENGAL	47	48	40	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	24,611	11,809	2,893	2,419	8,154	6,180	10,056	9,637	619	459
3	Burdwan Division	24,238	11,690	2,822	2,400	8,154	6,180	10,056	9,637	619	459
4	Burdwan	5,646	2,497	138	85					87	68
5	Burduwan	1,878	1,073							5	16
6	Burduwan	89	69								
7	Dankura	4	2	12	7						
8	Malnapore	35	31	21	16					82	32
9	Honghly	1,770	845								
10	Howrah	2,079	877	109	62						
11	Presidency Division	11,148	4,540	1,074	1,044						
12	24-Parganas	4,868	2,029	601	610						
13	Calcutta	4,789	1,585	118	89						
14	Nadia	384	46	355	389						
15	Murshidabad	947	624								
16	Jessore	51	3								
17	Khulna	73	8								
18	Rajshahi Division	5,082	3,339	1,564	1,227			51	2	529	391
19	Rajshahi	385	280							58	87
20	Dumra	607	169	82	115			10		471	574
21	Jalpaiguri	478	185	1,238	869						
22	Darjeeling	106	64	84	80			28	2		
23	Rangpur	1,396	691					13			
24	Bogra	287	166								
25	Pabna	374	231	68	58						
26	Maidla	1,402	1,553	102	99						
27	Dacca Division	2,020	1,600			8,154	6,180	9,989	9,634	3	
28	Dacca	620	298								
29	Meysenagah	1,816	1,320			8,154	6,180	9,989	9,634	3	
30	Faridpur	96	82								
31	Bakarganj	88									
32	Chittagong Division	148	14	46	44			22	16	1	
33	Tippera	140	7					10	1		
34	Nonkhali										
35	Chittagong	8	7	46	44						
36	Chittagong Hill Tracts							22			
37	BENGAL STATES	373	119	71	19						
38	Cooch Behar	373	93								
39	Tripura		26	71	19						

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	A.—Untouchables.									
		(b) Other untouchables (continued).									
		Mal.		Malah.		Malpaharya.		Muchi.		Mushnar.	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	BENGAL	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	54,091	57,076	16,942	9,310	6,082	5,700	221,673	192,546	6,472	5,242
3	Burdwan Division	54,078	57,076	16,685	9,216	6,081	5,700	220,103	191,716	6,379	5,136
4	Burdwan	32,616	34,185	2,391	757	128	82	78,842	74,689	915	555
5	Burduwan	304	598	353	87	120	53	33,218	30,037	270	313
6	Burduwan	19,579	21,367	5	10	8	7	22,432	22,943	198	112
7	Dankura	6,116	6,630					5,931	5,617		
8	Malnapore	4,204	4,138	10	10			4,287	4,105		
9	Howrah	1,758	1,331	1,853	625			9,047	8,701	244	32
10	Howrah	345	113	670	134			3,829	2,606	278	93
11	Presidency Division	9,984	9,688	5,886	1,717	179	351	56,138	71,843	612	475
12	24-Parganas	227	137	2,773	1,262			18,310	15,188	207	40
13	Calcutta	326	38	2,282	40			10,422	2,521	37	29
14	Nadia	618	672	450	137	3		15,602	1,959	62	54
15	Murshidabad	8,193	8,316	266	230	176	351	11,063	11,865	208	328
16	Jessore	62	100	21	8			19,565	17,593	33	29
17	Khulna	230	226	94	20			11,284	10,197	5	
18	Rajshahi Division	3,140	2,673	4,998	2,978	5,774	5,287	22,798	17,149	4,604	3,919
19	Rajshahi	217	199	351	303	2,462	2,271	4,961	4,430	91	85
20	Dumra	1,010	583	1,244	910	506	636	4,211	2,679	1,573	1,843
21	Jalpaiguri	232	90	839	54	1,295	991	1,815	309		
22	Darjeeling	48	39	39	30	1,004	701	137	19	141	93
23	Rangpur	109	254	723	444			5,431	3,657	707	590
24	Bogra			332	366	35	35	1,697	1,293	169	134
25	Pabna			532	103			2,964	2,698	121	120
26	Maidla	1,534	1,511	913	765	407	523	2,082	1,958	1,597	1,578
27	Dacca Division	6,673	6,837	3,589	3,733			25,829	24,864	54	30
28	Dacca			18							
29	Meysenagah	5,585	6,684	3,513	3,738			11,790	11,884		
30	Faridpur							13,303	10,736		
31	Bakarganj	86	173	58				2,182	1,570	44	21
32	Chittagong Division	1,465	3,473	121	51			1,254	872	10	9
33	Tippera	1,480	3,454	111	14			8,219	3,191	184	157
34	Nonkhali							826	2,837	20	12
35	Chittagong	15	19	10	17			385	189		
36	Chittagong Hill Tracts							380	163	162	189
37	BENGAL STATES	13		257	94	1		1,570	830	93	106
38	Cooch Behar	13		231	58	1		1,898	539	44	18
39	Tripura			26	66			242	291	40	98

No. XII-h (continued.)

by categories, by districts.

A.—Untouchables.																	Serial No.
(ii) Other untouchables (continued)																	
Kan.		Kandh.		Koch.		Konwar.		Kotal.		Lohar.		Mahli.					
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70				
37	29	1,002	523	41,704	39,595	78	55	3,852	3,799	26,066	24,101	8,211	8,051	1		1	
24	4	598	252	41,030	38,972	78	55	3,852	3,799	25,928	24,025	8,211	8,051	2		2	
..	278	408	..	..	3,087	3,072	18,411	18,731	2,425	2,510	3		3	
..	3,024	3,086	9,507	9,554	407	374	4		4	
..	1	11	1,475	1,484	232	277	5		5	
..	30	21	12,155	13,348	1,063	1,833	6		6	
..	276	402	..	..	12	4	1,019	969	1,683	1,883	7		7	
..	4	..	..	..	..	985	858	78	13	8		8	
..	280	38	15	13	9		9	
24	4	590	244	35	..	63	53	761	727	1,458	610	108	117	10		10	
..	..	478	228	..	..	..	..	100	..	614	238	7	..	11		11
20	..	76	10	35	..	..	..	8	5	453	94	33	13	12		12
..	..	6	..	..	..	68	53	68	54	231	107	..	..	13		13
..	688	3	2	68	104	14	14		14	
..	82	..	..	..	15		15	
4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	83	82	..	..	16		16
..	..	38	8	19,918	18,918	..	..	24	..	5,723	4,317	5,678	5,494	17		17
..	..	2	..	700	593	24	..	206	103	298	270	18		18
..	3,221	2,042	..	..	..	..	302	124	960	856	19		19	
..	417	592	..	..	..	..	3,073	3,147	3,282	2,987	20		20	
..	65	57	..	..	..	..	987	481	121	128	21		21	
..	..	36	8	3,223	3,295	..	..	..	..	292	30	47	50	22		22
..	10,564	10,000	..	..	..	..	141	158	73	62	23		23	
..	15	18	..	..	..	..	88	14	..	..	24		24	
..	1,408	1,424	..	..	..	..	210	211	867	1,071	25		25	
..	20,424	19,470	15	..	..	..	283	196	..	..	26		26	
..	4,404	4,280	..	..	..	..	20	3	..	..	27		27	
..	16,817	14,976	15	..	..	..	68	41	..	..	28		28	
..	180	184	..	..	29		29	
..	203	226	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30		30	
..	379	178	..	2	..	..	73	160	..	..	31		31	
..	188	156	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	32		32	
..	33		33	
..	191	22	..	2	..	..	68	109	..	..	34		34	
..	1	..	..	..	35		35	
13	25	404	271	674	623	..	..	..	..	138	76	..	..	36		36
18	26	397	270	640	590	..	..	..	..	84	21	..	..	37		37
..	54	38	..	..	..	..	54	53	..	..	38		38	

A.—Untouchables.

(ii) Other untouchables (continued)																Serial No.
Nalya.		Namasudra.		Palya.		Pan.		Pasi.		Patni.		Pod.		Female.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94			
20	20	1,067,403	1,027,554	22,862	20,298	1,261	594	12,804	6,121	20,829	19,937	339,072	328,659		1	
3	..	1,062,612	1,023,601	22,862	20,298	530	261	12,651	5,977	20,115	19,175	339,072	328,659	2		
..	..	37,242	37,030	..	..	271	163	4,536	1,730	230	115	35,647	34,403	3
..	..	7,489	7,820	..	..	12	..	978	488	35	20	31	9	4
..	..	823	831	..	..	..	..	34	40	6	7	8,403	8,016	5
..	..	458	438	..	..	..	..	14	7	..	..	..	..	6
..	..	18,053	18,585	..	..	105	105	238	125	12	18	19,361	17,267	7
..	..	3,283	3,241	..	..	..	..	1,202	413	20	8	1,618	1,602	8
..	..	9,530	6,683	..	..	54	55	2,053	701	137	56	11,204	11,970	9
..	..	268,072	247,743	33	..	229	92	8,598	3,188	3,691	3,448	303,135	293,888	10		
..	..	15,958	15,329	..	..	224	88	4,235	2,297	461	289	160,384	160,988	11
..	..	2,201	1,807	..	..	6	4	1,885	666	63	69	1,339	676	12
..	..	15,805	14,907	38	..	..	..	185	132	1,110	964	1,239	1,153	13
..	..	5,654	5,038	..	..	..	..	131	160	801	794	1,237	1,337	14
..	..	90,198	83,909	..	..	..	..	60	53	886	796	4,660	3,974	15
..	..	188,466	126,308	..	..	..	..	33	10	480	583	95,376	87,160	16
3	..	59,184	57,884	21,228	18,599	10	6	545	382	3,411	3,501	290	258	17		
..	..	10,700	10,042	23	9	..	..	..	..	425	410	50	32	18
..	..	1,985	1,817	17,811	15,698	1	..	68	10	239	261	..	..	19
..	..	963	720	66	84	..	..	4	3	10	9	..	..	20
3	..	24	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
..	..	18,069	18,250	..	..	..	..	242	126	986	909	..	..	22
..	..	4,418	..	220	115	..	..	13	3	258	813	..	..	23
..	..	22,098	21,907	..	..	5	..	71	58	1,849	1,559	..	..	24
..	..	668	692	3,079	3,074	..	..	142	188	144	134	240	236	25
..	..	611,277	606,689	1,584	1,285	20	..	848	871	9,383	8,552	..	..	26
..	..	140,860	144,822	304	239	..	..	458	268	1,709	1,613	..	..	27
..	..	79,793	66,776	1,290	1,010	20	..	390	315	5,426	4,903	..	..	28
..	..	214,641	213,057	..	..	..	..	..	..	778	610	..	..	29
..	..	179,513	176,014	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,450	1,536	..	..	30
..	..	86,857	86,295	6	93	..	..	128	106	3,310	3,442	..	..	31
..	..	68,411	60,986	3	..	..	..	45	22	1,895	2,047	..	..	32
..	..	18,578	17,517	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,503	1,581	..	..	33
..	..	2,115	1,780	3	98	..	..	81	84	1	..	..	..	34
..	..	58	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
17	20	4,791	3,953	..	..	731	333	153	144	714	762	..	..	36
..	..	1,968	1,803	..	..	..	..	55	30	122	124	..	..	37
17	20	2,828	2,150	..	..	781	338	98	114	592	688	..	..	38

STATEMENT

Number of the depressed classes

Serial No	Division, district or state	A.—Untouchables							
		(a) Other untouchables (continued)							
		Fardari		Raywar		Sunii		Tiyar	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	1	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102
1	BENGAL	17,354	13,901	11,287	10,050	40,000	36,920	48,592	47,821
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	17,354	13,901	11,274	10,041	39,914	36,865	48,585	47,790
3	Burdwan Division			4,158	3,623	31,079	29,818	10,840	11,582
4	Burdwan			1,195	872	6,387	5,018	275	323
5	Birbhum			170	199	7,003	7,223	101	220
6	Bankura			245	174	12,713	13,455	902	907
7	Midnapore			2,336	2,525	2,707	2,754	2,117	2,381
8	Hoochly			97	82	1,201	950	1,813	1,436
9	Howrah			112	71	1,098	848	5,842	6,236
10	Presidency Division	13,056	10,204	3,548	3,879	6,899	5,813	22,616	20,463
11	24-Parganas	8,569	6,023	989	750	1,070	1,370	17,064	16,456
12	Calcutta			751	117	1,486	750	193	142
13	Nadia	339	211	1,650	1,768	940	844	266	478
14	Murshidabad	3,893	3,863	425	1,198	1,459	1,084	1,696	1,576
15	Jessore	251	302	242	46	148	98	217	249
16	Khulna	4				648	527	1,740	1,582
17	Rajshahi Division	4,077	3,502	2,354	2,037	1,776	1,499	6,540	7,144
18	Rajshahi			688	708	291	184	992	1,027
19	Dinajpur			109	27	345	243	192	188
20	Jalpaiguri			23	3	199	119	13	
21	Darjeeling					26	26	48	20
22	Rangpur			828	573	84	95	48	20
23	Bojra			46	80	52	41	50	43
24	Pabna	54	37	35	129	23	3	806	801
25	Malda	2,037	1,967	624	587	776	858	4,870	5,455
26	Dacca Division	221	195	411	487	356	335	9,389	9,601
27	Dacca	4		219	178	894	810	1,677	1,677
28	Wymenasingh	217	165	592	319	52	25	7,689	6,755
29	Fardpur							180	165
30	Bakarganj							53	14
31	Chittagong Division			5	5	13			
32	Tippera					4			
33	Kokshail			5	5	6			
34	Chittagong								
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts								
36	BENGAL STATES			13	9	86	55	7	31
37	Oooch Behar					27			
38	Tripara			13	9	59	55	7	31

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	B—Classes of aboriginal derivation							
		Koda (Kora)		Lodha.		Mesh		Munda.	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	1	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123
1	BENGAL	23,909	22,880	5,760	5,241	2,746	2,129	33,276	29,831
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	23,778	22,839	5,736	5,228	2,694	2,104	32,086	28,957
3	Burdwan Division	26,840	19,700	5,897	5,213			1,994	1,461
4	Burdwan	7,580	6,430	21	8			158	100
5	Birbhum	3,932	4,028					81	62
6	Bankura	2,065	2,061					123	137
7	Midnapore	4,813	4,870	4,932	4,868			730	800
8	Hoochly	1,463	1,075	634	329			389	120
9	Howrah	197	33	60	8			540	152
10	Presidency Division	415	399	85	15	15		3,415	3,307
11	24-Parganas	34	52	17	10			1,485	1,415
12	Calcutta	38	25	4	16			223	42
13	Nadia	14		2	1			778	909
14	Murshidabad	293	265					190	268
15	Jessore	51	57					668	590
16	Khulna							62	82
17	Rajshahi Division	2,770	2,700			2,679	2,104	25,162	23,428
18	Rajshahi	105	90					3,494	3,456
19	Dinajpur	964	871					2,159	2,436
20	Jalpaiguri					2,495	1,999	14,341	13,448
21	Darjeeling					181	165	2,218	1,559
22	Rangpur					3		217	178
23	Bojra							1,564	1,415
24	Pabna							230	218
25	Malda	1,641	1,730					999	721
26	Dacca Division	3						1,366	598
27	Dacca							828	810
28	Wymenasingh	3						356	139
29	Fardpur							138	80
30	Bakarganj							44	60
31	Chittagong Division	10	40	4				149	163
32	Tippera			1					
33	Kokshail								
34	Chittagong	10	40	3				140	168
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts							8	
36	BENGAL STATES	131	41	24	13	52	25	1,190	874
37	Oooch Behar					52	25	5	2
38	Tripara	131	41	24	13	52	25	1,185	872

No. XII-h (continued).

by categories, by districts.

B.—Classes of aboriginal derivation

Total, Castes of aboriginal derivation			Agaria.		Bhumaj		Garo		Ho		Kaur		Serial No.
Both sex.	Male.	Female	Male	Female	Male.	Female	Male.	Female.	Male	Female.	Male.	Female	
103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	
1,036,309	533,184	503,145	159	71	41,940	42,507	19,634	18,275	15	8	888	893	1
867,109	445,255	421,854	159	71	41,700	42,295	18,473	17,043	15	4	867	777	2
388,758	196,616	192,142	49	10	33,936	35,154	9	8	15	4	..	..	3
82,528	43,696	38,892	..	..	1,050	1,399	..	0	..	..	..	..	4
16,824	8,450	8,374	..	..	63	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
81,188	45,176	46,022	..	..	9,908	9,908	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
152,179	74,190	77,989	44	5	21,928	22,925	0	2	15	4	..	..	7
41,048	21,903	19,945	5	..	1,794	1,715	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
4,181	3,195	966	..	5	84	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
38,484	18,897	18,487	46	..	5,649	5,497	122	16	..	..	87	23	10
15,929	8,376	7,553	..	..	4,987	4,621	108	12	..	..	..	..	11
889	804	185	40	..	17	14	3	..	..	..	57	23	12
7,002	3,761	4,021	..	..	286	203	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
9,143	4,050	4,408	..	..	35	36	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
4,417	2,253	2,164	..	..	625	663	15	1	..	..	..	..	15
204	108	101	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
363,881	189,020	174,861	13	17	1,561	1,451	822	434	..	..	96	143	17
37,906	19,989	17,617	..	..	738	725	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
94,173	47,962	46,216	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	92	19
144,928	75,976	68,953	..	..	162	105	605	434	..	..	..	..	20
15,481	8,736	6,715	13	8	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
6,013	3,183	2,850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
10,647	5,698	5,251	..	..	142	131	14	10	..	..	..	..	23
4,797	2,529	2,265	..	..	519	489	..	..	..	..	41	..	24
49,661	24,970	24,691	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	25
39,054	20,600	18,454	..	..	247	178	17,716	16,585	..	..	888	571	26
1,788	1,185	801	..	..	125	80	15	..	..	..	..	..	27
36,421	18,941	17,480	..	..	66	58	17,701	16,535	..	..	658	571	28
711	399	312	..	..	56	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	29
136	75	61	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
36,832	19,622	17,610	51	44	7	18	4	..	..	..	16	46	31
1,429	742	687	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	36	32
3,400	1,777	1,623	47	40	7	18	4	..	..	..	..	4	33
32,103	16,508	15,000	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
169,200	87,909	81,291	..	..	240	212	1,161	1,232	..	4	1	116	36
1,364	723	641	..	..	..	..	125	125	..	..	..	..	37
167,836	87,188	80,650	..	..	240	212	1,036	1,107	..	4	1	116	88

B.—Classes of aboriginal derivation.

Nagesia.		Oran.		Rabha.		Santal.		Tipara.		Turi.		Serial No.
Male	Female	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male	Female	
124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	
1,215	873	73,287	63,140	1,143	933	219,315	214,187	101,448	94,407	8,429	7,770	1
1,177	840	72,641	62,771	660	478	218,920	213,841	17,950	16,926	8,379	7,680	2
25	27	5,218	1,400	..	..	128,837	128,806	..	..	226	359	3
..	..	341	287	..	..	34,860	30,312	..	..	173	293	4
..	..	87	31	..	..	4,329	4,230	..	..	8	23	5
..	..	5	2	..	..	38,370	34,121	..	..	1	..	6
..	..	277	381	..	..	41,410	44,078	..	..	..	10	7
..	..	2,989	547	..	..	14,647	15,527	..	..	22	32	8
26	27	1,569	202	..	..	715	538	..	..	5	1	9
5	4	4,583	4,246	1	..	4,643	4,441	..	..	781	639	10
..	..	1,172	795	..	..	189	871	..	..	389	376	11
..	..	72	18	..	..	41	..	..	..	221	61	12
..	..	2,009	2,254	1	..	632	694	..	..	..	..	13
..	..	945	878	..	..	3,110	2,945	..	..	102	67	14
..	..	825	906	..	..	683	612	..	..	36	35	15
..	..	..	..	..	..	38	19	..	..	8	..	16
1,147	809	62,589	56,809	628	468	84,677	80,015	..	..	7,138	6,483	17
..	..	4,504	3,974	..	..	10,656	9,207	..	..	484	456	18
..	..	2,609	2,900	..	..	39,782	37,908	..	..	2,402	2,305	19
913	569	45,008	42,558	628	468	9,241	8,508	..	..	1,268	886	20
184	169	4,629	3,496	..	..	1,440	1,212	..	..	63	54	21
..	..	666	544	..	..	1,069	1,023	..	..	284	195	22
56	42	1,961	1,178	..	..	2,291	2,117	..	..	498	370	23
..	..	1,637	1,407	..	..	84	123	..	..	48	29	24
..	..	930	1,032	..	..	10,620	10,020	..	..	2,171	2,188	25
..	..	160	134	..	..	305	288	118	105	..	..	26
..	..	127	107	..	..	90	95	..	..	..	..	27
..	..	38	27	..	..	9	..	116	105	..	..	28
..	..	..	..	..	..	205	190	..	..	..	..	29
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	30
..	..	91	182	31	10	858	293	17,335	16,821	266	299	31
..	..	8	12	31	10	..	..	688	629	..	..	32
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
..	..	83	170	..	..	389	218	822	673	266	290	34
..	..	..	..	..	..	169	77	16,327	15,519	..	..	35
38	33	646	369	483	455	395	346	83,498	77,481	50	90	36
34	15	19	17	488	455	4	2	..	..	1	..	37
4	18	627	352	..	..	391	344	88,498	77,481	49	90	38

STATEMENT

Number of the depressed classes

		C—Other depressed classes.									
		(i) In the list for 1931.									
Serial No.	Division, district or state	Total, list of 1931			Barti.		Bediya		Beldar.		
		Both sex.	Male	Female.	Male.	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female.	
	1	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	
1	BENGAL	1,195,311	627,118	568,193	4,766	4,122	3,698	3,545	1,828	1,311	
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	1,188,044	623,235	564,809	4,766	4,122	3,529	3,362	1,828	1,311	
3	Burdwan Division	349,338	181,234	168,104	2,309	2,090	887	852	181	45	
4	Burdwan	45,824	23,828	21,996	680	680	190	239	70	12	
5	Birbhum	39,940	19,509	19,540	114	121	169	171	..	..
6	Bankura	37,381	19,542	17,539	157	172	105	140	..	..
7	Medinipur	166,821	79,774	77,147	448	453	289	202	14	..	
8	Hoochly	30,477	16,904	15,773	418	281	65	50	28	29	
9	Howrah	38,486	21,060	17,909	456	397	76	50	43	4	
10	Presidency Division	251,473	152,670	128,808	1,824	1,354	870	838	295	218	
11	24-Pargannas	58,119	35,277	23,842	280	175	514	498	5	6	
12	Calcutta	28,937	17,101	8,936	28	2	49	12	179	205	
13	Nadia	41,845	22,286	19,609	513	463	109	90	8	7	
14	Murshidabad	40,658	19,165	20,591	353	381	86	32	18	..	
15	Jessore	73,785	37,489	36,276	372	303	106	156	..	..
16	Khulna	40,686	21,403	19,254	99	87	7	..	..	..
17	Rajshahi Division	141,696	71,078	70,520	810	436	1,760	1,849	1,460	1,048	
18	Rajshahi	13,322	7,046	6,156	68	53	105	46	..	..
19	Dinajpur	12,144	6,718	6,438	15	13	122	98	742	453	
20	Jalpaiguri	8,666	3,216	3,350	..	..	289	272	6	..
21	Darjeeling	8,210	3,509	3,401	12	..	..	..	..	..
22	Rangpur	10,709	5,084	4,725	13	3	459	47	4	1	
23	Bogra	13,540	6,779	6,761	3	..	440	529	..	..
24	Palna	47,134	21,815	25,339	283	206	286	235	..	..
25	Malda	32,071	16,209	15,952	266	159	18	16	705	614	
26	Dacca Division	365,705	199,618	145,087	30	36	22	23	2	..	
27	Dacca	103,677	53,274	50,403	30	36	6	..	2	..	
28	Mymensingh	113,858	61,294	52,264	..	..	..	..	..	..
29	Fardpur	84,480	28,222	26,258	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Bakerganj	31,900	17,328	16,102	..	..	16	28	..	..
31	Chittagong Division	109,527	57,437	52,290	193	206	..	..	..	..
32	Tippera	66,851	34,901	31,650	198	206	..	..	..	..
33	Noakhali	17,725	9,721	8,004	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Chittagong	25,440	12,833	12,607	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	211	182	29	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	BENGAL STATES	7,267	3,883	3,384	..	..	169	183	..	..
37	Cooch Behar	2,860	1,560	1,300	..	..	109	180	..	..
38	Tripura	4,407	2,323	2,084	..	..	..	8	..	..

C.—Other depressed classes

Serial No.	Division, district or state.	(i) In the list for 1931 (continued)							
		Kalwar		Kandra		Kapali		Kapuria.	
		Male	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female.	Male	Female.
	1	159	100	161	162	163	164	165	166
1	BENGAL	8,964	4,567	2,467	2,257	86,242	79,341	98	72
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	8,877	4,506	2,453	2,237	85,366	78,314	98	72
3	Burdwan Division	2,542	1,301	2,129	2,198	2,478	2,157	61	38
4	Burdwan	290	81	4	0	514	506	4	..
5	Birbhum	405	342	..	..	1	..	..	..
6	Bankura	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	Madnapore	80	51	2,116	2,180	168	143	47	38
8	Hoochly	680	384	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Howrah	1,173	442	..	..	1,798	1,508	..	..
10	Presidency Division	4,470	2,150	333	38	33,282	30,061	47	34
11	24-Pargannas	1,771	806	388	38	8,087	7,168	7	80
12	Calcutta	2,478	1,305	..	..	229	164	40	4
13	Nadia	4	1	..	..	3,183	3,617	..	..
14	Murshidabad	211	129	..	..	0	6	..	..
15	Jessore	6	9	..	..	10,287	9,462	..	..
16	Khulna	..	..	..	..	11,480	10,244	..	..
17	Rajshahi Division	1,850	872	..	..	5,121	5,354	..	..
18	Rajshahi	134	79	..	..	1,335	1,130	..	..
19	Dinajpur	350	237	..	..	118	118	..	..
20	Jalpaiguri	361	100	..	..	276	652	..	..
21	Darjeeling	101	34	..	..	21	14	..	..
22	Rangpur	251	84	..	..	374	617	..	..
23	Bogra	124	66	..	..	631	618	..	..
24	Palna	45	30	..	..	2,309	2,167	..	..
25	Malda	284	238	..	..	69	88	..	..
26	Dacca Division	218	193	..	..	36,377	33,976	..	..
27	Dacca	10	..	..	..	15,995	14,868	..	..
28	Mymensingh	205	155	..	..	8,138	6,942	..	..
29	Fardpur	..	..	..	..	8,068	7,654	..	..
30	Bakarganj	..	..	..	..	4,812	4,527	..	..
31	Chittagong Division	..	..	..	..	8,108	8,768	..	..
32	Tippera	..	..	..	..	7,748	6,472	..	..
33	Noakhali	..	..	..	..	360	294	..	..
34	Chittagong	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	BENGAL STATES	87	61	14	20	876	1,027	..	..
37	Cooch Behar	87	61	..	..	58	46	..	..
38	Tripura	..	..	14	30	828	981	..	..

No. XII-h (continued).

by categories, by districts.

C—Other depressed classes																Serial No.
(i) In the list for 1931 (concluded)																
Betwa.		Bhatiya		Daraul.		Gonru		Jalia Kutharta		Jhaln, Malo.		Kalu and Tel.				
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158			
177	190	147	175	3,051	2,988	1,778	3,371	182,506	169,566	102,108	95,991	160,365	134,941	1		
177	190	147	175	3,034	2,988	1,778	3,371	181,330	168,529	101,846	95,943	159,161	134,063	2		
.	.	5	15	.	.	88	5	47,079	45,264	1,112	536	81,689	74,294	3		
.	.	2	.	.	.	30	.	4,550	4,418	410	386	17,044	15,698	4		
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	303	384	5	.	11,900	11,209	5
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	3,343	2,383	191	.	16,599	14,721	6
.	.	3	6	.	.	65	4	21,895	23,120	54	.	23,363	20,921	7		
.	.	9	1	.	.	1	1	7,679	6,061	414	135	7,563	6,770	8		
.	.	31	142	180	2	31	913	24,987	22,738	33,048	36,128	6,148	4,919	9		
.	81	4	6	.	.	213	41	4,050	4,318	2,009	1,064	14,081	7,897	10		
.	.	105	138	2	31	82	21	2,088	1,068	736	183	10,750	5,114	11		
.	.	6	.	.	.	30	9	1,572	1,119	10,610	9,370	6,479	3,543	12		
.	25	15	.	.	.	605	2,718	891	835	1,713	1,713	4,926	3,003	13		
.	.	2	1	.	.	3	.	13,322	12,789	12,027	12,109	1,418	1,403	14		
173	151	.	.	3,003	2,932	766	576	13,311	12,482	24,025	27,324	8,301	6,638	15		
.	.	.	.	.	.	251	142	1,826	1,522	2,361	2,396	602	538	16
.	.	.	.	218	170	.	.	3,439	3,185	667	759	1,183	572	17		
.	.	.	.	2,788	2,702	.	.	1,593	1,457	.	.	785	690	18		
178	151	.	.	.	.	2	.	41	39	.	.	81	346	19
.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	3,066	2,728	860	280	474	231	20
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,914	1,915	2,808	2,808	229	773	21
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,155	1,110	14,781	18,883	508	802	22
.	.	.	.	.	.	513	484	585	529	2,146	2,172	4,090	3,322	23
.	.	.	.	29	28	.	.	58,484	51,505	41,480	36,969	24,159	20,818	24		
.	.	.	.	29	23	.	.	16,496	15,432	12,513	12,236	8,523	7,821	25		
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	25,396	24,737	15,653	15,659	8,620	4,846	26
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,308	3,922	9,431	8,744	6,420	5,988	27
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7,329	7,304	971	781	8,260	2,213	28
4	8	.	.	.	.	11	1	39,489	36,539	2,181	986	5,894	6,110	29
.	.	.	.	.	.	11	.	22,376	20,541	1,501	582	2,337	3,117	30
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,933	3,573	478	851	3,902	2,737	31
4	8	.	.	.	.	.	1	12,000	11,899	107	23	55	58	32
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	180	29	.	.	.	.	33
.	.	.	.	17	.	.	.	1,176	1,037	262	48	1,204	878	34		
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,052	948	140	31	59	34	35
.	.	.	.	17	.	.	.	124	89	122	17	1,145	844	36		

C—Other depressed classes.

(i) In the list for 1931 (concluded).																Serial No.
Karenga.		Khatik		Konsl.		Mahar		Nagar		Nat.		Raju		Shagirdpesha		
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female.	Male	Female.	Male	Female	Male.	Female.	
167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	
4,949	4,906	762	395	20,922	20,136	1,003	983	8,017	8,147	3,796	3,552	29,318	27,460	156	177	1
4,949	4,906	762	395	20,922	20,136	938	853	8,004	8,147	3,796	3,552	29,318	27,460	156	177	2
4,093	4,079	330	126	7,154	7,275	840	823	32	102	40	30	26,068	26,696	158	177	3
8	9	28	9	22	9	5	..	9	2	17	12	..	..	..	..	4
441	420	14	7	7,121	7,266	5	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	5
2,149	2,167	54	51	..	..	835	823	23	100	17	14	23,068	26,096	150	175	6
9	24	24	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	4	..	..	..	..	7
1,500	1,483	109	13	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
856	827	389	230	10,274	9,807	3	..	885	719	5	..	1,217	751	..	..	9
778	825	292	88	859	119	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,174	732	..	..	10
74	2	157	142	84	14	8	..	..	29	..	..	37	10	..	..	11
..	..	..	..	9,351	9,374	..	..	855	690	..	..	16	..	..	..	12
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	13
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	14
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
..	..	43	39	3,494	3,354	2	..	7,061	7,314	273	338	33	13	..	..	16
..	..	..	..	240	213	..	..	..	..	34	17	..	..	..	..	17
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	20	30	39	13	..	..	18
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
..	..	18	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	101	189	..	..	..	..	20
..	..	..	..	630	568	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
..	..	80	28	2,419	2,511	..	..	..	..	17	4	..	..	..	..	22
..	..	1	205	267	..	..	..	7,062	7,314	35	98	..	..	..	..	23
..	..	..	..	..	..	47	17	..	..	1,793	1,535	..	..	..	..	24
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	430	278	..	..	..	..	25
..	..	..	..	..	..	47	17	..	..	1,368	1,257	..	..	..	..	26
..	..	..	..	..	..	46	13	26	12	1,885	1,649	..	..	..	..	27
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	12	603	620	..	..	..	..	28
..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	653	619	..	..	..	..	29
..	..	..	..	..	..	40	13	..	..	427	410	..	..	..	..	30
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	31
..	..	..	..	..	..	65	130	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38

STATEMENT

Number of the depressed classes

		C.—Other depressed classes							
		(u) Included in the list of 1921 but not in 1921.							
Serial No	Division, district or state.	Total, including those of 1921 not included in 1921			*Kastha		*Khaura		
		Both sex	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
		183	184	185	186	187	188	189	
1	BENGAL	2,122,972	1,125,075	997,897	1,367	1,234	18,877	19,410	
2	BRITISH TERRITORY	1,301,712	957,629	844,183	1,366	1,234	18,763	19,391	
3	Burdwan Division	237,471	128,441	112,130	1,366	1,234	18,763	19,391	
4	Larkhan	14,627	8,743	5,783	..	..	1,241	1,310
5	Jalpaiguri	5,029	2,547	2,482	..	..	..	..
6	Bankura	51,832	26,380	28,432	..	..	..	..
7	Medinipore	111,015	54,672	57,013	1,368	1,234	12,732	14,165	
8	Hooghly	26,611	12,723	7,519	..	..	2,065	2,324
9	Howrah	36,297	20,447	10,550	..	..	2,463	..
10	Presidency Division	188,000	110,432	77,568	..	..	81	26
11	24-Parganas	77,902	47,226	30,703	..	..	..	..
12	Chuttia	25,545	10,102	4,741	..	..	..	..
13	Nadia	19,541	10,693	8,049	..	..	39	..
14	Murshidabad	36,100	14,290	16,819	..	..	..	..
15	Jessore	11,303	6,120	6,183	..	..	22	..
16	Khulna	23,206	13,033	12,173	..	..	..	..
17	Rajshahi Division	1,244,626	678,031	615,595	..	..	..	..
18	Rajshahi	32,124	17,008	16,328	..	..	..	..
19	Dinajpur	368,080	192,228	175,722	..	..	..	..
20	Jalpaiguri	332,918	179,306	153,612	..	..	..	..
21	Durgachang	27,602	15,105	12,496	..	..	..	..
22	Rangpur	448,666	232,439	216,227	..	..	..	..
23	Dogra	12,331	6,497	5,854	..	..	..	..
24	Falma	17,203	9,010	8,193	..	..	..	..
25	Malda	64,423	27,469	26,973	..	..	..	..
26	Dacca Division	78,664	41,301	37,463	..	..	..	..
27	Dacca	26,426	14,857	13,551	..	..	..	..
28	Mymensingh	34,629	17,765	16,864	..	..	..	..
29	Faridpur	14,900	7,732	7,222	..	..	..	..
30	Bakerganj	1,527	811	390	..	..	..	..
31	Chittagong Division	2,351	1,424	1,427	..	..	..	..
32	Tippera	1,625	894	791	..	..	..	..
33	Noakhali	257	87	160	..	..	..	..
34	Chittagong	909	433	476	..	..	..	..
35	Chittagong Hill Tracts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	BENGAL STATES	321,260	167,546	153,714	1	..	114	19	
37	Cooh Behar	319,824	166,690	153,394	1	..	114	19	
38	Tripura	1,436	856	820	..	..	..	..

N.B.—Figures for Asur, Birhor, Dalu, Korwa and

No. XII-h (concluded).

by categories, by districts.

C—Other depressed classes.													Serial No
(a) Included in the list of 1921 but not in 1931 (concluded)													
*Khandast		*Korri.		Kurmi.		*Nuniya		Rajbangshi		*Sukil.			
Male	Female.	Male.	Female	Male	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female	Male.	Female		
100	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201		
27,258	7,322	11,407	4,614	107,368	87,284	17,499	10,601	939,396	864,975	1,903	1,957	1	
26,002	7,006	11,407	4,614	106,278	86,898	17,499	10,601	773,651	711,822	1,903	1,957	2	
10,235	3,820	4,348	1,456	60,244	57,874	4,281	1,992	34,501	24,623	1,704	1,762	3	
136	23	1,432	597	2,606	1,555	1,289	766	1,039	1,533			4	
3	1	39	24	300	299	93	18	2,112	2,340			5	
3		0	3	10,113	10,461			3,165	3,633			6	
3,257	3,011	186	19	21,679	24,632	75	54	2,541	1,696	1,704	1,763	7	
1,804	150	1,284	473	2,612	964	1,337	774	3,338	4,130			8	
6,032	635	1,402	338	3,316	1,633	1,277	580	5,421	5,164			9	
16,422	3,546	7,051	3,155	20,631	11,169	10,897	5,753	55,771	53,453	199	191	10	
9,666	2,782	3,319	1,729	9,463	5,981	3,468	1,856	21,974	18,773	151	163	11	
4,645	996	2,622	509	7,122	2,536	1,860	348	2,173	841	40	22	12	
		122	73	8,274	1,631	498		7,065	6,886			13	
		1,083	1,044	349	845	1,008	622	11,347	13,007	1		14	
365	47	14		363	223	3,478	3,018	1,378	1,810	3		15	
222	21	26		591	236			12,414	17,916			16	
		8	3	20,530	13,993	2,921	2,856	685,572	658,833			17	
				3,808	2,597			13,198	13,331			18	
				4,312	2,901			187,487	172,881			19	
		2	3	1,942	351	37	0	177,819	163,949			20	
				666	207	1		14,940	15,329			21	
				2,969	1,023	33	11	229,570	216,304			22	
				1,535	1,350			4,920	4,487			23	
				3,453	1,795			6,977	6,398			24	
				3,164	3,313	2,850	2,896	21,165	20,854			25	
5				4,449	3,359			36,747	34,104			26	
				1,003	488			13,864	13,093			27	
5				6,511	1,973			15,449	14,595			28	
				1,049	859			6,659	6,330			29	
				89	2			768	853			30	
				424	690			1,909	527			31	
				186	227			708	494			32	
				19	89			87	92			33	
				228	238			265	241			34	
												35	
596	156			1,090	386			165,745	153,153			36	
				895	243			165,883	153,181			37	
596	156			195	143			60	8			38	

Kurmar have not been extracted.

APPENDIX II

Notes on the Peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

The essay here printed is by Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., now Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam, and is based on the notes which he made during a short stay in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1926. Mr. H. R. Wilkinson, C.I.E., I.C.S., at one time Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts, makes the following comments:—

My recollections date from the years 1920-1923 and must be regarded merely as the impressions of a layman. Where they differ from Mr. Mills' statements, the latter should for obvious reasons be preferred.

The district known as the Chittagong Hill Tracts has more in common with the neighbouring Lushai Hills than with the Chittagong District. But its generous river system provides natural means of communication with Chittagong and the sea. The tendency therefore has been for these hill people, especially those living anywhere near the big rivers, to come more and more into contact with and thus assimilate the customs of the people of the Regulation District. This tendency has been aggravated and accelerated by the inclusion of the district in Bengal, the Commissioner is at Chittagong and for administrative purposes the people look to Chittagong. Although pleaders are not allowed in the Hill Tracts, the people have easy access to the legal profession at Chittagong and the influence of the litigious spirit which prevails in Chittagong District cannot but begin to make itself felt among the hitherto unsophisticated people of the Hills. This is particularly the case with the Chakmas, partly because of their geographical situation but also because the Chief himself would appear to have encouraged the imitation of Bengali habits.

Originally the Chiefs were tribal and not territorial but now they exercise whatever power they have over the Circles called after their names and corresponding now to the three subdivisions. The Chakma Circle is served by the Karnaphuli and its tributaries, which are navigable to the small boats in use in most parts of the Circle. Motor boats now ply regularly between Chittagong and Rangamati and can go a good way beyond that. The Chakma Chief has house property in Chittagong Town and, like the other Chiefs, and in the district. The natural approach to the Hill Tracts is through the Collectorate.

The Chakmas are fair of complexion and to me show distinct traces of Mongolian origin. I am surprised at what Mr. Mills says about their language and religion. I thought that they had a definite language of their own but that it was gradually merging itself into Bengali—Chittagoman Bengali. Similarly I should have said that they were officially Buddhists though with decided animistic tendencies and had always been so and that contact with the people of the plains and the efforts of the Chief to ape the manners of the educated Bengali had resulted in a certain tinge of Hinduism being noticeable in their attitude. The establishment of a High School in Rangamati has created a demand for professional employment.

In times of famine and distress they are extremely reluctant to take up any relief work and for the ordinary Public Works Department road work a staff of Sonthal coolies has to be regularly employed. I think it is pride rather than laziness, which prevents them from taking to this kind of work. Similarly, I think I am right in saying that the Forest Department find it very difficult to obtain the services of Chakmas in Forest villages. My impression also is that it is the Chakmas who have taken most kindly to the imported plough cultivation in place of the indigenous system of *jhuming*; but this of course is due in part at least to the fact that they are more likely to occupy land suitable for plough cultivation.

I came across the Mros very little as I was not long enough in the Hill Tracts to visit their area in the south-east of the district and they themselves are very retiring and clannish. They show very little effect of the influence of the plains.

Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, I.C.S., who succeeded Mr. Wilkinson was assassinated before Mr. Mills' essay was shown to him, and it is consequently impossible to give his comments. Some notes are added however, which were put together by Babu S. S. Chaudhuri, B.J.C.S., and footnotes marked A.S.H. are details supplied by Mr. A. S. Hands, I.C.S., who succeeded Mr. Stevens.

Notes on a tour in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1926 by J. P. Mills, I.C.S.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts form the hinterland of the District of Chittagong, the long boundary between the two districts following the base of the hills. Marching with the Hill Tracts to the North is the State of Tripura, and to the East of and behind them are the Lushai Hills and the Arakan District of Burma. Even since the days of the Mogal conquest the inhabitants of the Hill Tracts have paid tribute, first in cotton and later in money to the paramount power which held the coastal belt of plains. Indolent and unwarlike however they were never able to protect themselves from Lushai and Kuki raiders and in order to safeguard those from whom we received tribute we took on and administered this hinterland from 1862. It now forms a district of the province of Bengal. Its administration has always presented peculiar problems and it was while on deputation in connection with one of them that I was able to record the notes on which this paper is based.

Save where it borders on the Lushai Hills and Arakan the district contains no hills of even a respectable height, and the bulk of its inhabitants are valley folk, hugging the rivers which provide their chief means of communication. The ranges which run through the district are low and remarkably straight, often only a few hundred feet in height and rarely exceeding two thousand. All are of soft sandstone and laterite and there is no supply of stone such as could be put to any cultural use. Many of the valleys are so broad and flat that as one looks across the rice fields one might almost imagine oneself in the plains of Bengal. Others are a mere jumble of laterite and sandstone hillocks, with here and there a few plots of ground level enough for the plough. The rivers, save where they emerge from the higher ranges, meander over sandy

beds. The Karnaphuli, for instance, the main river of the district, is navigable for Bengali boats for 85 miles from Chittagong up to Subalong. Here some short rapids where the river runs over a low outcrop of rock form an obstacle. Above them again the stream is navigable for many miles. The scenery, as one travels by river, is varied. Sometimes high banks of mud are all one sees on either side. In other places steep, heavily wooded cliffs of sandstone run down to the water. The rainfall is heavy and the climate exceedingly unhealthy for much of the year.

In this area the Lushai-Kuki tribes from the North and races of Burmese origin from the South have met face to face. The result has been continual contact and intermingling, and the consequent culture-borrowing has resulted in great uniformity throughout the area. Besides this the long plains border and the rivers which have always given the Bengali trader easy access to the very heart of the district have laid a thick layer of foreign culture over the Indonesian substratum. Yet each tribe still presents its own peculiarities if one looks for them. When I entered a Kuki or Mro house I could imagine myself in the Naga Hills; in the house of an educated Chakma I was in Bengal; in the house of a Southern Magh I was in Burma.

Few areas offer a richer field to the ethnologist but we still await the detailed accounts we long for. Such accounts can only come from those who have lived among the people. A casual visitor like myself can only record what the eye sees; beliefs and social systems must remain hidden from him. It is in this area that the cultures of Assam and Burma meet and such monographs as those published by the Government of Assam would supply many invaluable links. Two officials at any rate, Captain Lewin and Mr. Sneyd Hutchinson, have in the past gained some knowledge of the people by long residence among them, but the books of both only leave us asking for more. Dr. Reibeck is the only trained ethnologist who has ever visited the people of the Hill Tracts and he lacked both knowledge of the language and capable interpreters and did little more than collect specimens of handicraft.

Save the Lusheis, Chaks and Kukis I saw a little of all the tribes inhabiting the Chittagong Hill Tracts. For the sake of brevity I will confine myself to my own observation and refrain from quoting information already available in the few books on this area. For the paucity of the information I can give I am not entirely responsible. Partly, it is true, it is due to the hurried way in which I had to tour. But partly one can justly blame the goods of the Bengali trader which, brought by river almost to the doors of the Hill Tracts folk, have ousted almost every indigenous article. This process is aided by the almost unbelievable indolence of the people. The cotton crop is an unfailing source of cash and even I have known hillmen buy baskets from Bengalis rather than make them from the countless bamboos near at hand; while the highest ambition of a Chakma is to obtain a grant of land and immediately sublet it to a plains man, living himself in complete idleness on a slave of the crop. As the Maghs and Chakmas are the most numerous of the Hill Tracts tribes I will describe them first.

Maghs.—These are essentially valley folk and I saw no village which was not on the bank of a stream. They are almost certainly of Tai origin, their ancestors being the Tai Long (Greater Tai) who were driven out of China towards the south and south-west.* The earliest home, however, of which they have any definite traditions is Arakan, whence they migrated early in the 17th century into what is now Cox's Bazar subdivision. There they split up. Some migrated further into Bengal proper, while two bodies entered the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The first to arrive were the Southern Maghs, under the leadership of the Chief of the Phru family of the Ragretsa clan. They occupied the territory drained by the Sangu and its tributaries in the south of the Chittagong Hill Tracts District. Later the Northern Maghs, under the Chiefs of several clans of which the Palangsa was the most important, moved north along the coast, and settled for a long time on the Sitakund range, to the north of Chittagong. Having *jhumed* that country out they turned east, and crossing a narrow belt of plains, entered the low hills along the Tripura border in the north of the Chittagong Hill Tracts District. There they settled, finding the country empty save for a scattered Tippera population. This migration did not come to an end till early in the 19th century, and the longer sojourn of the Northern Maghs on the coast of Bengal has caused them to lose many of the Burmese characteristics which the Southern Maghs still retain.

Magh villages usually contain from about 10 to fifty houses, but are generally small. They are invariably built on the banks of streams. The houses are flimsy structures of bamboo on bamboo piles and consist of two main rooms, each with a separate door opening out on to the big sitting-out platform, and a small store room at the back. The climate is too hot for a fire even to be necessary for warmth, and for cooking a hearth is built in the corner of one of the main rooms. It consists of a bed of clay and three clay cylinders on which the cooking pot rests. These are obviously substitutes for hearth stones in a country where nothing but laterite or soft sandstone is to be found. The eaves of the house are low and stretch far out over the sitting-out platform, which invariably faces the East. It is under these eaves that the family sits during the day, retiring inside at night to sleep on mats in the breeze which blows through the thin bamboo matting walls of the house. The sitting-out platform is raised round and the only approach to it and so to the house is up a notched log, which is either pulled up or reversed at night.

In villages in which the houses are arranged to form a street there is often at one end of it a roofed platform on which the men sit and talk. This is probably a survival of the *morung* found in Assam. In one Northern Magh village (Maischari) I saw on the ground near one or

* Vide Le May *An Asian Arcady*, page 4.

two of the houses rough, low, strongly built huts, just high enough for a man to crawl into. I was told that they were used as shelters during hurricanes. Most villages boast a little Buddhist temple, which is always built well apart from the other houses.

On the site on which it is proposed to build a new house a pole is set up, and to the top of it is fixed a model of a bow with an arrow on the string and pointing skywards, the idea being that evil spirits are thereby frightened off.

Though the Maghs are now Buddhists they admit that they were once head hunters. Only faint memories of those days remain and I could learn no details. They say that after the heads were brought in they were welcomed by the women and were then buried, but where and in what position I could not ascertain.

The tribe is divided into endogamous clans (*Osa* or *Sa*) with descent in the male line. A clan is usually named after the stream or place near which the original ancestor is said to have lived. The Northern and Southern Maghs each contain their own group of clans, and a village, unless big, is usually inhabited by the members of one clan only. A man may marry any woman of his own clan who is not a near blood relation. Marriage outside the clan used to be strictly forbidden and I was told that members of different clans would not even eat together in the old days. Now, however, these restrictions have been greatly relaxed and marriage outside the clan is by no means uncommon.

The language is Arakanese, a dialect of Burmese. There are slight differences of dialect between the Northern and Southern Maghs. Burmese characters are used. In figures the Magh is short and sturdy. The face is broad and rather Mongolian and the complexion a sallow brown. The men usually have a straggling moustache and occasionally a beard.

By the men of the Northern Maghs Bengali *dhooties* are now worn, but most of the Southern Maghs wear Burmese dress—a silk *lungi*, a jacket and a white *puggaree*. Often instead of a *puggaree* a man will twist a jaunty piece of coloured silk round his head. The dress of a woman varies little throughout the tribe. She wears a long silk skirt, striped horizontally, of which the predominating colour is usually red. When there are no strangers about this is often the only garment of both young and old, but in public a piece of lined, home woven silk is bound over the breast or tucked into a black string tied round the body about them. A dark coloured jacket is also worn by some. A white *puggaree* is worn, sometimes with embroidered ends.

Many individuals of both sexes have the teeth blackened with a certain sap but the custom is not universal. Tattooing is commoner among the Southern Maghs than among the Northern. Men are tattooed on their arms and women on the backs of their shoulders and of their hands. The only "patterns" I saw were words in Burmese characters. The operation is done by Maghs learned in the art who come up from Cox's Bazar in the cold weather, and the instrument used, I was told, is a little bamboo holder into which three ordinary needles are fitted like a nib. The word to be tattooed is marked on the skin and pricked over with the tattooing instrument. This is operated by the right hand and guided against the side of the forefinger of the left. The sap of a certain tree is finally rubbed into the perforated skin.

Popular though the recently introduced plough is among the Maghs *jhuming* is still carried on. The method, which is the same among all the tribes I saw in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, differs somewhat from that with which I am familiar in Assam. The jungle is cut in the early spring and is burnt as soon as it is dry. Three crops are then sown simultaneously in drills—vegetables, rice and cotton. These come to maturity in that order and are gathered in turn. Land is only sown once and is then abandoned for a term of years, instead of being sown twice as in Assam. During the hot weather the villages of the valley tribes are abandoned and the whole population moves up to the *jhums* till after the rice harvest. The grain is stored in round matting bins in the houses and not in separate granaries. For hoeing little adze-shaped hoes of Bengali manufacture are used. Nearly all Maghs use the Bengali husker, which is worked with the foot. Only in one or two villages did I see rice being husked by hand with a pounding pole in a cavity hollowed out in the end of a short log, bobbin shaped and set up on end on the ground near the house. A single Bengali pounder is usually shared by several households and is kept in a shed specially built for it. The houses are too flimsy for any pounding to be done in them. The winnowing fan is a circular tray of bamboo matting.

Lungis and jackets are usually bought, but skirts and head cloths are woven at home. Silk thread is bought but cotton thread is home-spun. The cotton is seeded in a machine with little rollers working reverse ways, identical with that used by Thado and other Kukis in Assam. It is then ginned with a bow, the string of which they twang not with the finger, as Nagas do, but with a smooth piece of wood shaped like a penholder with a blunt end. This bow-twanger I found used by all the tribes I saw in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Assam I have only seen it among the old Kukis. After being ginned the cotton is rolled into "sausages" round another thin piece of wood and the thread spun with a simple spinning machine. This machine, too, I found throughout the Hill Tracts, save among the Mros. The loom is of the simple tension type, and boat-shaped shuttles of wood or horn are used.

Though no Magh blacksmith was at work in any village I visited I was told that *daos* and knives are still made in a few places. The hewells, my informant told me, are of the type found in the Naga Hills, and consist of a pair of upright bamboo cylinders, with pistons padded with feathers laid with their tips downwards. Handsome silver pipes are made by Maghs. Wood-carving appears to be a lost art. The only good specimen I saw was an old musical instrument called a "crocodile harp", which was carved in the shape of that reptile.

When matches are not used fire is produced by the method used by the Kacharis and Old Kukis in Assam and all the other tribes I saw in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. A piece of bamboo about a foot long is split in two. On the outside and near the middle of the half used a notch is cut deep enough to perforate it. A thong of bamboo or cane is pulled backwards and forwards across this notch by the operator, who meanwhile holds the piece of bamboo firmly on the ground with his foot. The friction against the edge of the hole scrapes a fine dust off the thong. This dust is forced through the hole and lies in the trough of the inner side of the bamboos. As the heat increases it smokes and finally glows.

The Maghs nowadays have no weapons save guns and *daos*. Tradition definitely states however that they used to have both crossbows and upright bows, as well as spears. I was also shown an ancient square leather shield. For killing birds pellet bows are used and long blow guns. Nooses are used for snaring. Fish traps are generally of the Bengali pattern but conical traps lined with cane thorns are still occasionally to be seen. The only toys I saw were stilts, used by little boys.

The feathers of the Great Indian Hornbill were used as fans and ornaments in the old days. I never saw any carving of this bird. The earth from its nesting hole is, however, used as a medicine. Another medicine one sees in houses is a species of fungus which is dried and ground up and made into an ointment for sore nipples.

The official religion is Buddhism and yellowrobed priests are to be seen everywhere especially among the Southern Maghs. But many primitive elements remain. The belief in, evil spirits is strong and charms are plentiful. On the outer walls of houses are put little saucers inscribed with texts in Burmese. Inside the houses, over and on either side of the inner doors, are pointed pieces of bamboo marked with transverse black lines. These are known as "crocodile teeth." Exactly similar charms are put outside their doors by the Nagas of the unique village of Sembhor in the North Cachar Hills, and very similar wooden ones by Kachha Nagas of the Maruonmai group in the same area.

When a man falls ill it is often thought that an evil spirit has captured his soul and is holding it to ransom. A small offering to appease the spirit and buy the soul's release is then made on the path, as among Nagas. To cure headache a little grid of bamboo strips is set up on a stick outside the village.

When a child is born the navel string is cut with a bamboo knife. Steel may on no account be used. Nor may the mother, during the days of her uncleanness, use any spoon other than a gourd one. The afterbirth is buried in the clay of the hearth and dug up again after three days. A small portion is then kept in a hollow bamboo and the rest thrown away. These customs are most strictly observed even in the household of the Bohmaung, the Chief of the Ragretsa clan and leading Magh of the district. Nor the least enthusiastic followers of ancient ways are his sons, graduates of Calcutta University.

The bodies of the dead are burned on the banks of streams. For their spirits lamps are lighted under pipal trees and offerings made for seven days. These offerings are made on the anniversary of the death till the heirs get careless. All offerings to the dead must be made with the left hand. I saw two types of what might be called funeral monuments. One, of which I saw several examples, is a mound of earth in tiers, like a wedding cake, revetted with bamboo matting. On the top are placed some pots and a lamp. Another type I saw at Patag in the Northern Magh country. In a field in front of a little Buddhist temple was an area of beaten earth fourteen yards square and fenced round. In this were set up thirty high poles, each of which was surmounted by a pagoda-like ornament of paper with hanging decorations of pith. There was a lamp at the foot of each pole and another at the top attached to a pulley by which it could be lowered to be lighted. Above the pulley was a roughly carved wooden bird, which I was told was a paddy-bird but which looked remarkably like a hornbill. The lamps are lighted in honour of the dead, to whom offerings of rice, milk, etc., are made for a period of thirty days while the crops are ripening—clearly a fertility rite.

The bulk of the property of a dead man goes to his sons. One-half goes to his eldest son, one-eighth to his daughters and the rest to his other sons equally.

Chakmas.—All the tribes of this area resemble each other so closely in many points of culture that having dealt with the Maghs at some length I shall be able to describe the other tribes more briefly.

If a Chakma be asked the origin of his tribe he either denies all knowledge of the matter or repeats like a parrot an incredible and purely modern story of descent from an ancient and noble Hindu race. Kalindi Rani, the great chieftainess who flourished in Lewin's time, knew only of some half-dozen previous chiefs. The present chief, second in succession after her, signs himself "45th Chakma Raja", so greatly has the length of his ancestry increased in recent years. To describe how the Raja reached his present position would be of no interest from the ethnological point of view. Suffice it to say that a supreme chief has no place in the ancient polity of the tribe, and that he is nothing but the descendant of tax farmers aggrandized by the paramount power.

The name "Chakma" is derived from the Maghi word *chaok*, meaning "of mixed origin", and the Chakmas are undoubtedly in the main the descendants of Maghi women and Mogal soldiers. There is a small tribe known as Chaks in the southern portion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Unfortunately I had no opportunity of visiting them and of ascertaining how they are related to the Chakmas proper.

Despite their mixed origin the tribe is now very uniform and presents several features that merit description. They migrated from what is now Cox's Bazar subdivision in Chittagong towards the end of the 18th century and now inhabit the middle reaches of the Karnaphuli. They are by far the most bengalised tribe in the district. Even their language is a dialect of Bengali, though one section of the tribe is said to have spoken Maghi till recently. The script in common use is Bengali, but the ancient script, which is still used by the more conservative members of the tribe, is of the Burmese type and is considered by Sir George Grierson to be closely allied to the ancient Khmer script.

In appearance they resemble Bengalis and their features show little trace of their partially Mongol origin. The dress of the well-to-do men is Bengali, but the poor men often merely wear a rag pulled between the legs and tucked into a string round the waist in front and behind. The dress of the women is distinctive. They wear a long dark blue skirt to the ankles, with a broad red band near the edge. Till puberty the upper part of the body is bare. Later a broad strip of embroidered silk is usually worn over the breasts. Bengali ornaments are worn in the nose and ears, and silver rings on the ankles. A flat silver band is worn round the neck. The hair is done in a bun at the back.

All the villages I saw were on the banks of streams. A few rich men have brick houses after the Bengali style, but the ordinary houses are exactly like those of the Maghs, with the platforms similarly facing east. The villages are small and often contain members of more than one of the many clans (*goza*) into which the tribe is divided. In the old days each *goza* was endogamous and was under the control of a headman, called in the modern dialect a *devan*. In order to increase their own power however the chiefs set out, about a hundred years ago, to lessen that of the *devans*, by making all relations of *devans* into *devans* and so turning an office into a class. This tended to break up the clan system, a tendency which was accelerated when Government, for purposes of administration, divided the country into *mauzas* with fixed boundaries, each under a headman. These headmen have been steadily acquiring the power which the *devans* used to have, and the tendency is for an endogamous *mauza* to be substituted for an endogamous clan. That is to say a man may nowadays marry any girl of his own *mauza* not nearly related to him, but is expected to provide an extra lavish marriage feast by way of a fine if he marries a girl of another *mauza*.*

In so far as they can be said to have a religion at all the Chakmas are now Buddhists. In the 18th century many of them adopted the religion of the Moguls to whom they paid tribute and the chiefs of that time had Muhammadan names. Then a reaction towards Hinduism seems to have set in, bringing with it the Hindu names which are now almost universally adopted. The Hinduism prevalent was however of a very half-hearted type, and Kalindi Rani decided that something definite must be done. After considering the advantages and disadvantages of various creeds she is said to have given orders that the tribe was to adopt Buddhism. Buddhists they therefore are to this day, though I must confess that I only once saw a priest in their country.

The chief's womenfolk and those of one or two other families are kept purdah. This custom only originated in the time of Kalindi Rani, who went purdah one day herself in order to avoid an interview with Lewin on the morrow. It is not in accordance with Chakma tradition and is much disliked by the better elements among the people.

Underlying their Buddhism is a belief in animism. One often sees offerings to spirits on little platforms, and on one such platform at Toyichakma I noticed little squares of thread exactly like those placed on Angami women's graves. They also release scape-goat chickens for illness, just as the Semas and other Nagas do. They swear on a tiger's tooth, a stream or withering leaves, and they told me that they sometimes settle disputes by the diving test.

Their method of cultivating and preparing rice is exactly similar to that of the Maghs, save that I never saw a rice husker other than of the Bengali pattern. The women weave their own skirts and breast cloths on an ordinary Indonesian tension loom. Shuttles are rarely used. The only one I saw was of a type found both among the Tipperas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Kolang Kukis of the North Cachar Hills. It consisted of a piece of bamboo prettily ornamented with a pattern scratched on it and open at one end only. In the side was a small hole for the thread to pass through. At first sight the problem of getting the thread through this small hole from the inside is a difficult one. In reality it is quite simple. You unwind about a foot of thread and put the bobbins with this loose end into the shuttle. Then you blow hard in the open end and the pressure of air forces the thread through the hole. All the other instruments of spinning and weaving are exactly similar to those of the Maghs.

The children play a game with the seeds of the sword *bean* similar to the Naga game, and pellet bows are very popular.

Tipperas.—At least two very different sub-tribes of the district are classed under the general name of Tipperas. Many inhabit the Mong Raja's circle, which marches with Hill Tripura. It is a country of low hills and sluggish streams, and until the Maghs came the Tipperas were apparently the only occupants. They are very Bengalised, the men wearing *dhotis* and

*At Nauyarchar, 20-7-28.—System of marriage by which a Chakma who cannot pay the price of a wife, gets another man to buy one for him agreeing that after marriage they will live at the benefactor's house and serve for a period of years. This case was an agreement to work for five years to repay marriage expense of Rs. 300, i.e., one month's work equals Rs. 5. The period and the rate may vary in different cases. The price of the girl in this case was Rs. 60, ornaments Rs. 90 odd, drummers Rs. 8 and the balance for clothes for the girl and a general feast. It is analogous to the *ghar janat* system, but I could not find that it had any special name. The married couple have broken this agreement by bolting after doing 6 months' work.

puggarees, and the women dressing exactly like Chakma women. I saw very few in the old fashioned dress—a piece of cloth pulled through a string round the waist, long hair and leaves in the ears. A home-spun cotton cloth, with broad white and dark blue stripes is occasionally worn. The houses are exactly like Chakma houses, and the villages, which are small, are sometimes on the top of the ranges and sometimes in the valleys. The religion is Hinduism and no stranger may enter their houses unless he removes his boots. A conspicuous feature inside is the main post with bunches of ears of rice, tied to it, being the first fruits of successive years. In every way their material culture appears to be identical with that of the Chakmas. They seem to know few folk tales, but they believe that the marks on the moon are trees.

A more primitive and interesting section of the tribe is scattered about the Banderban circle in the South of the district. They are said to be the descendants of Tippers slaves taken to Arakan long ago. The men wear white waist clothes of which the black embroidered ends are left hanging down at the side. The corners are decorated with cowries. Above they wear white home-spun jackets. Their heads are shaved at the sides and back like those of Nagas and small *puggarees* are worn, with the ends hanging down over their right ears. In the lobes of the ears are cylinders of bamboo, from which hang crescent-shaped ornaments of silver. Small blue and white beads are immensely popular, and both men and women load their necks with strings of them. The *dao* is carried pushed through the waist-cloth at the back.

The women wear a skirt of black and grey, with brown and black edges. Before marriage they usually cover their breasts with a narrow, tight strip of red and brown cloth, with cowries at the corners. The hair is worn in a big bun at the back. Armlets of black beads are often worn above the elbow. Through the top of the ear a spiked ornament of silver is worn, and through the lobe a crescent-shaped ornament.

Though nominally Hindus they readily admit strangers to their houses, which resemble those of Kukis. A house consists of one big room, with sliding doors and a narrow verandah at either end.

Their methods of cultivation and their industries are identical with those of the Maghs. For weaving they sometimes use a tubular shuttle of the Chakma pattern. Birds are shot with a short blow-gun.

The Khyengs.—The chief home of the Khyengs is in Arakan, and of the few there are in the Chittagong Hill Tracts I was only able to see the two small villages of Arachhari and Kukiyachhari, close together on low, steep hills at the Northern end of the Bandarban Circle. I was very much struck by the negroid features and curly hair of some of the men, but from such scanty evidence it would be unfair to draw any inference. They claim to have inhabited the country from time immemorial. Those whom I saw had long been under Magh and Chakma influence and their culture presented few distinctive features. *Dhotis* are now common, but the more conservative men still wear a narrow white cloth with red ends, pulled through a string round the waist. The hair is done after the Mro fashion, that is to say in a bun on the left side of the head, with a bone pin stuck in it. The women wear a skirt and breast cloth of white with narrow red lines, and a large white *puggaree*, with red embroidered ends. The houses are on piles, and each consists of one large room with a kitchen at the back. By religion they are Buddhists and, unlike Chakmas and Maghs, are divided into exogamous clans. All property goes to sons, the youngest of whom gets the greatest share. Their relationship terms seem to show traces of a former dual division.

Kukis.—In the Southern portion of the district only Bonjugi Kukis appear to be found, but in the Northern portion the majority are Pankhos, with a few Bonjugis. As their villages are invariably on the top of the ranges, where my work did not take me I was unable to see nearly as much of them as I could have wished.

Mr. Rowlands in a private note, says that the Bonjugis came from a village called Daun on the Koladan, while the Pankhos came from Pankhua, three miles from where the Lunget-Thaka track crosses the Koladan. Some figured memorial stones are said still to exist there, which would probably well repay investigation. The two tribes are closely akin and will inter-marry, often even inhabiting the same villages. They speak slightly different dialects.

The Bonjugi men wear a narrow white waist-cloth, a white jacket, and a very narrow white home-spun *puggaree* with embroidered ends. The hair is done in a tight bun on the top of the head and ornamented with a metal pin. Strings of small cornelian beads are worn and also enormous beads—sometimes dark red, and sometimes yellow—of a very light substance which is said to be amber. The women wear a white skirt with red lines in it, and, when strangers are about, a cloth of similar pattern thrown over the upper part of the body.

I was able to visit Basanta, a Pankho village containing a few Bonjugi houses, near Subalong in the Northern portion of the district. The men wear a small white apron and a white coat ornamented with a little embroidery round the bottom at the back. Some men do their hair in a bun at the back, while others—usually young men—pile it up over the forehead into a sort of horn. Into this horn a well-dressed man pushes, base down, a small triangular ornament of steel pins, embellished with a red tassel at the "apex." The beads worn are similar to those of the Bonjugis. Women wear a white skirt with narrow red lines and usually leave the upper part of the body bare. Round the waist they wear strings of beads and rings of brass wire. The latter may once have been their sole dress, as very small girls wear such rings as their only garment. Large plugs of bone or bamboo are worn in the ears.

The houses are on piles and are big and well built. There is one main room, with an open porch in front and a sitting-out platform at the back. A man who has sacrificed *mithan* (*gayal*) sets up in front of his house a large forked post with a *mithan* head carved on it. The skulls of animals sacrificed are exhibited on a rack propped up against the centre post of the living room.

The loom is of the ordinary Indonesian type, and for a shuttle with an enlarged conical head is used. Both Pankhos and Bonjugis have bamboo flutes, but not, apparently, the gourd "bagpipes" found among Thados and other Kuki tribes in Assam.

The Mros.—Of all the tribes I saw the Mros interested me most. They are often spoken of as Mrungs, a term which is not only erroneous, but liable to lead to serious confusion, as it is properly applicable to one of the Tippera clans.

The Mros say they are immigrants from Arakan. Those I saw inhabit the Southern portion of the Bandarban Circle in the South of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where their villages are hidden away in a tangle of low steep hills drained by the Sangu and its tributaries, some situated on low spurs just above the streams and others on the tops of ridges. The people, especially the women, have the reputation of being very shy, but I found no difficulty in taking such photographs as I wanted. Certainly they are suspicious of strangers and keep themselves very much to themselves, and to this and an innate conservatism may be attributed the remarkable way in which they have retained their primitive characteristics, in spite of their proximity to their plains and their constant contact with Bengali traders.

They are of medium height and light build and one is struck by the almost entire absence of Mongolian traits in their features. Their costume is of the lightest. The men wear a narrow white or red cloth, which is wound round the waist, pulled between the legs from the front and tucked in at the back. In addition a home-spun coat is sometimes worn. The hair is done in a bun on the left side of the head and through the bun a bone pin is stuck. A *puggaree* is sometimes worn. Large rings of white metal are worn through the lobes of the ears. Young men often wear round the waist a narrow girdle of beads very prettily worked in a flower pattern. The teeth are often stained black. The women wear nothing by day but a very short dark blue skirt, edged with white beads. This reaches half way down the thigh and is open down the left side. It is tucked into a narrow silver girdle, and over it a belt of scarlet beads is worn. At night both sexes wear very thick cotton cloths.

All clothes are removed for bathing, and both sexes bathe together unembarrassed and with perfect propriety, the left hand providing such covering as is required.

The villages usually contain between ten and twenty houses.* These are large and well built. The roofs are slightly log-backed. They are on piles and the only approach is up a notched log. Inside they consist of one large room and a store room at the end. This latter is regarded as the women's room and no stranger may enter it. There is a sitting-out platform at the end of the house.

A man who has given the full series of feasts of merit may build an extra large house and may set up by the side of it four or five long bamboos. Forked posts are not put up. The series of feasts is (1) fowls, (2) a pig, (3) a dog and (4) bulls, buffaloes or *mithan* (*gayal*) up to three in number. A plain upright post in the middle of the village marks the place of sacrifice. In some villages, but not in all, a small pointed stone is set up at the foot of the post for every animal sacrificed. In one village I passed through the sacrificial post was very high, and was surrounded at a distance of some feet by a circle of lower posts notched at the top. When a feast is to be given rafters are fitted from these side posts to the centre post and the whole roofed over, so that the ceremonies can take place under cover.

A Mro if asked his religion will say he is a Buddhist, but to the observer the only traces of Buddhism visible are charms occasionally placed on houses and the practice of burning the dead. Their real religion is animism. The religious affairs of a village are run by an old man called a *sera*, who may be of any clan and who also acts as exorcist. For epidemics a pig and a dog are sacrificed and a series of sabbaths called *to-ung* observed, for the nine days of which no one may descend to the ground from the verandah of his house.†

Hutchinson (Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, page 165) says the tribe is divided into five "septs," the Dengua, the Premsang, the Kongloi, the Naizar and the Gharoo Gnar, meaning respectively the cultivated plain tree, the cockscomb plant, the wild plain tree, the jack tree, and the mango tree. I am afraid I omitted to make enquiries on this precise point, but I was told that the tribe was divided into a number of clans—evidently subdivisions of Hutchinson's septs. They are exogamous, but not mutually so. For instance in Bali village I found the following clans—Shimlung, Chingnao, Nirineha and Shitma. All are exogamous, but, though a Shimlung man may marry a Chingnao woman, a Chingnao man may not marry a Shimlung woman. For this I could obtain no explanation at all. Large clans are divided

*6.12.28.—*Tain valley*.—I found some Mro forest houses at Amtoli (Tain valley). The Mros call them *liku*. They are put up for taking refuge in when there is a storm. They do not appear to be kept up permanently, but are put up when it looks as though there is dirty weather coming. The ones I saw were made two months ago. This strikes me as curious because the Mro houses are the most solidly built of all, the support being of stout logs instead of bamboos and much of this fencing being made of whole bamboos. Of course the Mro village is usually perched on an exposed ridge, but then so are *shum* houses very often. The peculiarity of Amtoli para (Lengsa Karbari) is that it is right down on the level bank of the Tain. The *liku* were cut in a sheltered grass space outside the villages. They say that for villages on the hills, the *liku* are erected in a sheltered place at the foot of the hill. (A. S. H.)

†The Mros do not do *puja* at the funeral house of a woman who has died before her child is 3 years old. The Khumis make no such distinctions. (A. S. H.)

into sub-clans, called *kuchas*. In such cases a man may marry a woman of his own clan provided she is of a different *kuchi*. Property descends to the sons, the youngest getting the largest share.

At birth the navel cord is cut with a steel knife and hewn with a piece of bamboo. The baby is immediately laid on a plaitain leaf. The funeral customs show clearly, exactly as they do at Semkhor in the North Cachar Hills, that the practice of burning the dead is a comparatively modern one. Every village has its burning place near a stream and usually close to pipal tree. The body is burned and the calcined bones are removed and placed in a little house on piles a few yards further back from the stream. To the sides of the house are fastened bamboos festooned with tassels of bamboo shavings, and in the house are put with the bones food, drink, pots, and bits of rag for clothes. All vessels, whether of pottery or brass, are broken. The finer ashes, left where the man was burned, are also treated as if the spirit of the dead man were there too. Over them is laid a piece of cloth. This is pegged down at the edges and on it are laid a *dao*, a hoe, etc. Over this another cloth is laid and by them are placed pots of food and drink. Finally a little lean-to shelter is built over the heap, with the open side towards the east.

As far as I know the method of cultivation is identical with that of the other tribes of this area. The winnowing fan, however, is of the sugar scoop type that Nagas use and not of the round type used by all the other tribes I saw in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. I saw no Bengali *dhan*-pounders. All were of the primitive round type.

The loom is identical with that found among the other tribes of the district, but the Mros alone spin against the right thigh after the Naga fashion.

The tribe must take a heavy toll of jungle animals and birds. For leopards and tigers box-traps with drop doors are made, identical in pattern with those found in the Naga Hills. Very long fences are built across the line which rats must take going backwards and forwards between the cleared fields and the jungle. These fences are impenetrable save at the gaps which are left every few yards. In each gap there is a fall trap. Birds are both speared with nooses and caught in nets stretched between bamboo poles on saddles which they are in the habit of crossing.

The Mros are a musical race and use both bamboo flutes and "banjos" made by cutting out and lifting thin strips of the outer layer of a piece of bamboo. The favourite instrument however is a gourd "mouth-organ" which closely resembles that made by Thado Kukis in Assam. The instruments are made in pairs, of which the two harmonise. The players walk at the head of a procession of dancers. The step is very slow and solemn and the feet are pointed as they touch the ground. This is the only dance the tribe has, and there is only one tune for it, and that a singularly monotonous one.

Notes on the Chaks, compiled by Babu S. S. Chaudhuri, B.A.C.S.

The Chaks trace their previous abode at Chakyandong in Koladain hill in Arakan, where there were, it is said, about 11,000 families who lived under a chief of their own. There were signs of 10,000 houses made of bamboo and 1,000 houses made of wood at Chakyandong for a long time. When the Chakmas, another hill tribe, migrated to Chittagong Hill Tracts from Burma, they also came with them and settled in Nakhyongghari side of this district (Chittagong Hill Tracts). The Chakmas advanced further towards the north and they were left behind in these places. Little is known of their migration previous to this. There is a story as to how the Chaks were left behind by the Chakmas which runs as follows :—

When the Chaks began to cook their curry with *Chingri* fish they were asked to follow the Chakmas who were ready beforehand. But as the *Chingri* fish, which turns red by cooking, could not be made white, they thought that the cooking was not complete as the fish still contained blood, so they cooked the curry on and on but the fish did not turn bloodless, i. e., white. The Chakmas seeing their delay left them behind and they settled in these places.

At present there are only a small number of Chaks, not more than 100 families in the district, who are found in Nakhyongghari, Baisari, Pagah (near Reju) and Bakkhali mauzas. Thus it appears that the Chaks came from the south to this area.

The following are stories current amongst the Chaks :—

Earthquakes.—There were 4 disciples under a priest who used to cook their food. These disciples were so selfish that they always took the best curries for themselves while the priest was supplied with all the remaining bad things. After their death the 4 disciples went into hell and as punishment they had to bear the earth on bamboo poles on their shoulder. They were placed on the four directions north, south, east and west. As they cannot bear the earth on the same shoulder for a long time they are required to change their shoulder. And it is at the time of changing their shoulders that earthquake begins.

Rainbows.—Once there was no water in the locality anywhere except in the house of a blacksmith. A brother and a sister being very thirsty went to the house of the blacksmith to drink water. When they asked for some water, the blacksmith told them that if they could live like a husband and wife he could give them water. In order to quench their thirst they were compelled to live as husband and wife and then drank water and died soon afterwards. After their death they became rainbows and appear in the sky occasionally. Still now two rainbows are seen at the same time. The bright one is the sister and the faint one is the brother.

Eclipses.—Tha-O the great Snake gave a half-pice to the sun. As the sun did not repay it the great snake began to devour him and when the sun promised to repay it he was allowed to go. Hence the origin of the eclipse of the sun.

Note on the Maghs of Cox's Bazar.

Regarding the Maghs of the Cox's Bazar subdivision, Babu Manindra Kumar Sen, district census officer, Chittagong, has furnished the following notes for information supplied by Rai Sahib Bipin Bihari Rakshit :—

They live in raised huts or wooden houses built very close to one another. Groups of houses form one *mahalla* with one elected *mahalladar* at its head. This *mahalladar* is an aged and respectable person and wields autocratic powers and his wish is regarded as law by every one residing in his *mahalla*. All disputes between themselves are decided by *mahalladars* and they hardly resort to the law courts, except at the express direction of the *mahalladar*. Inter-*mahalla* affairs are settled by the *mahalladars* of different *mahals* concerned. By nature they are meek, peaceful and ease-loving and are terribly afraid of the law and its agencies. All of them belong to the same sect, with Buddhism as their common religion. They maintain several *Keyangs* (temples of Buddha) which are occupied by celibate priests and their disciples who live on cooked food, sent to them by the villagers. Each *Keyang* situated in a solitary place contains a good many images of Lord Buddha. Some of the images are adorned with costly ornaments. The celibate priests are recruited from the villagers after the performance of a ceremony called the *Maishang* ceremony. The family feels proud and happy if it can supply a *Maishang* in the *Keyang*.

Polyandry or polygamy is not in existence. Widow-remarriage is in vogue. Divorce is rare and its incidents are governed by the Burmese Buddhist law which is in force in Lower and Upper Burma. No sexual indulgence with outsiders is allowed before or after marriage. System of courtship is unknown. Marriage is generally settled by the parents of the parties in consultation with their relations (numbering on each side not less than 7 persons). Consent of the bridegroom or the bride is not essential. The marriage ceremony is simple and does not entail much expenditure. The bridegroom's party will visit the bride's house with some ornaments and sweets and in presence of the invited gentlemen of both the sides, the guardians of the bridegroom will make them over to the guardians of the bride; this will mean an engagement or preliminary contract for marriage. On the day of marriage the priest will go to the bridegroom's house and bless him with some *mantras*. The same priest will then visit the bride's house and bless her with similar *mantras*, and on the same day the priest will again bless the couple in the house of the bride in presence of their grand-father or grand-mother or grand-uncle or grand-aunt. This being over the bridegroom and the bride will take a meal from the same dish. After the meal the wife will walk round the husband seven times saluting him as her husband on each round. They will then live in the bride's house for seven days as husband and wife and on each of those seven days the husband will present flowers to the wife. On the eighth day the newly-married couple will visit the *Keyang* and there they will take a vow before the priest that they will never separate. Thus the marriage is completed. No document of any kind is required.

A note on some of their festivals and social customs is given below :—

(a) *Boat festival*.—This takes place on the full-moon night in the month of Aswin. They make religious offerings in the *Keyang* during the daytime and at dusk they flock to the bank of the river. They prepare small toy boats with pieces of wood and cloth and paper and gorgeously decorate them with lace and coloured papers. Inside the boat they carefully place lit candles and get them afloat in the water. They shout, sing and clap their hands as those toy boats float down the stream with the current. It is Lord Buddha, they say, sailing through the dark world with light.

(b) *Water festival*.—This takes place on the last day of Chaitra. It is a gala day for the youths and children. They (both male and female) come out in the street in batches with buckets and syringes and throw water at one another; one batch fights the other with water, running, chasing, retreating, attacking; shouts of joy and loud laughter ring through the air. Other people than the Maghs are also attacked with water when passing along the street. Every one takes it in good spirit. This resembles to certain extent the *dol jatra* of the Hindus. Seniors rarely take part in this festival.

(c) *Buha Chakra*.—This comes off on the full-moon day in the month of Magh. Of all the festivals this seems to be enjoyed most by the Maghs. It lasts for 3 or 4 days. A *buha* (labyrinth) is constructed of bamboo fencing on fairly large block of land, with two gates, one of entrance and the other of exit. Once you enter the labyrinth, you have to go round and round by several zig-zag ways laid between bamboo fences and the labyrinth is so skilfully constructed that you cannot come out of it unless you have traversed the whole area of the land enclosed. Inside the labyrinth there are 4 or 5 pedestals on which are placed beautiful images of Lord Buddha. In course of moving along the labyrinth the people halt before each image and salute it and place a lighted candle at the foot of the image invoking the Lord's blessings. The gate of entrance is dark and the gate of exit is well lighted. During this festival there are pantomime and puppet shows, and *watcha* dances (dance of the Buddhist professional girls) are also performed.

(d) *Phungyi burning ceremony*.—This is perhaps the most expensive ceremony of the Maghs. When a Phungyi dies (a priest of high class) they preserve the dead body in a bier in the *Keyang* for a period of one year. During this time all the *mahallas* contribute money and big wooden cannons are prepared and loaded with gunpowder. On the appointed day all the Maghs of all the *mahallas* flock to the cremation ground and arrange the cannons in a row with a flag of each *mahalla* flying over its cannon. With pomp and ceremony, in a well-adorned

bier, the dead body is brought into the cremation ground in procession, followed by the Magh musical concert party. The bier is then placed on a well decorated hut built high up in air like the Persian tower of silence. Cannons are then discharged from a distance of about 400 yards towards that hut amidst shouts and uproar. The cannon-ball that touches the hut or passes very close to it receives tremendous cheers and the fortunate *mahalla* to which that cannon belongs, feels itself proud and happy. They run up to the cannon and bring the empty cannon back dancing and singing round it all the while. After all the cannons have been discharged one after the other, the hut is set on fire with various combustible substance and with the bier is soon burnt into ashes.

The Maghs, except the poor and children, are burnt with pomp and ceremony. The corpse is placed in a beautiful coffin and is carried along the street in a big procession of both sexes followed by a musical party.

The Maghs have very little contact with the people of other religions. They live secluded among themselves. They are very conservative in manners and habits and are still unaffected by Western civilisation. The males often take to trading and brokery. The poor Maghs catch fish in the sea and live on fishing. Some of them, like so many drones, live idly at home upon the income of their wives who earn a good deal by weaving silk cloths and *lungis* which they send to various trade centres through brokers. The women are active and industrious like ants and work from morning till night, weaving, cooking and doing sundry other works. They do not like cultivation of any kind.

Most of the Maghs, males and females, learn the Maghi language. Very few are reading in high English schools and colleges and they do not seem very anxious for English education. By nature they are truthful, simple and sincere and seldom litigate against one another. They distrust other communities and resent outsiders' meddling with their affairs.

APPENDIX III

Notes on the Kayasthas, Namasudras, Baidyas, Vyasa or Gaudadya Brahmanas, Kaivarttas and Mahishyas, Patnis, Shahas and Telis and Tilis by N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

Káyastha.—Káyastha is a comparatively new word in the Sanskrit language. It cannot be traced earlier than the third century A. D. The *Viṣṇumīrti* is such a mixture of old and new writings that the occurrence of the word once (VII, 3) in that book does not help us to determine the age of its first appearance. It was unknown in the days of the grammarians Pāṇini and Patanjali as otherwise such a peculiar word would not have been left unnoticed by them. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and the Inscriptions of Asoka which give a detailed account of the administrative system of the Maurya period do not mention Káyastha. The earlier *Smṛiti* works down to the time of Manu's *Dharmashastra* which was compiled in its present shape some time between B. C 200 and A. D 200 do not contain any reference to Káyastha either as an officer or as a caste. Probably the first mention of the word occurs in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛitī* (I, 336), which may be dated in the third century A. D. But in that book, too, it occurs only once and is not mentioned in the list of castes formed by crosses and degradation from the four original *varṇas*. Amara, who wrote his famous lexicon in the fifth century A. D., is entirely silent about it.

Secondly, the Indian pandits were apparently in difficulty in finding a derivative meaning of the word Káyastha. Various fanciful derivations are given, the most popular one being from the root *Kāya*, body. Ignoring the very old and widely current story of Brahmā having created the whole of mankind, divided into four *varṇas*, from the four different parts of his body. Some of the more recent writers in order to derive the word and the caste Káyastha put Him again to work and make Him create a new being from his *Kāya* or body (*Padma Purāna*, *Smṛitikhanda*). Others not liking to interfere with the traditional story of creation got hold of the fables of Parasurāma and obtained the birth of Káyastha from the body of a fugitive Kshatriya queen, who was spared by the all-killing Brāhmaṇa warrior at the intercession of a Brāhmaṇa sage on condition that the new born child should give up the professions of his Kshatriya parents (*Skanda Purāna*, *Renukāmāhātmyam*). The Káyastha seems to be an incongruous element in the social structure of the Hindus as based on the writings of the *Dharmashastras* and the earlier *Purānas* and it required a good deal of ingenuity on the part of later writers to give a plausible derivation both to the name and the caste.

Thirdly, the Káyasthas have from the beginning been systematically abused in the most scathing language such as has fallen to the lot of no other class of officers anywhere in the world. The very first mention of the word in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛitī* associates the Káyasthas with rogues, thieves, and robbers, from whom the king should always protect his subjects. This sentiment runs throughout the whole later *Smṛiti* and Paurāṇic literature and is echoed not only in some of the well known dramas but also in the historical work of Rājataranginī where Kāhāna uses even stronger language to describe the cruel, deceitful and perfidious character of the Káyasthas (IV, 90, 629; VIII, 131). Of course the occupations of a Káyastha whether as a revenue collector or as a scribe had something to do with their unpopularity, but that is only a part of the explanation. Moreover, from the inscriptions of the Gupta and later times we find the Káyasthas to be respectable and useful members of society, quite unlike their portrayal in the pages of contemporary literature. It reminds us of the Jews in mediæval Europe who were portrayed in the darkest colours not always because of their conduct but often because of their alien race. In India, too, we find a parallel in the *Sākadvīpi Brāhmaṇas*, who owed not a little of their degraded status in society to their foreign origin. Káyasthas, like Brāhmaṇas, were often the recipients of grants of land from kings, as we learn, for instance, from the *Gurmah* plate of Jayādityadeva.

The abovementioned facts raise a strong suspicion that the early Káyasthas were non-Indian in origin and that it was just before the time of the Imperial Guptas that they obtained a permanent place in the body-politic of India. The two or three centuries immediately preceding the first appearance of Káyastha in Indian literature witnessed a succession of foreign invasions of India after the downfall of the Maurya Power and the rule of a considerable part of Northern India by Greek, Scythian, Parthian, and then Kushan Kings. The Scythians and the Kushans were steeped in Hellenico-Iranian culture before they finally succumbed to Indian influences. It was at this period of contact between Persia and India that several old Persian words found their way into the Indian language. It is not unlikely that some highly trained revenue officials from Persia and Hellenic lands may have been employed by these Indo-Parthian and Kushan monarchs, as by the Moghul Emperors in later times, for administering their Indian territories, and that all these high officials may have been known to the common people as *Kshshyāthyas*, meaning rulers in old Persian. Soon that word was adapted to the Indian tongue and Sanskritized into Káyastha. That trained and efficient officers from Persia and Hellenic lands were employed by Indian rulers even in earlier days is

evidenced by the presence of a Persianized Greek, Tushāspā the "Yavana", as governor of Surāstra under Asoka Maurya, as is known from the Girnar inscriptions of Rudradāmana. How quickly these foreigners were Indianized is proved from the names of the later Kushan and Saka rulers as also from the conversion of Dharmarakṣita the Greek who according to the Chronicles of Ceylon, was sent by Asoka as a Buddhist missionary to Aparāntaka in Western India, of Menander or Milinda, King of Kabul, and of Helicodorus the Greek who as a devout follower of Vishnu set up a Garuda pillar in about B. C. 140. When the cultured Greeks and Persians were Indianized these who continued as princes and soldiers were merged in the Kshatriya community, while those in the civil service became Kāyasthas. The civil servants of Asoka's government were known as Rajukas, Purusas and Yuktas, but we do not know whether they formed any community of their own. Very likely not. Chandragupta's chief officer in Surāstra was a Vaisya, Pushyagupta. The existence of a Kāyastha clan called Sakasena lends colour to the suspicion of foreign elements in the Kāyastha community. Recruitment from all classes, particularly from Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya castes, swelled the number of Kāyastha officers to meet the growing demands in all parts of Northern and Western India, and the group which was at first functional became gradually solidified into a caste. Southern India lay too far away from these influences and did not develop a well-marked Kāyastha caste.

This caste, however, was recruited from diverse sources, at different times and in different circumstances in different parts of India and consequently was never homogeneous. Barring the name and function, there is very little of community between the different branches of the caste in different parts of India. It cannot be shown that the Kāyastha caste originated in one place and then migrated in different directions. The foreign and aboriginal origin of a large number of castes and sub-castes of modern India need not surprise the reader. If we remember how vast India is, how well-peopled it was at the time of the Aryan invasions, how certain sections of the pre-Aryans had arrived at a fairly high degree of culture, how impossible it was for the Aryans to come in very large bodies through the difficult routes from Central Asia or beyond, and how India has received even within the last three thousand years successive streams of invaders who have permanently settled in the country, the wonder is that so much, and not so little, of present day India in population and culture can be traced to the Rīgvedic Aryan*.

A good deal of confusion has arisen on account of the identification of the Kāyasthas with the Karāṇas in more recent writings. Karāṇa is an old word in the Sanskrit language dating from Vedic times when it meant clever, skilled (adjective) and an assistant (noun). Karāṇika is mentioned in Kautilya's Arthashastra. In the Smṛiti literature Karāṇa represents a mixed caste produced by the union of a Vaisya father and a Sudra mother. Amara, the lexicographer, also gives this meaning to the word. Karāṇa also meant a legal document, as in Manu VIII, 51-52, and Karāṇika, a keeper of records or accounts. Finally Karāṇa came to mean a clerk, and when Kāyastha also finally assumed the meaning of a writer (*aksharajīvi*, as in Hemachandra) it was naturally sought to make the two synonymous, though the original difference was not entirely forgotten. Thus according to Medini Karāṇa in the neuter gender means Kāyastha, but in the masculine gender the issue of a Vaisya-Sudra union. Curiously, although Karāṇa is the older of the two words and more frequently mentioned in the Smṛiti literature, all the abuses and vilifications are in most cases reserved for the Kāyastha and seldom for the Karāṇa. The occurrence of the designation Karāṇa-Kāyastha in several inscriptions proves that the two were not identical. The Ajayagarh Rock Inscription of the Chandella King Bhojavarman also mentions a Kāyastha family, Vāstavya, which had been pursuing the occupation of a Karāṇa. A distinction is made between a Kāyastha and a Karāṇādhyakṣha (accountant) and an Akṣhapatalika (record-keeper) in the Rāmganj copper-plate inscription in Bengal. From inscriptions like the Nidhanpur charter of Bhāskaravāman in the 7th century A. D. and that of Dhod in Rājputana in the 12th century we come across Karāṇikas who are definitely stated to be Brāhmaṇas by caste.

Now what were the functions of the Kāyastha caste? Formerly the Kāyasthas formed what is nowadays known as the Civil Service. Thus they were to be found as collectors of revenue, settlement and survey officers, bench-clerks, accountants and auditors, secretaries to the king, particularly as ministers of peace and war (*Sandhibhigrahika*), and sometimes as chief administrator of a Division (*Uparika*) and judges. It was an account of such wide functions and powers and not because merely of their profession as writers that they were so much dreaded by the people. The Kāyastha is found as a bench-clerk in Vishnupurāṇi VII, 3, as well as in the court-scene of the drama Mrichchhakatika Act IX. In Aparāntaka's commentary of the Yājñavalkyiasamhitā Kāyastha is explained as a tax collector (*Karādhikṛita*). From the Dāmodarpur copper-plates of the Imperial Gupta times, the copper-plate inscriptions of the Kings Dharmāditya and Gopachandra and of the prince Vamya Gupta in Eastern Bengal, and the Khālimpur grant of Dharmapāla it is known that the Kāyasthas formed the majority in the superior cadre of the district and divisional officers without whose knowledge and permission no transfer of landed property could take place. In the Rājatarāngini the civil officers were mostly Kāyasthas, who were sometimes appointed as prime ministers and even military commanders. "With his mind merged in greed the King took for friends the Kāyasthas who carried off all property of the subjects while delivering only the smallest fraction of what they realised" (IV, 629). "At that time the Mahātama Saṅkha, the Kāyastha, was Commander-in-chief of the King's army, as well as lord of the Gate" (VII, 1319). "The King then made the Kāyastha Gauraka prime minister" (VIII, 560).

*Professor D. R. Bhandarkar seeks to connect the Kāyasthas, especially of Bengal, with a tribe or race called Nagar coming from the districts near the Manasa lake in Tibet.

Kshemendra, too, refers to the Káyasthas of Kasmir in the 11th century as officials only and never as a caste. Káyasthas are described as occupying the posts of prime minister and minister of peace and war (Narmadálá I, 6-8, II, 143) and of chief-justice (Kalá-Vilása V, 5).

What are then the component elements of the Káyastha caste? Besides the descendants of many Greek, Iranian and Sika rulers and administrators many Indian Kshatriyas must have entered the civil service by giving up their military profession as it was not possible, except rarely, to unite the qualifications of the two branches of government, military and civil, when the administrative system had become very much developed and complicated. The author of the Udaya-undari Kathá, Sodhdh by name, who was a member of Balava-Káyastha clan and lived in the 11th century, traces his descent from Káláditya, brother of the Balavi King Síláditya. The Balavis ranked as Kshatriyas in the 7th century as we know from the accounts of Hiuen Tsing. But probably a larger percentage of recruits to the Káyastha caste was contributed by the Bráhmaṇas, who with their superior intellectual equipment could easily excel in the work of manipulation of figures and drafting of documents and who were sometimes preferred by the Kings even to Kshatriyas because being generally dissociated from feudalism and military service. They could not easily assume independent power. In Mediæval Europe, too, the Church supplied a large percentage of officers in the Civil Service. Many of the Dharma and Niti-histras direct that the responsible posts in the state should be given mainly to Bráhmaṇas and then to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, but never to Sudras (Manu VII and VIII; Sukraniti II).

At a time when the Káyastha community had not crystallised into a hide-bound caste, a Kshatriya or a Bráhmaṇa could become a Káyastha without losing his original caste, though some blemish would be attached to him on account of his profession. It is probably with reference to this state of things that the Saurapurāṇa, Ch. 19, forbids the invitation to a funeral feast of those Bráhmaṇas who are engaged in the duties of a Káyastha, astrologer, physician and professional soldier. This flow of Bráhmaṇa recruits continued even when the Káyastha caste was definitely formed but they no longer retained their original caste. The Nidhānpur charters of Bháskaravarman in the 7th century contains the names of several revenue and accounts officers in Bengal who were Bráhmaṇas by caste. In the Rájatarangini we meet with numerous instances of Bráhmaṇas engaged in the duties of a Káyastha. "About that time there died by strangulation that rogue of a Káyastha, the Bráhmaṇa Sivaratha, who had been a great intriguer." (VIII, 2383). "Sahelaka of the Purohita Corporation obtained the position of 'prefect of property' by securing a doubled revenue and became in time Mahattama". (VII, 1106). "The great mass of them (Káyasthas) was undoubtedly Bráhmaṇa by caste, corresponding to the present Kárkuns of Kasmir" (Stein Rájatarangini, Int. Ch. I, p. 19). Even now we find in the Poona, Nasik and Satara districts of the Bombay Presidency some families who call themselves Káyasthas but who have not yet given up their Bráhmaṇhood. To avoid confusion they are sometimes called Káyastha-Bráhmaṇas. The Vaisyas, too, though to a smaller extent, must have contributed their share in the formation of the Káyastha caste. From the Chandraprava of Bharatamalika we know of several Vaidya families whose members adopted Káyastha professions and became Káyasthas. On account of the presence of powerful non-Aryan communities in Eastern India some of whom by virtue of superior physical power established rulership and eventually became Kshatriyas* the infusion of Sudra or non-Aryan blood into the Káyastha caste through a Kshatriya medium has not been small. How Sudras and non-Aryan princes could become Kshatriyas is a matter of history. That the predominant elements in the Káyastha caste came from Bráhmaṇa and Kshatriya sources may also be assumed from the fact that the Káyasthas observe *gotra* and *pravara* restrictions in the matter of marriage with as much rigidity as the Bráhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. This is not the case with other castes, like the Navasákkhas in Bengal, who, though bearing Bráhmaṇical *gotras* often marry in the same *gotra*. Further, the very close affinity between the Bráhmaṇas and the Káyasthas of Bengal in their head-form and structure of the nose as distinguished from those of the Upper Gangetic valley on one hand and of the lower castes in Bengal on the other, points to some close relationship between the two castes at the source.

Bengal is pre-eminently the land of Káyasthas. No other province in India can compare with Bengal as regards the number and importance of the Káyastha community. In the 16th century Bengal was ruled by a number of semi-independent and independent princes called Bhuiyá, most of whom were Káyasthas. It was only when the Moghul governors broke up the Káyastha fiefs and distributed them among more pliant Bráhmaṇas in the 17th and early 18th centuries that the political importance of the latter began to increase. It is no wonder that Abul Fazl, the Court historian of Akbar, was led to state that the Káyasthas had been ruling in Bengal for about two thousand years. The modern Káyastha community of Bengal must have absorbed the greater percentage of the descendants of the old ruling dynasties of the country, Sena, Pála, Gupta, Varmá, etc., which may be one of the reasons for such a sweeping statement of Abul Fazl. Curiously enough unlike in the upper provinces the Káyasthas are not spoken of with any disrespect in Bengal. On the contrary, though they are regarded as Sudras by the Bráhmaṇas the expression Bámun-Káyeth is often used to denote the upper classes in society as distinguished from the other castes, just like Bráhmaṇa and Rájanya in the Vedic literature. The Brihadharma Purāṇa which gives a true picture of the social organisation of Bengal in mediæval times assigns the place of honour to the Karana of Káyastha in the list of non-Bráhmaṇa castes in the country, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas being non-existent in the Kali Age, and describes him as not only an expert in the art of writing but a skilful administrator (*rājakáryeshu kushalá*).

*For a fuller account of the nature of Aryan conquest and colonisation in the different parts of India, vide the writer's *Aryanisation of India*, Chs. IV and V.

Why is there no Kshatriya caste in Bengal? It is because firstly the non-Aryan communities in Bengal, like the Pods, Bāgdīs, Chandālas, Karvartas, etc., were too numerous and powerful to be thoroughly subdued and absorbed by the thinning stream of Aryan warriors from the Upper Gangetic valley. From time to time Aryan Kshatriyas, either singly or in small bands, came and established themselves in different parts of the country, but they did not long remain unmixed with the non-Aryan ruling classes of the place. Secondly, the Rajputs, the Normans of mediæval India, who rose to power in almost all the parts of Northern and Western India after the Huna Cataclysm of the 6th Century, and who are regarded as their forefathers by most of the Kshatriya ruling clans in modern India, were shut out from Bengal by the indigenous Pāla Kings for more than four centuries until the sovereignty passed into the hands of the Muslims. But for the appearance of the Rājputs the Kshatriya caste could have hardly succeeded in resisting the attempts of the Brāhmana legislators to abolish the two intermediate *varnas* between the priestly and the Sudra, as they have done in Bengal. This resuscitation of Kshatriya power in mediæval India left Bengal untouched. Thirdly, Bengal, thanks to her predominantly non-Aryan population, was ever a land of heresy. Jainism and Buddhism claimed Bengal as their own. The long rule of the Buddhist Pāla Kings very much loosened the ideas of caste and was the principal cause of the abandonment of the Brāhmanical thread by those Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who were associated with the court. It must have been at this time that the Kāyasthas who depended entirely upon the court became mostly respecters of Buddhist principles and threw away the sacred girdle, the insignia of Brāhmanical orthodoxy.

In Bengal we find the Kāyasthas well-established in society in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. From the inscriptions of the period it is learnt that the Kāyasthas formed a large percentage of the officials in the country and that no transfer of landed property could take place without their knowledge and permission. The names in these inscriptions do not always appear to be genuine compound words, but seem to show that family surnames were coming into use at this time. Thus we meet with names like Chitrā-datta, Jaya-datta, Matī-datta, Gopadatta, Jaya-nandin, Sthānu-nandin, Vijaya-nandin, Guna-chandra, Ghosa-chandra, Siva-chandra, Soma-ghosa, Vihita-ghosa, Sāmā-pāla, Vipra-pāla, Pātra-dāsa, Nāya-sena, Bandhumitra, Dhriti-mitra, Vasu-mitra, etc. From this alone however it cannot be concluded that the Kāyastha caste had been definitely formed at this time in Bengal. The surnames in these inscriptions, even if they are treated as such, are not clearly indicative of caste. Thus the names with the ending of *mitra* in the Dāmodarpur inscriptions are not those of Kāyasthas but of Vaisyas, though the surname of *mitra* is at the present time borne only by Kāyasthas in Bengal. The surname of *datta* might have been borne by Brāhmanas as well as Kāyasthas. The Nidhānpur charter of Bhāskara-varman contains the names of several Brāhmanas donees with some of the abovementioned surnames. I think that these name-endings are not caste surnames but family surnames which eventually developed into caste surnames some time later. Recruitment to the Kāyastha caste from other castes continued for a long time after caste surnames had been definitely established, and that is why, as contrasted with other castes, the Kāyasthas have about one hundred surnames which are as it were one hundred doors through which admission could be effected into the community, sometimes even from avowedly non-Aryan stock. Many of these would have found room in the Kshatriya caste had it continued in Bengal. In this respect the Kāyasthas fulfilled in Bengal the functions of the Kshatriyas of the other provinces of Northern India.

If it can be proved that caste surnames like Ghosha, Mitra, Datta, have been in use among the Kāyasthas of Bengal since the fifth century A.D., one more nail will be driven into the coffin of the story of the coming of five Kāyasthas with five Brāhmanas of Kanauj to the court of King Adisura towards the close of the 10th century. The principal argument against that legend is that while the Brāhmana descendants of the five immigrants count 35 or 36 generations the Kāyasthas count only 25 or 26 generations from their Kanauj ancestors, a difference not to be accounted for by any stretch of imagination, and also the discovery of Brāhmanas in Bengal in the 6th century from the inscriptions of Bhāsa-ravarma, who from their description cannot be differentiated from some of the so-called descendants of the five Brāhmanas of Kanauj. Besides, in the inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries none of the Brāhmana families claim descent from any of the five immigrants from Kanauj. Further, the wide difference in the head and nose form of the United Provinces Brāhmanas and of the Brāhmanas of Bengal and the closer physical relationship between the Brāhmanas and the higher class non-Brāhmanas of Bengal do not support the theory of unmixed descent of all Rādhi and Varendra Brāhmanas from Kanauj ancestors. Immigration there must have been of Brāhmanas and Kāyasthas from the west and the south but certainly not in the way it is generally described in the common genealogical records. Thus, for instance, the Khālimpur charter of Dharmapāla informs us of the existence of Lalā (Gujarat) Brāhmanas in Bengal who were honoured by Nārāyanavarman, a feudatory chieftain.

The origin of Kulinism also among the Kāyasthas is shrouded in mystery. High born Kāyasthas are mentioned in the inscriptions, but few of them have the modern Kulin surnames. From the introduction to the Nyāyakandali of Sridhara we learn that in the 10th century one Pāndu-dāsa of Bhurīsrīṣṭi (in the district of Hooghly) was "the headmark of the Kāyastha community," while the surname Dāsa is of an inferior order among modern Kāyasthas. It seems probable that the foreigner Sena Kings finding it difficult to destroy the influence of the Pālas so long as the Kāyastha hereditary administrators of districts and collectors of revenue remained loyal to their old masters, succeeded in winning over a small section of them, and that Kulinism was conferred upon them as a reward for their desertion of their Pāla masters and Buddhist religion. At first they must have been a very limited number, but after the downfall of the Sena Kingdom there was little restriction upon all those who bore the surnames of the

original Kulip families claiming Kulinism for themselves. This happened in a practically wholesale fashion in West Bengal where there was little Sena influence left after the Muslim conquest of Nadia. But in East Bengal the process was very much checked by the presence of Sena and other Hindu rulers for a long time, and hence we find the number of Kulins even among those bearing the surnames of Ghosha, Vasu, Guha and Mitra to be very limited there. The Kāyasthas of Northern Bengal could not be influenced by the Senas and so the Kulnism of the Senas is not to be found among them.

Namasudra.—The Namasudras of Bengal are not an occupational caste. They are found in various "humble" occupations as cultivators, fishermen, boatmen, carpenters, etc. They are regarded as "untouchables" by the higher castes of Bengal, and only a generation ago were known by the name of Chandālas. No doubt they are a somewhat backward community with a rather low level of culture, who cannot point to any intellectual eminence or historical distinction among their forefathers in the immediate or distant past. But from their occupation as farmers and their observance of ceremonials imitating the higher castes of Bengal, together with the progress they are making in the field of education, they are justified in rejecting the name of Chandālas for their community. The Chandālas of the Dharmashāstras were men who lived outside the pale of civilization and settled life, and found maintenance from the most despised occupations.

Though the word Sudra was often loosely used by ancient writers to denote all those who did not belong to the three higher *varṇas*, there was always a distinction between those who had come or were coming under Aryan influences, the Sudras proper, and those sometimes called the fifth *varṇa*, who were too savage and unclean to be amenable to Aryan culture and practices, the Nishādas, Chandālas, Pukkakas, etc., of the Dharmashāstras. Among the Sudras too, there soon developed a distinction between those who followed the ideals and imitated the practices of the higher castes (न्यायवर्तिनः), the "good" Sudras, and those who were semi-Aryanized and were as it were in the outer ring of the Brāhmanical society, the untouchable Sudras. The promotion of the Namasudras from the status of Chandālas to that of untouchable Sudras is quite natural and is the consequence of the improved culture and way of living they have adopted. And in the present state of things they can well claim to be regarded as "good" Sudras. It was with the object of emphasizing the fact that they were no longer Chandālas that they adopted the name-ending of Sudra, though they were ordinarily called Namas.

In pre-Muslim India when the system of caste had not become so rigid as in modern times, such a group of vile men as the Namasudras are at the present day might have established rulership over a considerable area and mixed in peace and war with the acknowledged Kshatriyas and Brāhmanas of the neighbourhood. The Brāhmana legislators would have called the ruling families of the community at first Vratya Kshatriyas and then good Kshatriyas, and admitted some of their tribal priests even into the Brāhmana order, and increasing intermixture of blood would have lessened the distinction between these *novi homines* and those of real Aryan descent. Unfortunately for the Namasudras, they had not become sufficiently advanced to establish such a position of their own before the Muslim conquest. As this natural process of caste promotion had been stopped by the restriction of opportunities and as the intermediate *varṇas* have disappeared in Bengal, the Namasudras longing for a higher social status have begun to set up claims for recognition as Brāhmanas. The assumption of the new name Namasubrahma is but a natural reaction against the Brāhmanical policy of keeping down the mass of people in a state of "depression," and especially when birth alone, and not merit or occupation, is the determining factor in caste.

As regards the claims of the Namasudras that they had formerly been Brāhmanas who were degraded because they stuck to Buddhism longer than other castes and who were given the name of Sudra by the jealous Kāyasthas, they are not supported either by history or tradition or anthropometry. In fact, from their large number, their main occupations of cultivating and fishing, their traditional lack of higher culture, their original name of Chandālas, their cephalic and nasal forms, and their habitat in the easternmost fringe of Aryāvarta, it may well be assumed that they, like the Kaivartas, Pods and Bāgdīs, are the descendants of the natives of Bengal who were gradually Aryanized but whose tribal organizations could not be broken up. It is not unlikely that some Brāhmana priests and Kshatriya adventurers and Vaisya farmers and artisans might have contributed their blood to the community so as to produce a mixed strain. The present number of the Namasudras, large as it is, is only a moiety of their actual number as undoubtedly a large percentage has dropped off by conversion to Islam. It cannot be believed that Bengal, which was regarded as a semi-Aryanized country by the writers of Dharmashāstras, contained such a large number of Brāhmanas at the time of the Pāla Kings. Secondly, conversion into Buddhism by groups did not involve any change in caste occupations, and a particular community might be lowered for the sake of its creed but could not even in those days be forced to adopt the professions of a low caste like the Chandālas and fishermen who were despised equally by the Brāhmanas and the Buddhists. It might have been possible in the case of individuals but not of a numerous community like the Namasudras, particularly if they had been of real Brāhmana descent. Thirdly, how have two or three million men come to lose all memory of their great past and all trace of higher culture if they had been in possession of a high status in society, say, one thousand years ago, i.e., before the period of Hindu renaissance in Bengal? There is no tradition to this effect recorded either in the Sanskrit or vernacular literature of Bengal. Fourthly, do they show any similarity in physical appearance with the Brāhmanas with whom they claim caste affinity more than any other non-Brāhmana caste in Bengal? Rather, the contrary is the case, as is known from a comparison of their cephalic and nasal indices.

To avoid the conflict of claims as to whether they are Sudras or Bráhmaṇas and to keep up the homogeneity of the caste in outward appearance, it might be better to drop the name-ending of Sudra or Bráhmaṇa altogether and call the caste by the name of Nama only, as is universally used in the spoken language of the eastern districts of Bengal. The name Nama, unlike the words Kaivarta and Chāṇḍāla, does not carry any humiliation with it, not being associated with any particular occupation of a mean character.

Vaidya.—The word Vaidya in the early Sanskrit literature denoted a learned man or one versed in the Vedas, and was not associated with any profession. In the Vedic literature the word for a physician is Bhishak and not Vaidya. Even as late as the time of Manusamhitā the term Vaidya was rarely used to mean a physician, who was generally known as Bhishak and Chikitsaka. The word as used in the Asvalayana Grihya Sutra IV, 9, cannot be interpreted to mean anything else than "learned." So also is the reference about the sage Vasistha as a Vaidya in the Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 77. No one can believe that the expression *Dwijeshu Vaidyāḥ Shreyamsāḥ* in the Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Ch. VI, 2, speaks of the medical men as being the most honourable among the Bráhmaṇas. Here the word Vaidya is used in its original sense as a learned man. An almost verbatim reproduction of the above passage occurs in the law-book of Manu (I, 96-97) which speaks of the Bráhmaṇas as the most honourable of men and of the learned men, *Vidyānsaḥ*, as the most honourable among the Bráhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata, on the contrary, contains many passages (e.g., XII, 36, 28 ; XIII, 90, 13-14) which regard the medical profession as an ignoble one, the pursuit of which, like the selling of liquor, degrades a Bráhmaṇa from his rank. According to the Charakasamhitā the physicians are called Trija or thrice-born not because of their superior status among the twice-born but because after their ordinary initiation as twice-born the Vaidyas are initiated into the mysteries of the science of medicine. It is not possible to agree with those who seek to prove from the abovementioned passages that the medical men were always Bráhmaṇas and that they occupied a position of high honour among the Bráhmaṇas.

In Rigvedic times the physicians were no doubt respectable members of society. "In Rig. X, 97, 22, we find Bráhmaṇas exercising the functions of a physician without dishonour. 'With Soma as their sovereign lord the Plants hold colloquy and say : O King, we save from death the man whose cure a Bráhmaṇa undertakes.' Diseases were believed to be caused by the displeasure of gods or possession by demons; hence a physician had to be well-versed in *mantras* for propitiating gods and driving away demons as well as in the science of medicine. The physicians were generally Bráhmaṇas, and, like the witch doctors in primitive societies, were held in high respect, so much so that many gods, such as Asvins (I, 116-16), Varuṇa (I, 24-9), Rudra (II, 33, 4-7), are frequently called physicians. That different occupations did not impart any blemish even to Bráhmaṇa families is indicated in IX, 112, 3, where the rishi sings, 'I am a poet, my father is a physician, my mother a grinder of corn. With our different views, seeking after gain, we run as after cattle.' The Ribhus were supposed to have been skilful artisans who were exalted to divine honours (I, 161, 1-5). Some of the descendants of the great sage Bhṛigu were expert chariot-makers (X, 39, 14)." (Origin and Growth of Caste in India by the writer, Vol. I, pp. 59-60).

By the time of the Dharmashāstras a great change had occurred in the status of the physicians. As early as the time of Vasistha's law-book (before B. C. 300) a Bráhmaṇa who practised the profession of a physician was regarded as degraded (III, 3). The Vishnusmṛiti (L. I, 10) prescribes a penance of living on milk only for seven days for the offence of taking food from a physician, and forbids the invitation to a funeral feast amongst others of a physician and an astrologer (LXXXII, 7-9). According to Atrisamhitā (378), a physician and an astrologer, however learned, must not be honoured. Similar passages are to be found in the Mahābhārata and many of the law-books, old and new.

It is not easy to trace the causes of the degradation in the status of physicians from the Vedic literature itself. One cause no doubt is that according to the Bráhmaṇical conceptions of the time no profession could stand side by side with the priestly one, and that a physician even though of Bráhmaṇa descent, must rank lower than a priest. Secondly, with the growth and elaboration of the ideas of cleanliness and ceremonial purity a medical man who had to come in constant contact with the sick, the dying and the dead, could not but incur a little of impurity for himself, and thus drew upon his profession some stigma and social degradation.

From a comparison of the standard of living of the Rigvedic Aryans with that of the pre-Aryans in the Indus valley with their highly developed knowledge of sanitation as revealed in the archaeological discoveries at Mahenjo-daro and Harappā we may suppose that the science of medicine was more developed among the latter than among the Rigvedic folk. When mixture took place between the Aryans and the non-Aryans in the plains of India the medical science of the latter did not die out, but was adopted by the former though after some resistance. The Atharvaveda, the bible of the physicians in India, which contains a large amount of this non-Aryan knowledge and belief, was not readily accepted by the orthodox Aryans and was not generally regarded as one of the Vedas even as late as the time of Kāntilya's Arthashāstra and Manusamhitā. In the medical profession of the later Vedic period, therefore, we may hope to find a large number of non-Aryan families who had been in possession of the knowledge of herbs and charms for many generations before the coming of the Aryans. It is known how in the 2nd century B. C. the Greeks, though conquered by the Romans, furnished the greater part of the skill and knowledge of medicine at Rome and transmitted their science to the children of their conquerors. The close association of the physicians and the Śākadvipi or astrologer Bráhmaṇas in many passages of the law-books lends colour to the supposition that, like the Śākadvipis who are undoubtedly of non-Vedic origin, the Vaidyas, too, must have been dealing with a science of non-Vedic or mixed origin and have contained

among them a large percentage of men of non-Bráhmānical blood. The story of the origin of the Vaidyas as given in the *Brahmaivaivarta Purāna* (Brahmakhandā, X, 126-32), fanciful as it is, points to a relationship between the physicians and the *vedādharmapariyāktāh* astrologers as social groups distinguished from the traditional social divisions of Vedic society. It is probably to this, more than anything else, that the low status of the Vaidyas in the Dharmashāstras is due. It is difficult to say when Vaidya, which was at first a functional name, became the name of a caste, but it is certain that the caste was not formed in the same way and at the same time in different parts of India. Even now a Vaidya caste as we find it in Bengal does not exist in Upper India. But the tendency towards the formation of a medical caste can be traced as early as the time of the Mahābhārata. There is mention of a caste by name Vaidya (Anushāsana, 49, 9), which is said to be formed by the union of a Sudra male and a Vaisya female. If any significance be attached to this statement we may suppose that the Sudra or non-Aryan medical men, referred to above, were gradually mixing their blood with the Vaisya community and were given a recognised position in society. Then followed intermixture between these Vaidyas and the Vaidyas belonging to the Bráhmāna community, as was bound to happen when they together formed a functional group receiving knowledge at the common fountain and when marriage restrictions were not very strict. What became of the issues of such mixed unions? Naturally the general mass of them would receive their training in the profession of their parents and become physicians by occupation. As regards their caste, whatever may be said in the Dharmashāstras about the issues of mixed marriages and the formation of mixed castes, one is inclined to think that the children of such mixed marriages in earlier times generally, but not always, took the rank of their father. Thus the children of a Bráhmāna physician by a Vaisya or a pseudo-Vaisya wife were recognised as Bráhmanas while those of a Vaisya father by a Bráhmāna woman remained Vaisyas. The Dharmashāstras prefer to put the children of such mixed unions in a separate compartment and call them Ambasthas who are to be medical men for treating patients of all good castes including Bráhmanas. *Had this dictum of the Dharmashāstras been rigidly followed we would have found the existence of an Ambastha caste extensively spread over the whole of India, like the Vaidya caste in Bengal, especially as another dictum, referred to above, degrades all members of the Bráhmāna community following the profession of medicine from the priestly order. As a matter of fact the Vaidya functional group, consisting of Bráhmanas, Vaisyas, etc., developed into a caste only in some parts of India, and received the name of Ambastha to indicate the mixture in blood which had taken place and for the determination of their position in the hierarchy of caste as intermediate between Bráhmāna and Vaisya. In the United Provinces at the present day Bráhmanas, Káyasthas and others are found following the medical profession, for generations without losing their original caste. Amara defines the word Vaidya as pertaining to medical profession while by alluding to the Ambastha he probably indicates that wherever a medical caste is formed it is to be looked upon as mixed caste†.

On account of various reasons as discussed in the writer's note on Káyastha the development of caste took a peculiar turn in Bengal, and one of the results was the formation of the Vaidya caste in its present shape. From its birth it fell under the category of Ambastha as defined in the law-books. There is no doubt that Bráhmāna, Káyastha and other castes have contributed their blood to the formation of the Vaidya caste in Bengal. The name Ambastha of the Dharmashāstras was found a suitable appellation for the new-born caste with its mixed blood and profession of medicine, though the name Vaidya also remained side by side. The close relationship between the Vaidyas and the Káyasthas in Bengal up till recent years is revealed in the genealogical records of the Vaidya community. Numerous instances are cited of inter-marriages between the two communities and of Vaidya and Káyastha families of recognised position springing from a common stock. If this was the case with Vaidya Kulin families with whom the genealogists mostly deal we may assume a freer intermixture of blood among the non-Kulins and even the Vaidya author Bharatamallika writing in the 17th century did not express disgust at this intercourse. The Brihaddharma Purāna, which deals specially with the social institutions of Bengal of about five hundred years ago, treats the terms Vaidya and Ambastha as synonymous (Uttara XIV, 41). The Vaidya genealogist Bharatamallika in the 17th century and the Vaidya leader Rájá Rájballava in the 18th century identified their caste with the Ambastha and claimed for themselves the rights and privileges of the twice-born Ambastha. This claim was persisted in by Vaidya scholars and leaders up till the close of the last century.

On the other hand, attempts were made by Bráhmāna legislators and interpreters of law to reduce the status of the Vaidyas and make them Sudras on the plea that in the Kali age there were only two *varṇas*, Bráhmāna and Sudra. Thus the Brihaddharma Purāna (Uttara, XIV, 44) directs the Vaidyas to observe the duties of a Sudra, *Sudradharmāy*. Raghunandana, too, in his *Suddhitatvam*, classes the Ambasthas or Vaidyas as Sudras. The result was that many of the Vaidyas gave up the right of initiation as twice-born and began to observe the

* देश्यायां ब्राह्मणाज्जातीभ्यो हि सुनिससत्तम् ।

ब्राह्मणानां चिकित्सायै निहिंष्टो मुनियुक्त्वैः ॥

इति पराशरः ।

† This subtle distinction between function and caste is hidden in the passage quoted from Shankha-namhitā in the *Shabdakalpadruma* :

वेदाज्जातीहि षण्डः व्यादम्बुो ब्रह्मयुक्तः ।

thirty days' rule for impurity like ordinary Sudras. But fortunately for them their profession required them to be learned in Sanskrit, and so the right of studying religious literature and of teaching language and medical science could not be taken away from them. Moreover, as teachers and physicians they continued to enjoy the right of receiving gifts. These circumstances to a certain extent stood them in good stead. Then there came in the middle of the 18th century a great revival in the Vaidya community under the leadership of Rájá Rájballava and taking their stand on well-known dicta of the Shástras they pushed their claim for recognition as Ambasthas with the right of initiation and fifteen days' rule for impurity. When, however, this claim was resisted by Bráhmāna pandits a section of the Vaidyas changed their ground and began to argue that if in the Kali age there were only two *varṇas*, the Vaidyas with their right of studying and teaching and of receiving gifts were more like Bráhmāna than Sudra.

Of late some of the Vaidyas in Bengal have begun to set up claims that they are full-fledged Bráhmānas and are not in any way to be regarded differently from the acknowledged Bráhmānas of the land. It is no doubt true that the Bráhmānas of Bengal are not a homogeneous caste and have received admixture of non-Aryan blood. But there is one thing in their favour which is not possessed by the Vaidyas, viz., the right of acting as priest for others at religious ceremonies. Since the Vedic times the Bráhmānas have practically monopolised this function, and this function alone distinguishes a Bráhmāna from a non-Bráhmāna. The right of teaching could not be similarly monopolised as we come across references to non-Bráhmāna teachers in the Upanishads, Buddhist Suttas and Játakas and even in some of the Bráhmānical law-books. The exercise of the priestly function among semi-Aryanized aborigines would in course of time enable even non-Aryan priestly families to get recognition as Bráhmānas but the door to Bráhmānhood was closely barred against all who did not follow the priestly profession, whether Aryan or non-Aryan. The argument over *gotra* and *pravara* in support of claim to pure Aryan or Bráhmāna blood is not convincing as this sort of registration originated long after the barriers of caste had been established and as a good deal of confusion has arisen on account of the dictum that the non-Bráhmānas have to accept the *pravaras* of their Bráhmāna priests. The question of surname is another *cul-de-sac*. The existence of common surnames among the Káyasthas, Vaidyas and mercantile classes only makes confusion worse confounded. Then, again, it is well known that there are several Vaidya and Káyastha families who can be traced to common stocks. In the Chandrapravá of Bharatamallika we find accounts of a ruling chief, Chandrasena, some of whose sons became Káyasthas by caste while others remained Vaidyas. There is no historical evidence to prove that the descendants of Vallálasena have become Vaidyas. The Sena Kings called themselves Brahmakshatriyas and not Vaidyas in their inscriptions, and must have merged themselves in the ruling Káyastha caste for want of a local Kshatriya caste. It may be admitted, if any reliance be placed upon the confused genealogical records of Vaidya families, that some members of the Sena family might have adopted the profession of medicine and thereby found their way into the Vaidya caste. Lastly, it is to be noted that the practice of inter-marriage between Vaidyas and Káyasthas which had been in existence for centuries has resulted in a confused mixture of blood in the Vaidya community while the Bráhmānas in Bengal have at least for the last seven hundred years avoided intermixture with non-Bráhmāna blood.

It would have been well if Hindu society could be reorganised on the four-fold *varṇa* system of the Rígvedic age, but the mixtures and ramifications have been so widespread and deep-rooted that the task is absolutely hopeless at the present day. Unless the other castes recognise them as priests at religious ceremonies the Vaidyas after centuries of un-Bráhmānical living and intermixture with other castes cannot hope to get their recognition as full-fledged Bráhmānas. It is true that many members of the Bráhmāna community remain in possession of their premier rank in society in spite of their abandonment of priestly occupation and character while the Vaidyas as a class with their high culture and mode of living are relegated to an inferior position but that is a fault inherent in the system itself in which birth and not merit is the basis of caste.

Vyása or Gaudádya Vaidika Bráhmāna.—The word Vaidika is used to denote the descendants of those Bráhmānas who according to tradition came with their Vedic knowledge only recently, about seven or eight hundred years ago, when the Vedic religious rites had been nearly forgotten by the Bráhmāna priests then in Bengal. The majority of the Bráhmāna community in Bengal, the Rádhis and Várendras are not called Vaidikas, though they are associated with this or that branch of the Veda. Theoretically, every Bráhmāna, being supposed to be a descendant of one or other of the *rishis* or seers of the Veda and belonging to this or that branch of the Veda, may call himself a Vaidika. But in Bengal on account of peculiar circumstances the name Vaidika is borne by a particular class of Bráhmānas as stated above, and to avoid confusion the word should be used in the restricted sense. Of course, Vyása Bráhmānas are described as Vaidikas in some documents of comparatively recent date in the district of Midnapore, which for a long time had been a part of Orissa and not Bengal. The term Vaidika might have been in occasional use for some time past among the influential Cháshi Kaivarta disciples of the Vyása Bráhmānas because probably they sought thereby to exalt the status of their own priests, and this was possible only where, as in the district of Midnapore, the Cháshi Kaivarta community was particularly strong and the social system of Bengal proper had made little headway. As a matter of fact, no other community in Central, Northern and Eastern Bengal has accepted the name Gaudádya Vaidika for what they call Vyása or Parásara Bráhmāna, nor can the expression be traced in the ancient or mediæval literature of Bengal.

The word Gaudíya or Gaudádya might have been sometimes used in the district of Midnapore, probably to distinguish the local Bráhmānas from the Oriya Bráhmānas of the neighbourhood. Gauda or Eastern Gauda represented in the time of the Pála and Sena Kings roughly the province of Bengal. The non-Bengalis in Muslim times who did not understand the distinction

between Rádhis and Várendras, Vaidikas and Vyásas, would lump them all together and call them by the territorial name of Gaudiya as they nowadays use the expression Bengali Bráhmāna.

The Bráhmanas of Northern India are traditionally divided into five territorial groups, viz., Sáraswata, Kányakubja, Gauda, Maithila, Utkala*. The places of origin respectively are in proper order from west to east—(1) the region of the river Saraswati in the Eastern Punjab, (2) the territory of Kanauj, (3) Gauda in Oudh, (4) Maithila or North Behar, (5) Utkal or Orissa. The indigenous Bráhmanas of Bengal are neglected in this classification because they were not regarded as sufficiently pure and orthodox at the time when these social groupings were made. Bengal was not only a partially Aryanized country but was the stronghold of the two heretical religions, Jainism and Buddhism. The great majority of the modern Bráhmanas of Bengal choose to trace their origin from Kanauj. Bengal was no doubt called Gauda or rather Eastern Gauda in the time of the Pála Kings, but it would be rash to think that the sub-caste of Gauda Bráhmanas originated in Bengal. According to the Purána Uttara Kosala was also called Gauda, the capital of which was Srávasti (Kurma Purána I, 20; Linga Purána I, 65). In the Brihat Samhitá of Baráhamihira the territory of Gauda is placed along with Matsya, Panchála, etc., in the middle division of India (XIV, 3). References to Gauda Bráhmanas in Pauránic literature do not necessarily point to the indigenous Bráhmanas of Bengal, as is believed by some modern scholars. In fact no historical connection can be traced between the Gauda Bráhmanas of Upper India and the early Bráhmanas of Bengal so as to warrant any belief in their common origin as distinguished from the other subdivisions of the Bráhmanas of India. Up till the census of 1921 no Gauda Bráhmanas of the United Provinces or the Punjab admitted kinship with the Vyása Bráhmanas of Bengal, and there is no case of inter-marriage on record to prove the social relationship between them.

It must be admitted that in Gupta and earlier times, i.e., long before the traditional date of immigration of the five Bráhmanas from Kanauj Bengal contained a large number of Bráhmanas many of whom were learned scholars and well versed in Vedic rites and practices. The copper-plate inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. in Bengal support this view. Now if the Rádhis, Várendras and Vaidikas are the descendants of the later immigrants as they claim to be, what has become of the earlier Bráhmanas of Bengal? The Vyásas no doubt are a section of the indigenous Bráhmanas of Bengal. But a larger number like the Saptasatis have imperceptibly merged themselves in the ranks of the new-comers, as we know from many Kulajis or genealogical records. The Vyásas being the priests of lower castes could not do so. There is no evidence to show that the Vyása Bráhmanas occupied a high social status in the Pála or Gupta times, and there is no history or tradition connecting the Vyása Bráhmanas with the priests of the Pála or Gupta Kings of Bengal. The tracing of connection through *gotras* and *pravaras* alone is deceptive. Even the Sákadvipi Bráhmanas, who are traditionally known to have come from outside India, possess many *gotras* and *pravaras* in common with the Rádhis, Várendras and Vaidikas of Bengal. We know from the Kulají books that the Vyása Bráhmanas have been acting as priests to lower castes (*antyajas*) at least for the last four hundred years, and we are not yet in possession of any reliable evidence to prove that they served as priests to higher castes in the time of the Pála and Sena Kings of Bengal. It is therefore natural to conclude that the Vyása Bráhmanas have been associated with the Kaivartas from the beginning and that the earlier priests to higher castes have, with some exceptions, been merged in the modern Rádhis, Várendras and Vaidikas of Bengal. The story of the degradation of the Vyása Bráhmanas as a class from being priests to higher castes to their present status by the Sena Kings is an invention of recent years which is not supported by any reliable documentary evidence.

The name Vyása is significant. The sage Vyása of the Mahábhárata was the illegitimate son of the Brahmana sage Parásara by a fisherwoman, and hence might well be looked upon as the patron-priests of the fishing community or the Kaivartas. The priests of the Kaivarta community may therefore be appropriately called Vyásas of Parásaras, two names by which they are known generally throughout Bengal. Bráhmanas they are without doubt, because they act as priests for others, perform ceremonials according to Hindu scriptures, and follow Bráhmanical practices in life. Moreover, they use Bráhmanical surnames which are not challenged by others. Their defect is that they cannot act as priests to the higher castes of Bengal and that they are comparatively backward in Sanskrit education, and hence they are generally looked down upon by the other Bráhmanas of Bengal, a fact which was observed by the well-known genealogist Nulopanchánana about three hundred years ago.

The Kaivartas, Pods, Chandálas, Bágdís, etc., being in the main descended from the pre-Aryan natives of the country one may reasonably suppose that some of the aboriginal priests became later acknowledged as Bráhmanas and came to form a mixed race with the new Bráhmāna settlers who acted as Aryan culture-bearers in a particular locality. These priests of the mixed blood were regarded as "degraded" Bráhmanas, and they attached themselves as priests to their respective tribes and were seldom allowed to act as priests for others. That this supposition is not baseless is proved by the currency in the Pauranic literature of various stories (often fanciful) about the creation of Bráhmanas from out of non-Aryan communities. Thus, for instance, the Skanda Purána, Sahyádrí Khanda (Uttarárdha, I, 36), describes how the warrior sage Parasuráma conferred Bráhmanhood upon a select number of Kaivarta families who became priests to the Kaivarta caste.

* सरस्वतः कान्यकुब्जा गौडा मैथिलीउत्कलाः ।

पञ्च गौडः सनाख्यात दिक्पञ्चीत्तरवासिनः ॥

It may be that in those troublous days when revived Hinduism was trying to wipe away Buddhism and when the foreigner Sena Kings were introducing changes in the social system with a view to extinguish the Pála influence in Bengal, some high priestly families tarrying to bow to the changed conditions in the country found themselves degraded and eventually had to descend to the rank of priests to lower castes, but they were only exceptions. No evidence has yet come to light to show that such has been the case with the Vyása Bráhmanas as a class. On the other hand, the story, fictitious or otherwise, of the promotion in social status by King Vallálasena of a section of the Kaivarta community who gave up the profession of fisherman and boatmen and took to agriculture, is quite in the natural order of things, and we have not to travel far to seek the cause of distinction in status between the fishing Kaivartas and the cultivating Kaivartas at the present day. Change of profession leading to the elevation of a community and adoption of a new or modified caste-name is a common occurrence in India. For a fuller discussion of this question the reader is referred to the writer's note on Kaivarta.

Kaivarta and Māhishya.—In Bengal to-day there are two classes of Kaivartas, Cháshi and Jálíka or Jálía, who may be regarded practically as two separate castes. The occupation of the former is mainly agriculture, which was at one time looked upon as a noble profession belonging to the Vaisya community of the Vedic age, but which on account of various causes came to be despised and gradually fell to the share of the Sudra folk (*vide* the writer's *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. I, pp. 97-101; 142-147). The occupation of the Jálía Kaivartas is to catch fish, a profession which from the time of the Vedas had ever belonged to non-Aryan outcastes, to men who were primitive savages hunting and fishing for a livelihood and knowing no art which makes for settled life of culture. The passage in Parásarasamhitá (II, 9) which describes cultivation of the soil as more sinful than even fishing is only a rhetorical statement made with the object of emphasising the duty on the part of farmers of making gifts to Bráhmanas, as is clear from the subsequent verses. As a matter of fact, farming has always been regarded in Bráhmanical and Buddhist literature as a much nobler profession than hunting and fishing.

The Cháshi Kaivartas nowadays call themselves by the name of Māhishya and claim that they had always been different from the Jálía Kaivartas with whom they had nothing in common except the name. Facts, however, do not seem to support this claim. First of all, the name itself. The prefixes Cháshi and Jálía are added only to make the distinction in function between the two classes, and are not parts of the name. In fact, these prefixes are not to be found in use in Sanskrit law-books and Puránas. The common name Kaivarta is suggestive of a common origin of the two sections unless there be any strong evidence to the contrary.

Secondly, the close similarity in the distribution of the two communities over the several districts of Bengal and the racial affinity between them as revealed by anthropometric evidences cannot be easily explained away.

Thirdly, the general belief of the higher caste people of Bengal about the common origin of the two classes of Kaivartas in support of which various stories are told, the fact that service as priest to either of the two communities is regarded as degrading by the Rádhi, Várendra and Vaidika Bráhmanas of the country, and the claim of the Jálía Kaivartas based on tradition that in the past they formed one community with the Cháshi Kaivartas, are strong evidences against the theory of separate origins of the two groups.

Fourthly, nowhere in the ancient Sanskrit literature, legal, mythological or otherwise, do we find any mention of two classes of Kaivartas. According to Amara, Kaivarta and Dhivara are synonymous terms, and no one has yet disputed the meaning of Dhivara to be a fisherman, and the caste is placed by the lexicographer in the category of things pertaining to water. Manu knows only of one class of Kaivartas, an unclean caste (X, 34), and so also other writers of Dharmashástras like Angiras (I, 3) and Atri (195). Some scholars seem to discern a distinction between Kaivarta and Dhivara in one passage in Brahmayaiavarta Purána (Brahma, X, 111-112), (1) which can hardly stand any examination. Evidently, the word Dhivara in the second and third lines is used by the author as a synonym of the word Kaivarta and not to mean a different caste. This passage occurs in the course of an account of the formation of different castes by crosses and the degradation of several of them from their original status for some faults. The list is given in a serial order. Now if Dhivara and Kaivarta had been, according to the author, two different castes, he would have first accounted for the origin of the Dhivara as apart from the Kaivarta before explaining the cause of his degradation. But he has not done so in the whole long list. Again, according to the order observed by the author, we would expect to find in verse 112 the name of a new caste formed from a man or a woman of the caste created in the previous verse, i.e., the Kaivarta. Here also the synonym Dhivara is given to denote the connecting link between Kshatriya and Rajaka and in the subsequent verse the connection is traced between Rajaka and Koáli. Further, what is the significance of the word "degraded" unless we are informed of the original status of the caste concerned by reference to its extraction? In this passage the Kaivarta is shown to be of good parentage and hence the necessity of explaining the cause of his degraded status. The truth is that the author knew that the words Kaivarta and Dhivara were perfectly interchangeable according

- (1) क्षत्र्योयेयं वैश्यायां कौवर्तः परिकीर्तितः ।
कली तौवररुसगीत् चोवरः पतितो सुवि ॥
तौवर्यां चोवरात् पुल्लवसुव रजकः स्युतः ।
रजक्यां तौवराच्चैव कौयाशोति वसुव ॥

to both legal writers and lexicographers and therefore only avoided repetition and ensured smoothness of language and rhythm by using two words to signify the same thing. In Manu X, 11, for instance, two words Kshatriya and Rājan are used to denote the same caste and not two different castes.

Fifthly, the Kaivartas seek to identify themselves with the Māhishyas on the ground that as according to writers like Gautama (IV) and Yājñavalkya (I, 92) the union of a Kshatriya male and a Vaisya female produces the Māhishya while according to authorities like Brahmapurāṇa the same union produces the Kaivarta, therefore the two castes are identical. The present writer has discussed the trustworthiness or otherwise of these lists of mixed castes produced from the unions of the four *varṇas* directly and indirectly in his book *Origin and Growth of Caste in India, Vol. I, Ch. I*. A few examples here will serve to illustrate the fancifulness of these lists. The caste Pukkasa is derived from Nishāda-Sudra union by Manu, X, 18, from Vaisya-Kshatriya by Vasistha, XVIII, and Vishnu, XVI, and from Sudra-Kshatriya by Gautama, IV, while Amara identifies Pukkasa with Chāṇḍāla who is born of a Sudra-Brahman union (Sudravarga, 12 and 53). The offspring of a Vaisya-Kshatriya union is, according to Manu, X, 11, and Yājñavalkya, I, 94, a Magadha, but according to Gautama, IV, a Dhivara. As the Rājput is said to be produced from the union of a Kshatriya father and Vaisya mother (Brihadharma Purāṇa, Uttara, XIII, 34), can he therefore be identified with the Māhishya of Yājñavalkyasamhitā and the Kaivarta of Brahmapurāṇa? The traditional professions of the Māhishyas—singing, dancing, star-reading and protection of crops (Kulluka on Manu, X, 6)—do not tally with those claimed by the Chāśhi Kaivartas in Bengal.

Sixthly, as against the abovementioned claim of the Kaivartas, there are certain facts which require consideration. If the Chāśhi Kaivartas had been Māhishyas in origin how did they come to acquire the name of Kaivarta in Bengal, a name which they do not deny, while a similar phenomenon is not evident in any other part of India? Besides, the name Māhishya is a comparatively recent one in Bengal which can hardly be traced in the ancient accounts of the province as referring to an extensive caste. We hear of the Kaivartas in the time of the Pāla and Sena Kings but not of Māhishyas. There is almost unanimity of opinion among scholars that the Brahmapurāṇa and the Brihadharma Purāṇa in their present shape were composed about the 14th or 15th century A.D. and that they give a good account of the religious beliefs and social institutions of Bengal of the time. The Brihadharma Purāṇa gives a list of about 40 mixed castes, but Māhishya is not included in the list. Similarly silent is also the Brahmapurāṇa with its long list of mixed and degraded castes. Both the books, however, refer to the Kaivartas as a degraded or unclean caste. From this too, we may conclude that there was about five centuries ago no caste in Bengal known as Māhishya which was worth notice. A caste which to-day represents one of the numerically largest communities of the province could not certainly be ignored in a fairly exhaustive list of castes. Further, nowhere in the standard Dharmashāstras and Purāṇas and old lexicons are the two words Māhishya and Kaivarta used as synonyms unlike Dhivara and Kaivarta which have represented the fisherman caste at least for the last two thousand years, whatever might be their distinction in earlier times.*

If on the strength of the statements in the Brahmapurāṇa and Padma Purāṇa concerning their origin from Kshatriya-Vaisya union the Chāśhi Kaivartas of Bengal have sought to change their name into Māhishya, then the claims of the other Kaivartas, like the Jālias and Pātnis, for a similar designation cannot be denied, because there is no indication in those passages that a particular class, and not the whole Kaivarta community, was meant. If, on the contrary, the Chāśhi Kaivartas base their claim of superior social status on their present profession of agriculture and their assimilation of the Brāhmanical ideals of life, whatever might have been their origin in the distant past, they will certainly stand on stronger ground. It is not unknown how various aboriginal tribes and foreign races have found their way into the hierarchy of caste and their descendants can be traced in Brāhmana and Kshatriya not to speak of Vaisya and Sudra folds.

One difficulty in the way of Jāliya Kaivartas and the Pātnis for recognition as Māhishya is that they still stick to professions, fishing and boating, which are said to belong to non-Aryan outcastes according to the Dharmashāstras and Purāṇas. Moreover, the adoption of the name Māhishya by both the Chāśhi and Jāliya Kaivartas will necessitate the addition of prefixes before the caste name to distinguish the fishing and agricultural groups and is sure to be resented by the latter who are trying to dissociate themselves entirely from their original extraction and occupation. If the name Māhishya be given to the agricultural Kaivartas there is no necessity for retaining the prefix Jāliya to distinguish the fishing Kaivartas.

*The word Kaivarta or Kevarta seems to be the Sanskritized form of the word Kevatta or Kewatta which was probably the name of some aboriginal tribe, like the Nishāda, Pukkasa, etc., whom the Aryans encountered in the valley of the Ganges. The original form of the word is retained in the early Buddhist literature (e.g., Dighanikāya, Brahmapālasutta) and in Asoka's Inscriptions, and survives in modern times as the name of a sub-caste of fishermen, the Kewat. The elasticity of the Sanskrit language is such that even foreign words can be easily derived from Sanskrit roots and by a little change in a vowel or a consonant made to appear like genuine Sanskrit words. The orthodox derivation of the word Kevarta from the root *Ka*, water, does not dispel the suspicion that it was an after-thought to give a Sanskrit look to a non-Aryan word. From a tribal name Kevatta or Kaivarta became a caste-name of a functional nature. At the time when the Kaivartas were first met by the Vedic Aryans they were in a very primitive stage of culture and their main occupation was hunting and fishing. Manu (X, 34) appropriately points out relationship in race between the Kaivartas and the Nishādas, another of the aboriginal tribes of Northern India. The Mahābhārata (Anushāsana, Chs. 50 and 51) makes the two words Kaivarta and Nishāda synonymous. It is when a section of the Kaivartas advanced in culture, gave up their hunting and fishing life and settled as cultivators of the soil that their status was improved. Hence, probably we find that in more recent writings like the Brahmapurāṇa the Kaivartas are derived from respectable parentage though still with a stigma of degradation.

Pátni.—The Pátnis are a sub-section of the Kaivarta community, and at present stand intermediate between the Jália and Cháshi Kaivartas. The original professions of the Kaivartas were those of a fisherman and a boatman, while in later times a section of them gave up their traditional occupations and took to agriculture. Now the Pátnis combine the professions of a boatman and a cultivator, and thus cannot be called either pure Kaivartas or Cháshi Kaivartas. In fact, they form a community of their own distinguished from the two larger divisions of the Kaivarta people. By adopting a newly-coined name *Lupta Máhishya* they acknowledge their inferiority in status to the full-fledged Máhishyas and at the same time show their intention of elevating their position and will in course of time claim equality with the cultivating Kaivartas. The transition will be rendered easier when the Pátnis have abandoned altogether the work of the ferryman and devoted themselves entirely to agriculture, thereby making the word Pátni meaningless as a caste name and the folk indistinguishable from the Máhishya Kaivartas. The name Pátni is a peculiarly provincial word which does not find a place in the Sanskrit language and hence it is difficult to ascertain from references in the Dharmashástras the status of the caste as compared with that of the Kaivartas in general. As matters stand at present the Pátnis can well claim that they are more like the cultivating Kaivartas who have assumed the name of Máhishya in Bengal than like the despised fishing Kaivartas of the Dharmashástras, and that as such they are entitled to assume a name to show their near relationship with the Máhishya-Kaivartas without at the same time being connected with the boat, seeking to establish absolute identity with them. Like the Cháshi Kaivartas, the Pátnis, too, have fortified their claim to be called Máhishya by securing *Vyavasthas* from well-known pandits.

Sáhá and Shundi.—The word Sáhá is borne as a title or surname by many persons among the mercantile classes in Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces. It is derived from the Sanskrit word Sádhu, meaning a money-lender and a trader,* through the intermediate forms, Sáhu, Sáwoo and Sáh. Both the words Sáhá and Sádhu are to be found in use as a title or surname among different trading classes in Bengal. Thus there are Sáhá and Sádhu families among the Gandhabanik, Sankhabanik, Tili, Tánti and Shundi castes. In this respect Sáhá may be compared with the titles of Rái, Chaudhuri, Majumdar, etc., which are borne by men of different castes, high and low, with the difference that the former is used only among the mercantile castes.

Sáhá or Sáwoo is at the same time the name of a caste in Bengal, the members of which are nowadays found in mercantile, agricultural and other pursuits. There are many families who use the titles or surname of Prámánik, Poddár, Dás, etc., but belong to the Sáhá caste. A man may therefore have the surname of Sáhá but not belong to the Sáhá caste whilst another belonging to the Sáhá caste may have a surname like Dás or Poddár. The Sáhá caste is regarded in Bengal as being of a lower order, and good Rádhi, Várendra and Vaidika Bráhmans do not ordinarily take water from a Sáhá's hands or serve as priests to him. The priests of the Sáhá community form a caste of their own, and are looked down upon by the ordinary Bráhmans of the country, and they cannot act as priests to the higher castes. In this respect the Sáhás occupy a lower position than the Gandhabaniks, Sankhabaniks, blacksmiths, barbers, potters, betel-dealers, etc., who are called Navashákhás, and whose touch does not impart impurity to a Bráhmán's drinking water. Like the Suvárnabaniks of West Bengal, the Sáhás of East Bengal with all their wealth and influence and in spite of their orthodox mode of living are assigned a back seat in the hall of Bengal castes by the Bráhmán leaders of society.

The inclusion in earlier census figures of Sáhás and Shundis in one group has of late excited some controversy. The traditional occupation of a Shundi, viz., the making and selling of spirituous liquor, is one of the most despised in Hindu society. There are many high caste Hindus, especially in West Bengal, who do not make any distinction between Sáhá and Shundi in everyday language and are not even aware whether any distinction exists between the two classes. In Eastern Bengal, the general currency of the expression *Sáwoo-Suri* reveals a subtle distinction between the two though they are coupled together to form one group. The problem which faces the historical inquirer is whether the Sáhás are only a section of the general Shundi caste who have been seeking for several centuries to elevate their social status by taking to a strictly Vaisya profession and dissociating themselves from those who still cling to their original occupation or are fundamentally different from the Shundis, who, however, are trying to worm their way up into the higher community by taking advantage of their Sáhá surname. It is worthy of note that the Shundis, at least those who aspire to higher social status, choose to be called Sáhás by caste, but do not claim community with the Gandhabanik or Sankhabanik Sáhás. Is it likely that the present Sáhá community has gathered recruits both from above and below?

If the occupation of a caste be the sole determining factor in the matter of social gradation, the Sáhá caste of Bengal, at least those of them who are associated with trade and banking, must be given the status of the Vaisya. We know that some of the functions which belonged to the original Vaisya *varna*, such as tilling the ground and tending cattle, became in later times dishonourable and gradually came to be associated with Sudra *varna*. But no blemish was at any time attached to the profession of trade, if only some forbidden articles were not dealt in. It is also known that by the time of the later Dharmashástras the status of the Vaisyas in general had sunk much lower in the estimation of the law-makers and had come very close to that of the Sudras who correspondingly had risen somewhat higher.† From Alberuni's account

* "साधुर्वाङ्मित्रे चारी सज्जने चाभिषेयवत्"—दत्ति भट्टिनौ।

†For a fuller discussion of this subject reference may be made to the writer's *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*.

we learn that at least in some parts of India in the 11th century A.D. the distinction between the Vaisyas and the Sudras was very slight, and that the study of the Vedas was forbidden to both classes (Sachau I. p. 101 : II, p. 136). Moreover, as sea-voyages came to be forbidden by the Dharmaśāstras many of the Vaisya merchants had either to give up their foreign trade or be degraded in social rank to the level of the Sudras. Further, in some parts of the country, as in Bengal, the mercantile classes were converted in large numbers to Buddhism and Jainism, and remained for centuries estranged from Vedic practice and Brāhmanical influence. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Brāhman legislators, especially of Bengal, began to assert that the Vaisya *varna* had ceased to exist in this Kali age and that even the mercantile classes, not to speak of the farming and pasturing folk, must be ranked as Sudras. A distinction was of course made between those who were respectful to Brāhmins and their laws and who did not transact business in "bad" articles, and those who delayed to give up their heretical faith and who were dealers in "bad" commodities. The former were called "good" Sudras whose touch was not impure to a Brāhman and who could be served as priests by good Brāhmins, and the latter became "untouchables" in society. On account of other causes* the Kshatriya community, too, had been reduced to Sudra status in Bengal. Hence the dictum has obtained currency that in the Kali age there exist only two *varnas*, Brāhman and Sudra. The result is that many castes in Bengal to-day are regarded as belonging to the Sudra *varna* whose forefathers were of higher orders. They abandoned the use of the sacred thread either through the influence of Buddhism and Jainism or through compulsion by Brāhmins and Brāhmanical princes on the strength of the above dictum after the fall of the Buddhist Pāla Kings. Gradually other rules of conduct fit for the Sudra, such as thirty days' impurity and offering of uncooked food to deities, were fastened on them. If any one ventured to resist he was assigned a still lower status in society as an "untouchable" Sudra.

The origin of the Sāhā caste in Bengal is obscure. Moreover, it is not clear what were the goods in which they traded. Some say that they were dealers in paddy and rice only, but the genealogical records of some Sāhā families show that they dealt in spices and precious stones as well. A caste of rice-dealers is very rarely mentioned in the Dharmaśāstras. Neither in the Brihadharma Purāṇa nor in the Brahmapurāṇa Purāṇa which contain fairly exhaustive lists of castes in Bengal about five or six centuries ago is there any reference to the Sāhā or Sādhu caste. In the Vallācharitam the rice-dealers are called not Sāhās or Sādhus but Tandulinas, who are ranked as "good" Sudras (Ch. XIX, 6). It is strange that an important community like the existing Sāhā caste in Bengal is not even mentioned in old literature as distinguished from the recognised mercantile groups like the Gandhabaniks, Suvarṇabaniks, Sankhabaniks, etc. This fact may lend force to those who argue that the Sāhās were in the past the same as the Shundis, whose name is frequently met with in the books referred to above, though some of them might not be following the profession of a liquor-seller. There is evidence, however, that at least some of the Sāhā families have not originated from the Sundi caste.

Unlike some other castes of Bengal, the Sāhās have not invented any story of the immigration of a number of families from the west at one time from whom all the members of the Sāhā caste claim their descent. This makes their old genealogical records more trustworthy from the historian's point of view. The Kulakirikā of the Sāhā Tāmolin family of Kirtikholā in the district of Pabna contains a tradition that the ancestors of the family came from Western India in the time of Emperor Asoka. One of the genealogical books of the Sāhā community, the Laghubājichandrikā, states that a number of Vaisya trading families being unable to endure the oppression of Emperor Shahjahan left his capital and scattered in different directions. One batch found their way into Bengal and settled in the Varendra country. The Prāmāṇiks of Belkuchi, on the other hand, trace their residence in Bengal from at least as early as the time of the Sena Kings. A number of Sāhā families of Sylhet claim descent from Vaidya and Kāyastha ancestors during the reign of King Subidnārāyana in the sixteenth century A.D. These facts prove that the present Sāhā caste is not homogeneous, but contains an admixture of blood from different communities and from different parts of India. There are many families who are known not to have a noble origin, but their endeavour is to wipe away their antecedents and not to keep them on record.

It is probable that many Jaina merchants were degraded to Shundi status by Brāhman law-makers during the period of Brāhmanical renaissance in Bengal. Shaundika was a term of abuse which was sometimes applied by bigoted Brāhmins to the Jaina. In the Prabodha-chandrodaya the Jaina is caricatured as a drunken sot, low-born and vulgar-tongued. The genealogical records of some Sāhā families contain a tradition that at one time the ancestors of most of the Sāhās professed a non-Brāhmanical faith. The long centuries of name-association between the original Shundis and the degraded Jainas are likely to have led to greater intermingling between the two classes with the result that some of the latter sank to the position and occupation of liquor-sellers while some of the former gave up their profession and managed to mix their blood with the Jaina Shundis. When the latter were eventually reconverted into the Brāhmanical creed the name Shundi persisted and since then on account of growing class consciousness there have been attempts from time to time to widen the gulf between the two classes. At the present time even among the recognised Sāhā families of Eastern Bengal whispers are heard that such and such were Shundi in origin and that some others had Shundi connections. That such a controversy about the confusion of Sāhā with Shundi has its roots deep in the past may be gleaned from the family records of the well-known Sāhā Prāmāṇiks

* *Vide* the writer's note on Kāyastha.

of Belkuchi. *The allusion therein to the curse pronounced by the sage Shukra upon spirituous liquor (Mahabharata, Adi, Ch. 76) and the claim that the ancestor of the family, Sályé Sáhá, had nothing to do with liquor but followed the profession of an Arya, raise a suspicion that there were disputes about the matter for which a pronouncement in favour of the party concerned had to be obtained from a certain Sena King.

It is mainly on account of the diverse origins of the Sáhá families of Bengal and of their juxtaposition in relation to the liquor-selling Shundis that there are a comparatively large number of subdivisions in the Sáhá community. The two broad divisions are Varendra and Rádhi, though curiously enough the majority of the Varendra and Rádhi Sáhás are found in the districts of old Vanga or East Bengal. While the Sáhás proper are numerous in Eastern Bengal and few in the western districts, the case is exactly the reverse with the Gandhabaniks and Suvarnabaniks. This geographical distribution of the mercantile communities leads to the supposition that the original differences between the various trading groups were not very great, most of them being regarded as Vaisyas, and that the later differences in status were in a large measure due to the respective part they played in the long conflict between the heretical faiths and revived Brahmanism. Thus it is not unlikely that some of the Sáhás of Eastern Bengal and the Gandhabaniks of Western Bengal may have been descended from a common stock and that the separation took place not more than one thousand years ago. Tradition is not wanting to show that the forefathers of some of the Sáhá families of Eastern Bengal traded in those articles which are nowadays regarded as the monopoly of the Gandhabanik caste.

The Varendra Sáhás on account of their greater solidarity and class consciousness have been trying for a long time to avoid contact with the liquor-selling Shundis, and look down upon the Rádhis who, they state, have received a large admixture of Shundi blood. There are, however, instances known of inter-marriage even in recent times between Varendra and Rádhi, and there are families who are alleged to have once belonged to the Rádhi group but now claim to be Varendra. Their cry which is sometimes heard nowadays that the two sections are not the subdivisions of one caste but two separate castes for which two different names should be used, does not seem reasonable. On that ground the Kayasthas of Sylhet and some other districts, who inter-marry with Vaidyas and Sáhás, would have to be given a new caste name to distinguish them from others who are strictly endogamous. Besides, the territorial names of Varendra and Rádhi to distinguish the two sections, as among the Brahmans and the Kayasthas, indicate that they belong to one caste subdivided into two groups. Further, in many places the Varendra Sáhás and the Rádhi Sáhás are served by the same priests of the Sáhá community.

To distinguish those who are Sáhás by caste from those who only bear the title of Sáhá but belong to other castes, the name Sádhubanik has been suggested for the caste. There may be some objections to this name. In the first place, it was never used to denote any particular caste in the old literature of the country. Secondly, the word Banik meaning a merchant may be joined with a word like Gandha, Sankha, Suvama, etc., to specify the particular branch of trade in which the Banik is engaged. Sádhu is almost a synonym of Banik unless it means a money-lender only, in which case there is nothing to indicate that the Sádhubaniks are a caste of grain-dealers, as many of them claim to be. Thirdly, if the word Sáhá be objectionable because it is used as a title by others than Sáhás by caste, the same objection applies to the word Sádhu, which is largely used as a title by the Gandhabaniks and others.

Teli and Tili.—The term Teli is used in Bengal nowadays to denote two distinct classes of men, one whose profession is trade, and the other associated with oil-pressing. The former class is regarded as belonging to the Navasákha group, whose touch does not pollute a Bráhmaṇa's drinking water and whose priests are "good" Bráhmaṇas, while the oilmen are treated as an unclean caste whom ordinary Bráhmaṇas would not serve as priests. The latter are often called Kalus from the name of the oil-mill to mark the distinction between the two classes of Telis. This distinction has been in existence for several centuries as we find reference to two castes, Tailika and Tailakáraka, in the Brihaddharma Purāṇa (Uttara, X, 38, 41), the Tailika being classed as a good mixed caste who lived by selling betel-nut, and the Tailakáraka or oil-extractor being called an unclean caste. The Brahmaparivarta Purāṇa (Brahma, X, 18), too, places the Tailakáraka in the group of unclean castes.

It is not an uncommon phenomenon in Hindu society for a section of a caste, generally of a lower order, to abandon their traditional caste profession adopting one which is regarded as "nobler" by Bráhmaṇa law-writers, and gradually form a caste of their own separate from the parent stock. We know how the Sadgopas, Cháshi Kaivartas, Madhu-nápitās, and Cháshadhópās have come to form distinct castes in Bengal. It seems that the Teli traders have originated by a similar process from the oilman caste, though this separation must have begun

*The quotation is as follows:—

तथाहि सेनराजीवाच—

दृज्यशुच्यमाप्तो राजिका क्षत्रिकाशुडि ।

वारिन्ना अर्थावर्कव विशरेव न संशय ।

सैव्यत्तम सौकुलह्व साव्ये सादा वसू व ।

साधुत्वसा जगद्विशः धर्मेनिष्ठा परा गतिः ।

This is the reading of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Bhagvat Kumar Goswami Shastri from the original manuscript.

several centuries ago. The very name Teli as is used in Bengali or Tailika as written in the Brihaddharma Purāṇa is suggestive of such an origin. The trading Telis have sought to distinguish themselves from the oil-pressing Telis by adopting a comparatively newly-coined word Tili, which, however, is not recognised by the other castes in general. The word was not known to the old lexicographers, Sanskrit or Bengali, and obviously cannot be derived from the word Tuli or weighing scales. The weighing scales are not a monopoly of the betel-dealers in Bengal as the Tilis claim to be in their origin. Of course, there are tribal names like Jhalla, Khila, Khasa, etc., which do not lend themselves to derivation in an intelligible way from Sanskrit roots but this is not the case in general with functional names, like Gandhika, Tailika, Rajaka, Chammaka, etc. Nobody has yet suggested that Tili comes from the name of any aboriginal tribe or is a word borrowed from foreign vocabulary.

Though in comparatively recent times Tailika has come to mean a different caste from Tailakāraka, it was not so in earlier times. About two thousand years ago Tailika (Vishnū-smṛiti LI : Manu III, 158) was one of the degraded communities like the wine-sellers, washermen, etc., whose food could not be taken by a Brāhmana and there is no indication that it denoted anything else than the oilman. Kulluka commenting on the above passage of Manu gives the meaning of Tailika as an oil-presser and evidently was not aware of any secondary meaning. The later difference between Tailika and Tailakāraka was an artificial one devised to mark the distinction in profession between the two sections of the same caste. A plausible theory is that one section became dealers in Tila or sesamum seed from which oil was extracted and the other section remained as the extractors of oil. Now as industries fell into lower estimation than trade on account of the growing contempt of the conquering Aryans for menial labour and the increasing association with Sudra or slave labour in the industries, and other causes (vide the writer's *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. I, pp 97-101), the trading Tailikas rose higher in social status than the oil-pressing Tailikas or Tailakāraka. This was a development which occurred only in Bengal where owing to the absence of the intermediate Kshatriya and Vaisya *varṇas* various classifications had to be devised to meet the claims of many functional groups. But how the betel-nut trade fell to the portion of the Tailikas in the time of the Brihaddharma Purāṇa is not known. At any rate it was a later acquisition as otherwise some more appropriate word than Tailika would have been chosen to denote the sellers of Gubāka or betel-nut. The Tailikas afterwards gradually extended their field of business and nowadays are to be found trading in various articles other than sesamum-seed and betel-nut. If any Vaisya order be recognised in the social organisation of Bengal the Tilis from their mode of living, their profession and their connection as disciples with the Brāhmanas of the land may well claim to belong to it.

APPENDIX IV

A note on the indigenous dances of Bengal

The following notes have been supplied by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., who has been responsible for arousing an interest in dances of this kind which has led to their adoption by the Education Department as a form of physical exercise for school instruction. The dances described by Mr. Dutt seem to be of aboriginal or of Vaishnava origin, and before accepting his conclusion that the Raibishe dance for instance is a martial exercise it would be desirable to examine the dances described in comparison with tribal dances amongst the people with racial affinities to the castes now performing them, and to dispose of the possibility that the dances themselves are merely the linear descendants of the original tribal festival dances. Mr. Dutt's descriptions, however, are the only ones of which I know and are of interest not only in themselves but also as suggesting lines of further comparative study, whilst it is clearly an admirable thing that a form of recreation should be popularised which provides physical exercise through dance-forms free of the associations commonly attaching to dancing in Bengal.

Note on the folk-dances of Bengal by G. S. Dutt, I.C.S.

Jāri.—The Jāri dance and song is prevalent in some of the Eastern Bengal districts, particularly Mymensingh, and is confined to Muslim villagers.

The dancing and singing are performed by a group of adults who usually form themselves into a ring, there is a precentor—the *Boyati*, as he is called, who leads the song from outside the ring. All the dancers except the *Boyati*, wear sounding bells round their ankles, and as the *Boyati* sing they mark time with their left feet and then take up the song in chorus. Vigorous movement is not commenced till after the song has progressed to a climax. The scheme of dancing lends itself to an infinite variety. The simplest and most common is that in which the dancers as they stand in the ring with their faces inwards, make a light hop on their left feet, and simultaneously raise the right feet in a sharp sideways kick to the right. They repeat this movement round and round in a ring formation at the same time waving the red handkerchiefs which they carry in their right hands with sharp downward movements of the hands. Then they step back into their original position. All the time they hold the ends of their wearing cloths—*dhoties*, in their left hands. At times the dancers, while keeping up the ring formation, form themselves into pairs, the two dancers of each pair stand face to face and step simultaneously forwards and backwards and then step past each other forming themselves in to form fresh pairs with their neighbours.

There are various other complicated schemes of dancing which, as well as the simpler ones, are remarkable for perfect symmetry and rhythm, the briskness of footwork and the vigour of body and arm movements.

The songs sung either have reference to the tragic historical events in the desert of Karbala in Arabia connected with the life of Imam Hussain, as the meaning of the word "Jāri" (mourning) indicates, or breathe sentiments of religious harmony and goodwill. The tunes are melodious and pathetic and constitute a very suitable vehicle for the expression of the sentiments of the songs.

The *Jāri* dances and songs are associated with the annual *Moharram* festivals of the Muslims and an air of religious solemnity attaches to them.

Baul.—The *Baul* song and dance are confined to the Hindus and may be found in all parts of Bengal. The singing and dancing are performed either solo or in groups to the accompaniment of the *Ek tara* or the *Anandalahari* (popularly known as the *Gabgubāgub*) and in some cases, the *karatāli* and the *Dubki* as well.

The *Baul* dance, while lacking the variety of formations appertaining to the *Jāri* dance, has many points of similarity with it. Its most striking feature is a spirit of joyous abandon and a fluidity of rhythmic movement which is in complete accord with the sentiments of the songs.

The word "Baul" means "mad", that is "mad after the eternal spiritual truth". And the songs invariably preach the unreality of mundane existence and their message is that of religious toleration and universal brotherhood.

Baul dancing and singing are not associated with any particular occasion or festivity, and are performed sometimes as a pastime for the performers themselves, but more often as a profession for earning a livelihood.

Kāthi.—The *Kāthi* dance and song is practised in Birbhum by the so-called depressed sections of the Hindu society and mainly by the Bauris.

An even number of men—usually adults—dance to the accompaniment of the *Mādal*. They stand in a circle each carrying two short sticks—one in either hand. The man who plays on the *Mādal* remains outside the ring and sometimes at its centre. At the commencement the dancers sing in chorus and each keeps on hitting the left hand stick with the right hand one at regular intervals and in perfect time. Then, as the dance begins each alternate dancer forms a pair with his right hand neighbour and strikes with his left hand stick the right hand stick of his partner on his right. Each man then strikes his left hand stick with the right hand one. Different pairs are then formed—those who formed pairs with their right hand neighbours now form pairs with the left hand neighbours, and strike the left hand sticks of their partners with their own right hand ones. The process is repeated and all the while the dancers keep moving

along the ring in an anti-clockwise direction. The whole system is in accordance with a simple but regular and symmetrical scheme ; the steps are brisk and graceful and the body movements are very lively and in entire unison with the sound of the sticks which produce a pleasing rhythmic effect. The scheme includes many variations of which the most interesting is that in which a player falls flat on the ground on his back as if wounded, and yet keeps on dancing round and round in that position, striking his sticks against those of his neighbours who keep up the round progression of the ring.

In its origin it was very likely a war dance and the sticks are symbolised swords and shields. The fashion in which the sticks are wielded indicates parrying with swords.

The songs sung with this dance are simple ditties dealing with the simple joys and sorrows of the peasants and often striking a pathetic note.

The name is obviously derived from the fact that the dancing is performed with *kāthis* (sticks) in hand.

The *kāthi* dance and song are not associated with any particular occasion or ceremony and the players perform them both as a pastime for themselves and for the edification of the spectators.

Rāibeshe.—Of all forms of folk dance in Bengal the *Rāibeshe* is undoubtedly the most interesting. It is found in some of the Western Bengal districts, e.g., Birbhum, Burdwan and Murshidabad. It is practised by the *Bāuris* and the *Domes* of the Hindu community.

The dancing is performed by a group of men to the accompaniment of the *Dhol* (a type of indigenous drum) and the *Kāsi* (gong). The dancers wear brass anklets called *Nupurs* on their right legs and are usually adults though they occasionally include youths of tender age. This dance is one of the manliest and most vigorous folk dances extant in any country in the world and is marked by a remarkable dignity, orderliness and rhythm. The scheme of dancing is absolutely free from all traces of effeminacy and vulgarity, and displays a high order of symmetry and an innate sense of discipline in the dancers.

The dancing is punctuated by occasional yells, and the whole atmosphere is one of warlike excitement. But with all the vigour and virility introduced into the dancing, and the excitement under which it is performed, there is that restraint which is the criterion of all true art.

The dancing takes various forms and is in the nature of military exercises. At times the performers stand in a file or form a column and press forward with a singular orderliness ; at times again, they form a ring and with slightly bended knees, hop forward alternately joining and extending the knees imitating the gesture and movement of a horseman. The movements are such that all the muscles of the body are brought into prominence and play during the dance. Sometimes the dance is performed in pairs, one man supporting another on his shoulder, the dancer on the ground performing the usual movements of the dance while the dancer on his shoulder also performs the same movements with his arms and hands in a standing posture.

The dancing has as its counterpart a complete system of acrobatics which are remarkable for dignity, and the daring, valour and artistic grace with which they are executed, and which, like the dancing itself, are performed to the accompaniment of rhythmic beats of the *Dhol* and the stirring gong of the *Kāsi*.

From its nature it seems obvious that the *Rāibeshe* was a war dance in its origin. The *Rāibeshes* appear to have been the spearmen in the infantry of ancient Bengal from the earliest times ; and references have been found to *Rāibeshe* soldiers in ancient Bengali literature.

In "Kabikankan Chandi," an epic poem of Mukunda Ram Chakrabarty who lived from 1544 to 1608 A.D., the following passages occur :—

(1) বাজন হুপু পায়, বীর ঘণ্টা পাইক ধায়,

রায় বাঁশ্য ধায় বরশান ।

(This passage occurs in the description of King Shalibahan's march)

(2) বাজন হুপু পায়, বীর ঘণ্টা পাইক ধায়

রায় বাঁশ ধরে বরশান ।

(3) সোণাব হুপু পায়, বীর বেরাপাকে ধায়

রায় বাঁশ ধরে বরশান ।

(1) "Footmen with bells round their waists and sounding anklets round their ankles press on—the *Rāibeshes* also rush forward."

(2) "Footmen with sounding anklets march on with closed fists, the *Rāibeshes* carry their *Rāibansh* (lances) in their hands."

(3) "The *Rāibeshes* wearing golden anklets march with great speed in rings and circular formation, and carry their *Rāibansh* (lances) in their hands."

[These two passages occur in the description of the march of the King of Kalinga which then included the southern part of Rarh Country (West Bengal) and Orissa.]

(4) শত শত বাজে ঢাক, পাইক ধায় লাখে লাখ,

কান কেহ নাহি শুনে বাণী ।

রায় বাঁশ তবকী, ফরিফাল ধাহুকী,

আঙুলে বনক নিশাণী ॥

(5) মণ্ডলী করিয়, ধায় রায় বাঁশিয়া,

কেহ ধায় কিরায়ে নেহা ।

(4) "Thousands of battle drums are beating, millions of footmen rush forward ; in the turmoil of battle nobody pays any heed to others ; the *Rāibeshes*, musketeers and archers participate in the struggle, the golden standard bearers go ahead."

(5) "The *Rāibeshes* form themselves into rings and press forward, some brandish their javelins as they advance."

[These two passages occur in the description of the conquest of Guzrat by the King of Kalinga, which then included the present Rarh Country (West Bengal) and Orissa.]

The following passage is found in "Annada Mangal", a poetical work of Bharat Chandra Rai Gunakar, a famous Bengali Poet who lived from 1712 to 1760 A.D. In describing Raja Mansingh's expedition in the 16th century against Protapaditya of Jessore, the poet writes :

- (6) আগে চলে লালশেখ খাস-বরণার ।
 সিপাই সকলে চলে কাতারে কাতার ॥
 তবকী বাহুকী ঢাণী রায় বেশে মাল ।
 দফাদার জনাদাব চলে সঙ্গীরাণ ॥

- (6) "Soldiers in red uniforms and the personal guards (of the Raja) march ahead in columns. Musketeers, archers, shield-men, *Rāibeshes*, Mals (probably soldiers recruited from Mallabhum in Bankura) and cavalry men follow."

The passage quoted below is from Ram Prasad Sen Kabiranjan who lived from 1718 to 1775 :—

- (7) কোটি কোটি তীবন্দাজ,
 বেণা বিদে একন্দাজ,
 রায় বাঁশে কেহ নহে টুটা ।

- (7) "There are millions of expert archers who never miss their mark and there are the *Rāibeshes* who are not behind-hand in the use of their *Rāibansh* (spears)."

The next passage is from "Dharma Mangal", a famous Bengali book by Manik Ganguly who lived from 1694 to 1748. The passage occurs in the description of the court of a Raja in the 11th century.

- (8) রায় বেশে রাউত বসেছে রণশাজে ।

- (8) "*Rāibeshes* and cavalry soldiers are assembled in martial uniforms."

The following passage is from "Dharma Mangal" of Ghanaram Chakrabarty who lived in the latter part of the 17th century. The passage occurs in the description of the scene of attack of Maynagarh by Mahamada Patro in the 11th century :—

- (9) বগড়ুয়া, মল্লভুয়া, মগধ মাগধ মিরায়,
 এক লক্ষ সেনা সঙ্গে ধায় ।
 ধাহুকী বাহুকী ঢাণী, রাঘবেশে ফাবিকালি,
 বাহত মাহত সনুয়া ॥

- (9) "The Ranabhuya and Mallabhuya soldiers (probably recruits from Rana-bhumi and Mallabhum), soldiers from Magadha (modern Behar), archers, musketeers, *Rāibeshes*, soldiers on chargers and elephants,—altogether a hundred thousand strong march forward."

The name *Rāibeshes* was applied to the lancers the handles of whose weapons were made from a particular kind of tough bamboo called *Rāi* (king) *Bāns* (bamboo).

The *Rāibeshes* were soldiers in ancient days and their dance was a war dance, but in recent years the only demand for these dances was on the occasion of weddings in Hindu families. With the decline in public taste in this country, dancing as a martial and manly art and as a vehicle for the expression of pure joy fell into disfavour, and the *Rāibeshes* dancers, who belong to what is called the lower and depressed classes of society, and who, being in a state of poverty and semi-starvation, were obliged to cater to a corrupted public taste, grew long hair and adopted women's dress as their dancing apparel. In consequence of this, their style of dancing underwent, in many instances, a regrettable deterioration, inasmuch as it often became distinctly effeminate and sometimes suggestive of vulgar ideas, in imitation of "nautch" girls. But fortunately this deterioration has not been universal and a few troupes of *Rāibeshes* dancers are still to be found who have preserved the old traditional dance in its purity of style and manliness of form. The degree of corruption and degeneration is to my mind directly proportional to the length of time that has intervened between their military ancestors and the present day dancers. And this view receives support from the fact that the *Rāibeshes* dancers of Rajnagar and the neighbouring villages in Birbhum where a line of Muslim kings reigned till comparatively recent times, have been found to have completely escaped the degrading influences.

It may be mentioned that according to a competent observer the *Khuttack* dance of the Pathan soldiers bears some similarity to the *Rāibeshes* dance.

Other folk dances of Bengal are the *Kirtan Dance* practised by Hindu villagers of all classes in connection with the worship attached to the Krishna cult and the Chaitanya cult; the incense dance and *avatār* dance of Faridpur (which are ritual dances), the *sloka* dance of Faridpur, the *jhumur* dance of West Bengal and the *vata* dances still practised by Hindu women even of the highest and most respectable castes, particularly in East Bengal on the occasion of festivals, weddings, and rituals or "vratas."

ANNEXURE

The Sadhubaniks

The Sadhubaniks represented their case to Government. While Government do not intend to give any authoritative decision on the point it has been decided that the grounds of their claim which have been vouched for by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Bhagabat Kumar Shastri, M.A., F.R.D., who was consulted should be noted in the annexure. It may, however, be noted that Mr. Bhagirath Chandra Das, Secretary of the Baishya Saha Mahashabha, contends that all the Sahas as distinct from the Sunris should be known as Baishya Sahas and that the sections who claim to be Sadhubaniks are not really distinct.

The Sadhubaniks rest their claims on the following among other grounds :—

(1) The term "Saha" was used to designate a profession and not a caste or sub-caste. Thus there have been Saha-Sankhabaniks, Saha Gandhabaniks and even Saha Telis. There are analogous cases in other spheres. Compare the use of the title Goswami. There are Brahmin Goswamis and Vaidya Goswamis and even the Brahmin Goswamis belong to many different sub-castes and classes, the Rahrirs, the Barendras, the Baidik, the Srotriyas and Kulins. Again designations such as Roy, Dutt, etc., do not signify a particular caste or sub-caste. There are Brahmin Roys, Vaidya Roys, Teli Roys, Brahmin Dutt (e.g., in the Upper India) Kayastha Dutt, Suvarnabanik Dutt, Gandhabanik Dutt.

(2) The Sadhu Banik Sahas settled in Barendra as is indicated by the designation Sadhu Banik Barendra Sahas. Other Saha families also settled in the Rahr and Barendra and have therefore been called Rahri or Barendra Sahas but it does not follow that all the Saha families belong to one Saha community of the same caste. If the Sadhu Banik Barendra Sahas had belonged to the same caste stock as the other Barendra Saha families there would have been inter-marriage which is not the case.

(3) Though this sub-caste does not observe the characteristic rules of the Vaishyas, namely, the investiture ceremony and the recitation of the Gayatri to which the twice-born castes are admitted, the reason is found in the degradation of all non-Brahmin castes which was decreed about a thousand years ago by reascendant Brahmanism specially in Bengal, echoes of which are heard in the interpolated texts of the Smritis : "Juge jaghanye Dwejati Brahmana Sudra Eba Cha" "যুগে জগন্যে দেবজাতি ব্রাহ্মণঃ শূদ্র এবচ" "there are in this accursed age only two castes, Brahmin and Sudra". Thus Sudra practices were authoritatively enjoined in the case of all non-Brahmins, including the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Add to this that the other twice-born castes, namely, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas themselves discarded some of their cherished caste privileges so much so that when the Sen Kings were reigning in Bengal, the twice-born non-Brahmins were practically indistinguishable from the Sudras. Even the Brahmins of Bengal were hardly recognisable as Brahmins. The whole story of Adisura and the five Brahmins points this way and the prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism in those days accounts to a great extent for degeneracy and degradation of the twice-born castes in Bengal. Hence, if the Sadhu Baniks were originally Vaisyas the discontinuance of Vaisya rites only signifies that they lost or surrendered some of their rights under a new Brahmanical ukase and partly under Buddhistic and Jaina influences.

(4) The positive evidence for their Vaisya origin is—

- The distinctive title of Sadhu Banik which is still retained. Their old family horoscopes show them to be "Sadhukulodbhava" "সাদুকুলোদ্ভব" "sprung from the Sadhu family". Sadhu means a Vaisya who specially carries on the money-lending business, which is their traditional profession.
- They have kept themselves completely separated communally from the Rahri or Barendra Sahas.
- The evidence of the "Salhe Saha" inscription proves that their ancestor Salhe Saha was a Vaisya.
- They have retained their purity of habits and have always been noted for their religious disposition.

Thus, though they do not claim to have observed all the Vaisya rites through the ages they claim recognition of their Vaisya origin.

